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CORRESPONDENCE OF ANDREW JACKSON

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

For what has been often called the "middle period" of the political history of the United States much documentary material is in print, and it includes both the public papers and the correspondence or private papers of most of the statesmen of the first rank in that period. We have in print the writings of Madison and Monroe, the *Memoirs* of John Quincy Adams and several volumes of his correspondence, the correspondence of Webster, Clay, and Calhoun, the *Autobiography* of Martin Van Buren, and the *Diary* of Polk. The absence of the correspondence of Andrew Jackson from such a series constitutes a notable gap in the published historical material of the time, and one which, in view of his political and military prominence, has been in many ways regrettable. Moreover, Jackson typifies, as does no one of the others who have been mentioned, the democratic movement of which his advent into the national presidency was the most conspicuous sign, and his correspondence illuminates and explains the history of that movement in a most exceptional manner.

These considerations have recommended to this Department of the Carnegie Institution the preparation of an edition of the correspondence of Jackson as a work of prime importance, sure to be helpful to many historical students. The editing of the volumes has naturally been entrusted to Professor John Spencer Bassett, of Smith College, whose *Life of Andrew Jackson* is well known as a standard biography, and whose familiarity with all the incidents of his career and with the personalities that touch his life is wholly exceptional.

The entire collection will consist of six volumes. The first, herewith presented, extends through the first third of the crowded year 1814, ending with the conclusion of the Creek campaign and with the end of April.

J. FRANKLIN JAMESON.

PREFACE.

The first of the six volumes allotted to this collection of letters by and to Andrew Jackson deals with that portion of his life which came to an end with the conquest of the Creek Indians in the spring of 1814. It contains what remains to us from his earlier years. In this period he began life as a solicitor for the public in the newly created Miro District which embraced what is now middle and western Tennessee. He was then twenty-one years old. There was something about him that marked him out for public life in the very beginning of his majority. He had the personality that men looked to for leadership. From prosecutor of delinquents he passed to congressman, thence to senator, serving one year in each position, long enough to convince him, and others, that the work of lawmaker was not his *forte*. He then became a judge of the state's supreme court and served satisfactorily, but he soon retired to private life, and became a merchant and planter. On his farm at the Hermitage he raised cotton and blooded horses, besides the many things needed for the support of the people who lived on the place.

There is little positive evidence to show why he did not continue in the offices to which his profession of lawyer led him; but the inference is plain. He was good enough in such positions for the first days of a frontier state but not good enough for the more sophisticated stage that followed the frontier, and it came very quickly in Tennessee. As solicitor he often had to fight his way through the court-yard over the hard resistance of the defendants whom he had beaten in the court-house. In the rough life of the day he had the courage to stand for law enforcement. The people of the time valued courage more than legal knowledge, because courage was more useful to them for the time being.

Six years of this strenuous life was enough for Jackson and in 1804 he announced that he would retire from it. When it was known that he contemplated resigning the lawyers of the state bar joined in petitions requesting him to continue on the bench. One of the reasons assigned was that if he went Judge Overton would withdraw also, which would mean that the two best judges on the bench would go, with disastrous results for the highest court in the state. This request was flattering to his pride, but it did not change his intentions. The demands of the circuit were strenuous. It was hard service, forcing him to ride from one end of the state to the other, keeping him away from his home, leaving his wife to the tasks of superintending the plantation, and condemning her to a life of isolation. As a judge he was not remarkable for his knowledge of the law. His excellence consisted in his fearless honesty,

his good common-sense, and his high ideals of public duty. These qualities more than made up for the lack of legal learning in the minds of the people of the day.

From this time we must find in his activities as a merchant and planter the standards for determining how well he succeeded. As a manager of the plantation he was always successful. He directed the slaves with care, saw that the crops were planted, cultivated, and harvested, and paid faithful attention to the finances of the estate. He did not make as brilliant a success in farming as some of his neighbors. He lived in too high a manner for that. His scale of expenditure was grand; but it was not wasteful. He lived up to his income but not beyond it. His plantation supported his living. A more thrifty man would have made more money, but he would not have supported so high a place among his acquaintances.

As a merchant Jackson was only tolerably successful. He was a good trader in large affairs. He bought and sold lands with success; but he had not the haggling faculty which made the successful dealer behind the counter. In fact, this was a thing he left to his partners, who were usually connected with him by marriage, but they were not notably strong in these things. His ventures as storekeeper did not make him rich, neither did they result in failure. They were kept going for several years and finally they ended with gradual and safe withdrawal from the business. He gave up the merchandise without loss and without notable gain. In 1812, when he entered upon the military career that brought him into national prominence, he was only a planter, a man of moderate fortune, much esteemed as a person of character and a leader by means of his strong personality.

Through all this period Jackson had a high position as a sportsman. Behind this fact lay the fondness of the contemporary Southerner for what were considered the gentleman's sports of the day. Of all these sports horse-racing was highest. The Southerner's love of the race-horse was an English inheritance. For its origin we must go back to the English county families of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Descriptions of English sports read like a chronicle of Virginia life in the decades just before and just after the Revolution. The best race-horses were imported from England to Virginia, with now and then a fine Arabian stallion for giving a certain tone to the stock. From Virginia the strain was carried to the Carolinas, or to the new settlements of Kentucky and Tennessee. The leading families of a Virginia county were a distinct class, just as were the leading families of an English county. They intermarried, had their own social life, and their own churches, and maintained their own codes of conduct. The Virginians consciously took their ideals from the mother country. They may have been poor men in the beginning, but as they acquired property they built

up country estates and formed themselves in the English way. The same was true in South and North Carolina, where Jackson spent his early life. It was also true in the transmontane region, whither the settlers came from the seacoast. It is not necessary to suppose that the foundations of this system in Tennessee were laid by men sprung from the leading families of the seacoast, though some of them were unquestionably of that stock. But men of that region whose ancestors had been of the poorer class in the old home, on becoming men of property in the new country, set out to reproduce what their ancestors had seen and admired in the East. Having established the same system there they became as veritable aristocrats as the men of the East, or as the men of Old England.

How did Jackson become a part of this system? The answer is that he took to it by virtue of his sense of superiority. He had the top man's feeling for the high places in society. Through his long life he took the high seat as though it were his of right. More than this, there was never a disposition on the part of his associates to deny his pretension. He was accepted as leader wherever he happened to be. Herein was the quality, given him by nature, which made him the man of distinction.

It is hard to find anything in Jackson's inheritance which accounts for this pretension to superiority and for its easy recognition by others. So far as we know his people in the North of Ireland were small-class farmers, tenants on the lands of others. In the frontier conditions of the Carolina border they were still of that class. The first instance in which we see him pretending to rise into the class above him is a tradition picked up by Parton about his early appearance among the élite of Charleston. When a mere youth, it is said, he was seen here among the highest men of that city, betting all of his slender fortune, swaggering with the highest bloods of the track, and carrying himself with the air of a man of fortune. How long he remained in that environment does not appear. Soon afterwards he was reading law at Salisbury, in North Carolina. Here, too, he frequented the race-track. An old lady remarked of him, when he leaped into fame as the victor over Pakenham, that he had no recognized social position in Salisbury, that the gentlemen of that town knew him as a man who knew horses, and had a race-track acquaintance with him, but would never have thought of inviting him into their homes as a friend.

In the newly forming society of Nashville he took high position from the first. Where so many of the settlers were "new" he was received readily. Besides, he came to Nashville as a professional man. Dealing in land he amassed a competence and was speedily one of the rich men of the community. He impressed himself on the inhabitants, was appointed to office, and rose from one position to another. What he won

he maintained. Accepted for a top-class man, he kept the position by virtue of his natural endowment.

Two kinds of sport were popular among the men with whom Jackson associated in the Nashville settlement, horse-racing and cock-fighting. Both were followed by this leader in sports. But cock-fighting was not esteemed so highly as racing, by the gentlemen of the day. In England it was a sport for the middle class, like the yeoman's sport of single-stick. It is true that the cockpits were sometimes frequented by young blades of good blood; but they did not do it freely, and the best society held it as a vulgar amusement. It was common among the seacoast colonists of the middle class. In his early life, when he had not entirely cast off the habits of the back-country people, Jackson participated freely in this form of amusement. He even gave himself to it with fervor, as was his nature in all he did. But as his position became established as a member of the highest class he dropped cock-fighting. In the letters I have found there is no reference to this sport except a recipe for feeding a cock when you fight him. It is one of the earliest scraps of paper relating to his career. The fact that he preserved it among his most valued papers shows that he considered it important. When he ceased to follow the sport does not appear.

There is also a well-defined tradition that he was noted for strong oaths, but no direct evidence has been found to support it. It is fair to assume, however, that he was like the men of his day and country. His strong nature was so well established that it is also fair to assume that whatever he did he did with great energy. His proficiency in great oaths in his early life may be accepted as a fact. But as he rose above early habits tall swearing seems to have been laid aside, along with rough sports and other habits that marred the life of the class from which he sprang.

Another tradition has it that he was an irreligious man. That he was not a church-member until he was old is true. Many efforts were doubtless made to bring him into the church, and if made they were resisted. It seems probable, also, that he was a leader among those who stood out against these efforts of the preachers. Such a course was enough to give him the reputation, among the normal people of Nashville, of an irreligious man. But there is no reason to think that he was what the people of the time called a skeptic. He may have resisted the call to conversion; there is no reason to think that he flouted it. Mrs. Jackson, to whom he was tenderly attached, was a fervent member of the Presbyterian Church. He was too considerate of her feelings to decry her religion. On the other hand, there are many references in his letters showing that he had a strong faith in the agency of God in directing the affairs of men. In one he plainly attributes his victory

at New Orleans to the interference of God on the American side. Another evidence of the same kind is his liberal contribution toward the erection of a Presbyterian church near the Hermitage. It has been said that he built it himself, but evidence exists, and is reproduced in these letters, showing that he did not build it entirely. It was placed near his residence, probably because that was the centre of the neighborhood in which he lived, a neighborhood largely peopled by relatives of his wife and altogether occupied by his own personal friends, people who held him in high esteem.

Jackson's intellectuality has been frequently discussed. His enemies have said much to show that he was illiterate. The letters here reproduced are evidence in point. In general they are as creditable as the letters of his friends. They often contain misspelled words, but the same can be said of the letters written to him. Their uncertain punctuation, their irregular use of capital letters, and their occasional lapses in grammar are also found in the letters written to him by his friends in Tennessee. They are much more correct than the letters of General James Robertson, who, with Colonel John Donelson, Mrs. Jackson's father, was one of the two men who founded the Nashville settlement.

Jackson's schooling when a boy was very limited. When he had it Webster had not written his dictionary, that strong influence in standardizing the spelling of the people of this country. It is true that at the time a man had access to a vast mass of good literature, wherein was plenty of well-written and correctly spelled English. Study of such literature should have taught him how to spell and how to compose good English sentences. It was from such sources that Benjamin Franklin learned to write as good English as has been written on this side of the Atlantic—without the use of Webster's celebrated book. But Jackson was not a reader of books. He used words to express his feelings and thought less than many men of his day about the forms in which his meaning was expressed. His error was in his indifference to forms; but many of his associates were equally indifferent.

Persons interested in Jackson's spelling, punctuation, and grammar may compare them with the same qualities in the various letters from his early associates which are printed in this volume, especially with those of General James Robertson.¹ The following extract from a letter of Robertson, not to Jackson but to "The Knoxville Printers", may serve as an additional standard of comparison. It was published in 1899 in the (Nashville) *American Historical Magazine* (IV. 365).

I have seen in your paper of November 7 and July 24th a publication certified by Mr. Chandler to Contain in substance a conversation between Dr. Elisha Hall and myself. I agree it does in a grate measure correspond with the conversation between Doctor Hall and myself in his presants, but I am

¹ Pp. 69, 164n., 319, *post*.

approhensive and fully beleave had Mr. Chandler wrote a piece himself, it would by no means had been in the language it now appears. Though the Doctor apeared perfectly Frendly in the hole conversation, yet his feelings seemed much hurst.

In the letters of Jackson reproduced in these volumes the editor has regularly followed Jackson's exact spelling, punctuation, and capitalization. In rare cases he has made changes of punctuation where they seemed necessary to convey the meaning intended. In one respect the punctuation has been altered arbitrarily. Jackson had the habit, common in his time, of using dashes to indicate almost any kind of a break in the meaning. Without discrimination he made them do duty as commas, periods, semicolons, colons, and interrogation-points. This usage is confusing to the modern reader, spoils the appearance of the printed page, and expresses the time rather than the personality of the writer. The editor has changed these dashes into the signs in general use to-day. He has also changed the sign "&" into "and", in accordance with a practice common in the works published in the same series. In a few cases he has broken up some of the very long paragraphs of the original letters. The date lines have been modernized for the sake of uniformity.

Aside from the minor faults which have been alluded to, and an occasional passionate incoherence in some of the earliest letters, Jackson expressed his ideas in a simple, direct, and energetic style. At times, notably in his proclamations to his soldiers, he was particularly forceful. His strong spirit found strong utterance of itself. In this respect he may well be compared with any of the men with whom he was associated. Among them were Edward Livingston, esteemed as one of the learned public men of his day. Livingston's letters are more diffuse and less impressive than Jackson's. They indicate a man whose mind was not so well made up. He excels Jackson in ornate thought; Jackson excels him in the faculty of making himself understood. Another who used the pen with effect was Martin Van Buren. But the New Yorker's style was easy and often insinuating. He rarely wrote a continuous narrative, but jumped from one idea to another without revealing what he really thought. Jackson never leaves us in doubt as to his meaning. When he begins a thing he finishes it. Of such a man we must believe that he had a superior mind, and we must honor his direct and sincere character which shone in all he said.

Another quality of Jackson's was his strong feelings. He had an intense temperament. It displayed itself in his strong self-expression. It was a gift from nature; but it was nourished by the isolation and provincialism of his early environment. Local gossip, tale-bearing, and a tendency to suspect the motives of others, coupled with the absence of self-restraint, contributed to its development. The result was such a

tendency to become involved in quarrels as was unusual even for the backwoods community in which he spent his early life. Behind it all was a strong personal courage which made him ready to carry through a quarrel with more persistence than most of his associates.

He was bred among people who esteemed the duel as a means of expressing their sense of honor. He did not shrink from such an encounter; he was even ready to follow it to the ultimate issue, his own death or that of his antagonist. His challenge to Judge Avery, his persistent effort to force John Sevier to fight him, his meeting with Charles Dickinson, and his encounter with the two Bentons were the most famous manifestations of this unhappy proclivity. In these affairs he was mostly the inciter. Taken together they stamp him as hard to get along with. He was not an adjuster of differences. He was not apt in finding the means of avoiding the wrath of another person. But this phase of his career belonged to his early life. Rising to a position of national importance he found something else to engage his mind. It is true that he never ceased to look at things from his personal standpoint. A difference in politics was apt to become a personal quarrel; but he had the politician's instinct of caution and he knew well the political effects of becoming embroiled with a political rival.

It is not recorded that he was originally at the bottom of any of the affairs that blot his career. They grew out of tales told by others, fanned by a too-willing group of hangers-on who wished to see his antagonists forced to retract their words. He was quick to take offense and anxious to avoid the imputation of cowardice. All this does not excuse him; but it explains his state of mind.

His most famous encounter was the duel with Dickinson. The men stood at an interval of ten yards, and Dickinson was said to be the best rifle shot in the Mississippi Valley. It was agreed that at the word each was to fire as quickly as he chose. Jackson allowed his opponent, who was known to be a quick shot, to have the first shot. If Dickinson failed, Jackson would have as much time as he wished to deliver his fire. So it turned out. The word "Fire!" was followed by the report of Dickinson's pistol and Jackson's was still undischarged. Then he raised his long arm and in the most deliberate manner took aim. He pulled the trigger and the hammer stopped at half-cock. By the laws of the duel this was considered a fault of the mechanism of the weapon and he was entitled to another attempt. The seconds took counsel and so decided. All the time Dickinson stood at the peg waiting to be shot at. The decision given, Jackson again raised his arm, took deliberate aim, fired, and killed his opponent.

The coolness of the affair was characteristic of Jackson. Nothing could have been more like murder under the rules of this barbarous practice. Not even the Tennesseans, inured to the harsh features of the code,

could stand this kind of thing, and a strong feeling of revulsion took possession of the people of Nashville. It was stirred up by Dickinson's friends, who spread stories about the unfairness of the decision of the seconds. Jackson's reputation was seriously damaged by the affair. He himself realized the situation into which he was plunged by what he termed the efforts of his enemies, and he had serious thoughts of leaving Tennessee and settling in Mississippi, then still a territory (1810), provided he could get an appointment as judge there. The conviction that his future was clouded weighed on his spirits. These "habits of gloomy and peevish reflections that the wanton and flagitious conduct and unremitted reflections of base calumny heaped upon me" distressed him and weakened his confidence in his future. The appointment he desired was not offered him, and he remained a Tennessean. He was perhaps not far wrong in his forebodings. His hasty temper had placed serious obstacles in the way of a further advance in political preferment.

From this serious situation he was rescued by the outbreak of war with England in 1812. He himself had come to realize that his real vocation was the military life. He had watched the gathering of the storm with great interest. Now and again it seemed about to break, but always the pacific tone of the government at Washington interfered and the skies cleared. He was in despair. "I am well aware", he said in 1810, "that no act of insult, degradation or contumely offered to our government will arouse them from their present lethargy and temporising conduct, untill my name sake sets fire to some of our seaport Towns and puts his foot aboard a British man of war. . . . from all of which I conclude that as a military man I shall have no amusement or business, and indolence and inaction would shortly destroy me." This utterance was made on February 10, 1810, and the namesake alluded to was that Francis James Jackson, British envoy, whose irritating conduct in Washington in the preceding autumn had resulted in his summary dismissal by the cautious and slowly aroused Madison, President of the United States.

Jackson's conviction that he was "a military man" rested upon his experience as commander of the militia of the western district of Tennessee, dating from the early years of the century. In 1792 he was appointed judge advocate of the Nashville regiment. Soon afterwards, probably in the same year, he became a major. In a letter written in 1797 he was spoken of as "Colonel Jackson". In 1802 he became major-general of the state's militia. The election was as wormwood to John Sevier, with whom he had already had a fierce quarrel. Sevier's influence was so great that almost immediately the honor was divided. The militia was arranged in two divisions, one in the east and one in the west, and Jackson was given command over the latter. He held it with

distinction until he had proved his ability in a wider field than the state and had passed into high position in the service of the federal government.

His ten years of command in the state was a testing time. During this period he maintained the highest confidence of the men under him. He appeared at musters, won the loyalty of the officers in the division, imparted enthusiasm throughout the command, and was never lacking when it seemed that the time for active service was at hand. Three times in this period the general government called on the militia to be ready for an emergency. In each case he met the requirements amply. As each seeming crisis passed without actual fighting he accepted the result, but his spirits chafed. No commander ever longed more ardently for the opportunity to express his military spirit.

At length prospects brightened. Congress fell into the hands of the warm young politicians whom John Randolph, voicing the peace policy of the conservatives, called the "war hawks"; and on June 18, 1812, war was declared against England. At the time Spain was fast held in the hands of England, whose troops under Wellington were liberating her from the power of Napoleon, and it was believed in the United States that Spain also would be our enemy. To the men of Tennessee the long-desired opportunity to seize Florida seemed to be at hand. By Jackson and his troops that part of the war was considered their especial task. They hailed with joy the messenger who brought them the tidings of the day.

Spanish Florida had good reason to fear the vengeance of our southwestern states. Since the end of the Revolution she had lost no opportunity to oppose the advance of our influence toward her borders. She had monopolized, as far as she could, the trade of the Creek Indians; she had sold them arms and ammunition in excess of the legitimate demands of the hunt; and her inhabitants, perhaps her officials, had gone as far as they dared in creating in the minds of these savages a distrust of our intentions. She hoped that the Indian country would be a permanent barrier between her and the aggressive men of the north. Among the men of our frontier the conviction prevailed that no permanent peace could be expected with the Creeks until Florida was in the possession of the United States; and for such a step the hour of destiny was believed to have struck.

Madison held the same opinion, and in order to be ready to move as soon as possible, made plans to throw a column against defenseless Florida, even before it was known that Spain was in the war. Wilkinson, commanding a small force in New Orleans, was to make the attack, and his army was to be strengthened with a force from Tennessee. Orders were sent to the governor of that state to despatch 1500 men to the lower Mississippi to be held in readiness there for future action. Their specific

destination was not mentioned, but the Tennesseans were satisfied that they knew what it was.

When these things were known in Nashville a flame of enthusiasm seized the country. Governor Blount passed the information to Jackson, who sent out on November 12 a ringing call for 1500 volunteers. On December 10 there assembled in Nashville 2070 men, none of them willing to be left behind. The governor dared not take the responsibility of holding any man back and accepted the entire force. In the war that followed, the federal government often had trouble in recruiting the regiments for service, but Jackson sent out no call in Tennessee, for men to serve under him in the war, that did not meet with a ready and ample response.

Then appeared another difficulty. Jackson's conduct in the affair showed that he expected to command the force. But it was well known that he held and had expressed a mean opinion of General Wilkinson. Could he be expected to serve under a man for whom he had such contempt? This apprehension found expression in a delicate hint that it was only a small force that was called out, not large enough to have over it so high an officer as a major-general. The hint was probably understood by Jackson, but it did not impress him. He had waited too long for his opportunity to step aside now. When it became known abroad that he might not be the leader, a demand for Jackson arose on all sides, so that Governor Blount, above all things a prudent politician, yielded, and Jackson led the expedition. The start was made on January 7, the cavalry marching overland and the infantry going down the river in flat-bottomed boats. Orders were issued for concentration at Natchez, where further directions from Washington were expected. To assemble such a force in winter from the farms of a thinly settled state and to despatch it to its destination in fifty-six days after the call went forth was good work, and it was done by a general who had never before commanded an army on the march.

The expedition was destined to failure. In the Senate it was opposed by the Federalists, who did not want the war, and by the old Republicans who had been carried unwillingly into a policy of aggression. Spain showed no disposition to come into the war in support of Great Britain, and the majority were not willing to force the issue by the seizure of Florida, a step the President was willing to take if he found support for that policy. The result was that Madison decided to make no attack on Florida, and he caused Armstrong, secretary of war, to send an order countermanding the directions given for the expedition. It reached Jackson at Natchez, and caused consternation in his camp.

The form of the order was brief. It merely directed that the expedition should be disbanded and the men dismissed. To turn them adrift at Natchez seemed to be the intent of the order. Armstrong afterwards

explained that he did not count on Jackson's prompt obedience and thought the dismissal would reach him in Nashville. Jackson took the responsibility of holding the men together until he could march them back to Tennessee, a course to which no objection was made in Washington when it was known what he had done. Jackson sent his men home, taking their promises that they would come again at his call and serve out the year for which they had volunteered.

It has been said that Jackson believed that Armstrong and Wilkinson expected that the men of the expedition, set adrift at Natchez, would be enlisted in the regular army, and that the whole affair was a trick to fill up the ranks of the regular regiments. The correspondence between him and these two men, reproduced in this volume, does not support the notion. It was couched in polite terms and seems to show that the secretary and Wilkinson were each anxious to give Jackson no ground for offense.

The terms under which the Tennessee volunteers were dismissed were not explicit. The men had agreed to serve a year. Did that mean that, if called back into service, they would serve for as many months as, when added to the time spent on this expedition, would make a full year of actual attendance in camp? Jackson took this view of the matter, and when they were again called in the autumn he held that as they had served only a little more than three months they were under obligation to serve the remainder of a twelvemonth term. The volunteers claimed that having been duly dismissed they were free of their agreement, but that when called for more service in the fall of 1813 they came of their own free will and were entitled to honorable discharge on December 10, which was twelve months after the date when they assembled in Nashville in 1812. This difference of opinion gave Jackson much trouble in the winter of 1813-1814.

In the summer of 1813 the Creek Indians, a powerful nation, began to show signs of war. August 31 they surrounded and took the fortified stockade known as Fort Mims, and slew most of its occupants. A fierce cry for revenge rose from one end of Tennessee to the other. Without waiting for orders from Washington the governor called out the volunteers of 1812 and 3500 detached militia to serve, under the state law, for a three months' term. The total was more than 5000. The old rivalry between East and West Tennessee appeared, and half of the force marched under Jackson and half under General John Cocke of East Tennessee. Each was to be independent of the other when serving in different regions; but if they united Jackson, as senior in service, was to have the chief command. Naturally, Cocke was loath to unite the forces.

The prospect of service pleased Jackson. It also pleased him that the start was made under state authority. "If the general government",

he said in a ringing proclamation calling the troops to assemble on October 4, "will only hands off, we will give peace in Israel." He had not forgotten Armstrong's note of recall in the previous spring. He did not have his way. When the troops gathered they were taken into the federal service under a statute providing that in such cases the term of service should be six months. This law was read to the militia but they were too excited to take note of the discrepancy in terms. They had been called under state law for three months; they passed into the federal service under a law stipulating a term of six months.

Jackson lost not a day. Striking boldly into the wilderness of North Alabama he defeated the hostile Indians there in two sharp engagements and then marched to the Coosa River, where he built a stockade and called it Fort Strother. His plan was to collect supplies and make a dash against the Creek main body, eighty miles southward around the junction of the Coosa and Tallapoosa rivers. But the contractors failed him. The task he had given them was very difficult, and they were not skilled in carrying it through. Exposed in the enemy's country, with less than half the regular rations for subsistence, the army wasted the precious weeks which should have been devoted to the hard blow that would have brought victory. Then approached December 10, the anniversary of the day in 1812 when the volunteers were mustered in. Discouraged by lack of supplies, shivering with the cold for which they were not prepared, and convinced that the campaign could not be finished until spring, they clamored to be led back to the settlements. Jackson would not yield. Fort Strother was his outpost, and he declared he would not abandon it. He could not make his army agree with him and the result was a strong feeling of protest.

When December 9 arrived the volunteers demanded permission to go home. Not only the privates but the officers as well joined in the demand. Many hot speeches were made in the camp. Finally, the volunteers announced that they would march for home during the night of December 9-10. Jackson had them paraded with the militia in a position to open fire on them. In a solemn warning speech he assured them he would open fire if they attempted to leave. To the credit of the volunteers they submitted and returned to their quarters. For the time being Jackson was triumphant; but the spirit of disaffection was so strong that he was forced to see that the men were of no use and reluctantly agreed that they might go home, taking their promises to do what they could to send him other soldiers with which he could finish the task he had undertaken. He said he would stay at Fort Strother if he had to live on acorns. Remain there he did, though at one time he had only a handful of troops to sustain him.

At this time Cocke's East Tennesseans were nearby, and one regiment actually joined him. But these caught the spirit of discouragement

and asked to be allowed to march away. He could not detain them, and again was reduced to the verge of isolation. January 4 the militia left him, maintaining that they had been mustered in for a three months' tour, a contention supported by Governor Blount, to Jackson's great disgust. For a brief period his force did not exceed one hundred men. But his spirit did not yield. He remained at the fort, writing many letters to loyal friends in Tennessee, urging that reinforcements be sent him.

Early in the year fresh troops began to arrive in his camp. He gave them no rest, and as soon as he had a force of sufficient strength he led it against a body of the enemy at Emuckfau Creek, defeating them and returning in safety to his camp. This victory had a good effect at home, and more recruits came up. By March 14 he had 5000 men at Fort Strother and ample supplies for a forward movement.

He lost no time in the business in hand. Moving out from Fort Strother with all his men, except a mere handful left to guard the place, he fell upon the Creeks at their encampment at Tohopeka, on the Tallapoosa, surrounded them, and defeated them in a bloody engagement. He killed 800 of the red men and captured 300 others. A few escaped by swimming the river under fire. This battle broke the power of the Indians, and Jackson spent the subsequent days marching through their country, destroying towns and creating terror wherever he went. Some of the Creeks came in and surrendered; but the majority of those who were still at large fled across the border into Florida, where they found refuge with the Seminoles, a branch of the Creek Nation. Thus was Jackson's courage and persistence justified in the complete conquest of his opponents.

The news of this victory created great enthusiasm in the Southwest. It was the outstanding military success of the first half of the year. Several efforts had been planned for this war. Jackson's, carried through with little help from the general government, was the only one that was executed in a workmanlike manner. The War Department recognized its importance by making him a brigadier-general in the regular army, with the promise of a major-generalship as soon as there was a vacancy in that rank. Such an opening came almost at once. Major-General William Henry Harrison resigned in a fit of anger at the criticism made of his recent conduct, and on May 28 the vacant position was assigned to the victor of Tohopeka. With it went the command of the Seventh Military District, including New Orleans, Mobile, and the interior country dependent thereupon.

While the Southwestern people rejoiced at the prospect of peace with the Indians, they learned that the government was about to make a settlement which, they thought, would not make the future secure. The orders from Washington directed General Thomas Pinckney and Colonel Benjamin Hawkins to make a treaty including indemnity in lands, the destruction of Spanish influence over the Creeks, freedom of travel in

Creek territory, and the surrender of the chieftains who instigated the war. These terms did not satisfy the Tennesseans, and their representatives in Congress protested so vigorously that three days after the orders were issued Pinckney was directed to demand unconditional surrender, subject to a general treaty to be made later. For the conclusion of that treaty Jackson himself was subsequently designated. Tennessee had beaten the Creeks; she was to dictate the peace.

A great council was called to meet on August 1, 1814, at Fort Jackson, newly erected at the junction of the Coosa and Tallapoosa rivers. To it came mostly friendly chieftains, some of whom had fought faithfully for the whites and others who had submitted as Jackson marched southward after Tohopeka. The majority of the hostiles were still in Florida, and most of those in attendance had reason to believe they were to be rewarded for their loyalty. Jackson's terms astonished them, and produced despair. He demanded for the whites a broad area running from Tennessee to the Florida border and lying west of the Coosa, and another area equally broad lying between Florida and the lands that would remain to the Indians. The L-shaped area thus demanded contained more than half the ancient Creek heritage. Jackson said it was necessary to have it in order that the Creeks might be separated from the Spaniards on the south and the Choctaw and Chickasaw on the west. Its cession meant the removal of many friendly tribes into the lands left to the nation. They protested and asked for delay. His reply was that they must sign or the war would be continued. With great sadness and some defiance they accepted. They warned him that the United States would have much trouble in taking possession of the ceded lands; and the prophecy came true, as the events leading to the Seminole war, in 1817, showed. But the Tennesseans were satisfied with Jackson's terms, and they admired the strong spirit in which he forced them upon the Indians. When that treaty was signed on August 9 the Creek war, Jackson's first campaign, was at an end.

The best written record of Jackson's life through the period treated in this volume is in what is usually known as Eaton's *Life of Andrew Jackson*, first published in 1817. The book was begun by Major John Reid, Jackson's faithful aide-de-camp in the Creek war and the New Orleans campaign. It was interrupted at the end of chapter IV. by Reid's death early in 1816. After some delay spent in finding a competent continuator the task was placed by Jackson in the hands of Major John H. Eaton, who carried it to completion.

The work was done under Jackson's own eye, some of it in his own house. He took great interest in its progress and probably read the chapters as they were written. For this reason we may consider it, so far as its statements of fact go, an authentic story of his early career. Reid was a man of unusual ability and good integrity. The narrative,

so far as he carried it, is clear, vivid, and broad in spirit. Eaton, while less able as a writer than Reid, had a good mind and seems to have tried to tell a true story. There is little to be said against him as a biographer other than his general tendency to defend all that Jackson did.

Before the Creek war Jackson seems to have had no intention of preserving his correspondence for the use of the future historian. Probably he had not yet been told that his career was worth writing about. It is true that a journal of the Natchez expedition was kept by one of his aides, probably by Robert Searcy—certainly not by Reid, who, although appointed an aide, was not able to go on the expedition on account of illness. Also, we have for this affair a number of official letters, but they seem to have been taken later from the files of his office. As for the earlier period of his life, such papers as have come down to us are those that survived from his business correspondence, occasional letters winnowed out of the papers of friends, as General John Coffee and Judge John Overton, and other miscellaneous papers. They are none too full for this stage of his career, and all that throw light on his deeds, his character, and his business methods have been reproduced in this volume.

From the beginning of the Creek War to the end of his life Jackson was careful to keep his papers, always with the design of turning them over to a biographer who should write his life. There is reason to believe that a great mass was assembled. The letters were carefully indorsed by him with the names of the persons from whom they came, the date received, and frequently an indication of the kind of answer he sent. They were tied up in bundles and put aside for future use. The following letter from Colonel Robert Butler, Jackson's adjutant-general, dated at Nashville, April 25, 1819, will show in what condition the papers were at that time:

D[ear] General: I find from examination that there is no file of Papers from the Secretary of War in 1814 among your files in this office nor can I find any of your papers here relating to the seminole War. Your letter Book which has the correspondence between you and General Scott is also not here; I therefore enclose you the letter of Mr. Shields.

I would beg leave to recommend that your papers should be all collected together and properly arranged and to offer my services to aid in the execution of it: you will then be enabled to find at all times any papers you might desire. Those of the Creek War should be seperated from the official papers which has accrued since you joined service, and those also seperate which have grown out of your different Indian Treaties together with private correspondence—this will be no difficult task and I trust you will readily see the propriety of it—at present your papers are deranged, some here, others at Nashville and many at your house. . . .

After Jackson became a figure on the political stage several persons took steps to write his life. He gave encouragement to all of them, and placed his papers at their disposal when they were actually ready to begin work. The first was James Gadsden, of South Carolina; but he seems

to have carried his design no further than to have obtained Jackson's consent. So far as I can learn he never examined the papers. The next was Major Henry Lee, who had a slashing pen and for a time was in high favor with the Jackson party leaders. He made a prolonged visit to the Hermitage, saw the papers, and actually began to write. Then he fell into disfavor, probably through charges implying grave moral delinquencies. He went to Europe, taking with him the brief early part of his proposed book, which in later years Jackson after several attempts managed to recover. He then sent it to Amos Kendall, April 19, 1839, and it seems that it was not returned. In 1828 Eaton got out a second edition of his book, bringing the story of Jackson's life down to date. That edition satisfied the desire for a life of the hero at the time when he was before the country as a successful candidate for the presidency, and for some years we hear nothing more about a biography. But as the end of his career drew near it was realized that a full and authorized biography was in order.

For this purpose we find that the names of Roger B. Taney, George Bancroft, and Amos Kendall were mentioned. Taney was, however, too much absorbed in his duties as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court to write a book, and did not start on the contemplated enterprise. Bancroft also failed to carry his plans as far as actually writing. He never examined the papers. Of the three, Kendall alone began the task. He saw the papers, and in 1842 sent to the Hermitage his nephew, A. McLaughlen, who had the free examination of the collection, selected such papers as he thought suitable to Kendall's purpose, and sent them to Washington, the understanding being that they should be returned to the owner when the life was written. Kendall proposed to bring out the book in fifteen parts, on too small a basis for a complete biography of a man who had played so large a part in history. Seven parts were actually published and put on sale. The financial returns were not what had been expected, and the work ceased to appear. About this time Kendall became associated with S. F. B. Morse in marketing the stock of the company for establishing the telegraph business, and it is probable that he was unwilling to give to writing the time which he could use more profitably in business. It is said that Jackson did not like Kendall's treatment of his subject, but there is no reason to suppose that he made any attempt to stop the further issue of the parts.

No further aspirant for the honor of writing Jackson's life appeared before his death in 1845. But some of his friends formed plans for the erection in Washington of a national memorial to him, and he agreed to place his collection of papers in it. He sent them to his friend, Francis Preston Blair, of Washington, to be kept by him until the proposed memorial was built, when they were to be placed in the designated receptacle. At this time Kendall, then living in comfort at Kendall Green, in

the suburbs of the national capital, had not returned the important part of the papers that had been placed in his hands. Kendall was directed to hand them over to Blair, to be united with those already in Blair's hands. These directions were not strictly observed by Kendall. He did, indeed, hand over some of the papers, but not all.

On October 25, 1859, Blair wrote an interesting letter to Major William B. Lewis on this subject.² James Parton had then published the first volume of his *Life of Jackson*, was working on the later volumes, and had applied to both Blair and Lewis for materials. Blair had long since quarrelled with Kendall over political matters, and the two men were not on friendly terms. In his letter to Lewis, Blair said :

As I am excluded from the run of the offices now, I can do nothing, but possibly my son Montgomerie who is on good terms with Floyd, may be able to see what is in the Department and I will give Parton the benefit of his search. I have no doubt that Genl. Jackson, as was his habit, has preserved among his papers, proofs to sustain him; But Kendal who had all these in his hands, retains every thing important with a view to his intended posthumous history of which he will be the Hero, and as he would not surrender them to me as required by Genl. Jackson's written order, he will not now at my request. He turned over to me nothing but the rubbish, which I employed Robt. Johnson, (a very intelligent honest man), to examine carefully and he told me there was nothing of the least value to be found in it. Kendall has doubtless all the Dickerson, Sevier and Benton controversies which were once delivered to you and he will keep them for his own use. If I survive him I may probably obtain them by purchase or otherwise from his family. And if I do, I will do as I at first designed, make Bancroft the biographer and publisher of all that can illustrate the career of our beloved friend. I will if I live do [all] I can to assist Bancroft and if I die, leaving him a survivor to my trust, I will make it the duty of my sons, by law, or by persuasion or purchase, to procure the documents in Kendall's possession and get Bancroft to keep his promise to make the life of Jackson a companion piece to his History of the U. S. What I write to you now, I will also write to him at once, having to answer a letter of his just received upon this subject.

Parton will make an interesting work of what he has in hand. I talked with him at large about it and gave him what lights I could to enable him to see the true features of the character it is his object to display. I told him, if he would submit his manuscript to me, that I would make any suggestions to him which the reading of it prompted in my mind. He seemed to prefer that I should write a chapter of reminiscences for his work which should be given in my name. He has urged me in several letters to undertake this task and fixed a date for the delivery of my MSS. I am, however, so dilatory in commencing a labor to which I make my best resolves to devote myself and I have hesitated so long to commit myself to Mr. Parton's design, that he must construe my silence into a declination. And now, indeed, I feel my first purpose full upon me, which is to do the best I can to have the General's renown to shine in Bancroft's pages and as closely associated as possible with his great History of our Country and

² Ford MSS., N. Y. Public Library.

I beg that you will remain true to your first plan of putting what you are able to provide for this purpose at my disposal and my sons when you place them out of your own possession. I wish as a contribution to this object you would write out notes of your own reminiscences, and if you give nothing else I would be glad you would put on paper the graphic narrative you once gave me orally of the affair between the Genl. and Shelby.

It astonishes me that Parton talks of the Genl. as born in North Carolina! Did not Genl. Jackson know where he was born? Does he not appeal in his proclamation to the people of S. Carolina as citizens of his *native* state? I have a Hickory stick presented by Genl. Blair, M. C. to Andrew Jackson, Prest. by the people of the Waxsaw Settlement S. Carolina; and cut at the spot where he was born and which the old chief presented to me and was inscribed as having grown on the soil on which he was born.

Parton's book, completed in 1860, did not please Blair. Referring to it in another letter to Lewis, dated May 26, 1864, he said: ³

Montgomery ⁴ handed me a letter from you about Cave Johnson which reviving old associations prompts me to drop you a line in regard to them. Cave, you remember, our noble old friend always said was a hollow fellow, but we must confess he was consistent in his dishonest, anti-patriotic tendencies. He was true to the treason of such wretches as Calhoun and his minions [?] and that vile Traitor Buchannon whose falsehood to Genl. Jackson and his country has its final manifestation in our bloody rebellion. I have great anxiety that this fatal conspiracy should [be] traced from its conception in Genl. Jackson's time down to its consummation and utter extirpation in Lincoln's day presidency, which I hope you and I may live to witness. Now I wish you would read Parton's life of Jackson over attentively and make notes of particular passages, correcting any mistakes in facts or opinions that may strike and writing out a comment giving any view that you may think useful in enabling me to do justice to Genl. Jackson and the great struggle which commenced between him and Calhoun involving the Govt. in the tragedy we now behold. I mean to do this thing myself and leave Parton and my annotations to the care of my two sons Montgomery and Frank, who when they get hold of the Jackson papers retained by Kendall and the false Memoir he will attach to them, may be enabled to give a true picture of the illustrious man of our country.

The purpose which Blair attributed to Kendall was not carried out; nor were the Jackson papers in Kendall's hands ever handed over to any of the Blairs. They remained at Kendall Green and after the death of Kendall, in 1869, went to his daughter, Mrs. Stickney, who stored them, with her books and furniture, in Knox's warehouse, in Washington, which was later burned, most of Mrs. Stickney's effects being destroyed in the fire.

A considerable number of Jackson's letters to Kendall, however, survived and came in some unexplained way into the hands of W. G. Terrell, a Washington newspaper man. He disposed of them to the Cincinnati *Commercial* and that newspaper printed them in its issues

³ Ford MSS., N. Y. Public Library.

⁴ F. P. Blair's son, Montgomery Blair.

for February 4, 5, and 10, 1879. As they were all from Jackson to Kendall, they could hardly have been of the number that went from Jackson to Kendall in 1842. But they may have been rescued from the collection stored in the Knox warehouse. Terrell, however, did not send all his Jackson papers to the Cincinnati paper, for in 1909 he sold some Jackson letters to John Wesley Gaines, member of Congress from Tennessee, who presented them to Mrs. Rachael Jackson Lawrence, Jackson's granddaughter. The most important of these letters were published in the *Nashville Tennessean*, April 18 and 25, 1909.

The papers placed in Blair's hands remained there until his death in 1876, when they went to his son, Montgomery Blair, formerly a member of Lincoln's Cabinet, who lived at Silver Springs, Maryland. Neither the elder nor the younger Blair used them to write a life of Jackson. After the death of Montgomery Blair the papers he had received from his father passed to his heirs, Mrs. Minna Blair Richey, and Messrs. Montgomery, jr., Gist, and Woodbury Blair. In 1903 these heirs presented them to the Library of Congress, where they remain, known officially as the "Montgomery Blair Collection", but popularly called the "Jackson MSS.", under which title they are cited in this work. They form the backbone of all the extant manuscript material relating to the life of Andrew Jackson.

When the Jackson papers were sent from the Hermitage to Francis P. Blair, Jackson's adopted son retained a number of letters of a personal nature, many of them letters to him from his father. These letters remained at the Hermitage, and the most valuable of the collection were purchased by the Library of Congress from the Jackson heirs in 1911. A small remnant still remains in the hands of his descendant, Andrew Jackson IV., who resides in Los Angeles, California.

While the Jackson MSS. constitute a large collection, it has noticeable gaps. Unfortunately these gaps are largest for the eight years of Jackson's presidency. On such questions as the distribution of offices, the recharter of the Bank, the appointment of the Cabinet, and the attitude of the President toward the tariff question they tell us surprisingly little. The reason is probably that Jackson settled most of these matters by personal conference in Washington. He kept no diary of daily events. It is possible also that papers on such important subjects were among those that Kendall is supposed to have failed to hand over to Blair. On the other hand, we find a considerable number of letters to Joel R. Poinsett, with the replies thereto, about the progress of nullification sentiment in South Carolina in 1832 and 1833. It would seem strange that Kendall, if he intended to retain letters, did not keep some of these. I am inclined to think that Kendall's action in this matter has been exaggerated, and that the disappointing deficiency of the correspondence in this period is due chiefly to Jackson's failure to write letters

about the main political matters of his administrations. Writing to Kendall November 2, 1843, Jackson said that all his papers as judge and major-general of the West Tennessee militia were destroyed when the Hermitage was burned in 1834.

Besides the Jackson MSS. in the Library of Congress there exist several smaller collections of Jackson letters. The most notable is in the collection of the papers of Major William B. Lewis, preserved in the New York Public Library. It contains 213 letters of Jackson. These papers were purchased some years ago by Gordon L. Ford, from whom they passed to the Lenox Library and then to the place where they are now found. Most of them are originals, but a few are copies, the originals being in the library of Mr. J. P. Morgan, of New York. Some of the Blair letters have been published in the *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library.

Another important collection is that which is preserved by the Tennessee Historical Society. The most notable papers in it are Jackson's letters to General John Coffee, his lifelong friend and companion in arms. They relate chiefly to events connected with the Creek War and the New Orleans campaign, and to affairs personal to the two men. They were deposited in the rooms of the society by Robert Dyas, grandson of General Coffee, and are known as the Dyas Collection. To nobody did Jackson open his heart more completely than to Coffee, whose friendship never failed him. In the collection of the same society are the Claypoole Papers and among them are letters to Jackson from John Overton, another of the most intimate friends of the old hero. Many valuable Jackson letters are in the papers (Library of Congress) of Andrew Jackson Donelson, his ward when a young man, for many years his efficient assistant, and his private secretary while President. Other collections have been found in the files of the Department of State, in Washington, in the hands of Mrs. Susan P. Brown, Franklin, Tennessee, in the collection of the late Mr. Henry F. De Puy, Easton, Maryland, and among the Anthony Butler letters in the library of the University of Texas. Of Mr. De Puy's collection, nine letters were printed in the *Proceedings* of the American Antiquarian Society, for April, 1921. An interesting collection that has been lost was Jackson's correspondence with Dr. J. G. Bronough, which in 1831 was said to be in the hands of George Walton, of Florida. It contained frank observations about prominent characters in 1820. Professor St. George L. Sioussat, of the University of Pennsylvania, has generously placed in my hands his copies of the letters of Jackson in the collection of Overton letters in the possession of Mr. Overton Lea, of Nashville.

Besides these considerable collections there are many isolated letters from Jackson, some in public depositories and many more in the hands of private owners. Interest in Jackson was widespread while he lived.

It continued after his death, and every collector of old letters was anxious to have some from Jackson. In sales of old letters many have come into the market, but it is difficult to trace them in their dispersal. Wherever possible they have been found and inspected by the editor.

Before he became President, Jackson usually wrote his letters in draft and handed them to his secretary to make fair copies, retaining the drafts, sometimes marking them "copies". The corrections and interlineations of such drafts show that they were not true copies. After he became President he had no time for such labor. In this period he was more apt to write on the backs of letters received the bold outline of his reply, and leave his secretary to write the letters. But sometimes the indorsement merely described the contents of the letter received and we are given no intimation of the reply. In the correspondence are many letters folded in the manner of the time, sealed, and postmarked, showing that they were actually sent and later returned to him.

Jackson's proclamations have aroused the admiration of readers for their stirring and direct appeal; but not all of them were written by him. Major Reid, his secretary, imbibed his spirit so faithfully that he could write in the true Jacksonian manner. Thus the part of the address dismissing the army at New Orleans, from "Thus fellow soldiers have you chastised the insolent invaders of your soil" to the phrase "to posterity as an example for imitation", is in Reid's handwriting. The reply to an address by the citizens of Washington, probably in 1815, is also in Reid's handwriting. The address to the New Orleans riflemen was written by Edward Livingston. These papers are filed in volume 115 of the Jackson MSS., Library of Congress, pages 84, 37, and 33, respectively. The address to the Battalion of Uniformed Militia at New Orleans also survives in Livingston's handwriting.

Nor does it appear that Jackson wrote to a considerable extent his messages to Congress when he was President. Such drafts as survive are usually in the handwriting of A. J. Donelson, though parts of them appear in the handwriting of Van Buren and others. It seems certain that Kendall wrote most of the papers relating to the controversy with the Bank especially the part of the message of 1834 that dealt with that subject. The veto message of March 3, 1837, exists in Taney's handwriting, and a draft of the annual message of 1836 exists in that of A. J. Donelson. The one draft of an annual message existing in Jackson's own handwriting, that of 1829, is quite unlike the message actually sent. There is no evidence except his own statement that Colonel J. A. Hamilton wrote any of Jackson's public papers.

In selecting the letters for publication in this series the editor has had no light task. About the propriety of including the majority there was no question. But many others have been taken which may seem to deal with trivial matters, some of which are concerned with sheer political

intrigue. In such cases I have been inclined to select liberally. Jackson took serious notice of small things. He lived in the midst of intrigue. If we are to understand him we must not be above noting such conditions, for they directed, to a considerable extent, the course of his life. Fighting his way over such obstacles he did not falter in his warfare against the power of monopoly and disunion.

Nor has it been thought proper to omit letters that show the worse side of Jackson's nature. Some of those here given are poor stuff, tinged with passion, prejudice, and mere wrongheadedness. They are at times marred by pointless repetitions. This was truly one side of his character, and it is his whole character that the reader should know. An editor has no right to put in the good only, omitting the bad. Jackson was a leader of the common people and the common people did not object to his shortcomings. In his life we have a view of democracy triumphant. The papers he left behind him are rich in the views, activities, and purposes of this democracy, and the editor has endeavored to let this book express these things as fully as possible.

One of the pleasantest features of the work of the editor of these volumes has been the opportunity it has afforded him to know and share the generosity of custodians and owners of Jackson letters. From such persons—librarians, keepers of archives, salesmen, auction dealers, and private owners—he has received marked assistance. Interest in Jackson has proved an active inciter of friendship. The thanks of the editor for assistance are due, and are hereby expressed, to the following persons and institutions: Mr. A. B. Andrews, jr., Raleigh, N. C.; Mr. A. C. Avery, Morganton, N. C.; Professor Eugene C. Barker, University of Texas; Mr. William F. Beard, Nashville, Tenn.; Miss Julia H. Boyd, Washington, D. C.; Dr. Lucius P. Brown, Franklin, Tenn.; Mrs. Susan P. Brown, Franklin, Tenn.; Dr. Edmund C. Burnett, of the Department of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution of Washington; Professor R. D. W. Connor, University of North Carolina; Mrs. Jane Brevard Darby, Tallahassee, Fla.; the late Mr. Henry F. De Puy, Easton, Md.; Judge John H. DeWitt, president of the Tennessee Historical Society; Judge Jacob M. Dickinson, Chicago; Mr. John C. Fitzpatrick, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress; Professor W. L. Fleming, Vanderbilt University, Nashville; Dr. Worthington C. Ford, Massachusetts Historical Society; Mr. W. L. Gifford, librarian of the Mercantile Library, St. Louis; Professor J. G. deR. Hamilton, University of North Carolina; Mr. S. J. Hays, Sheffield, Ala.; Mr. Stan. V. Henkels, Philadelphia; Miss Stella Herron, New Orleans; Mrs. Stella M. Hoffa, New York; Mr. W. B. Hoffa, Grenada, Miss.; Mrs. R. G. Lake, Memphis, Tenn.; the late Mrs. Rachel J. Lawrence, of Nashville; Mr. S. H. Loughlin, Greensborough, N. C.; the Maine Historical Society; the Maryland Historical Society; the Massachusetts Archives; the

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JOHN SPENCER BASSETT.

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OF THE PERIOD ENDING APRIL 30, 1814,
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THIS VOLUME.

Bill of indictment signed by Andrew Jackson. Davidson County, Mero District, November, 1788. *American Historical Magazine* (Nashville), VIII. 294 (1903).

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J. C. Mountflorece to Jackson. N. p., July 23, 1790. On a business venture in Natchez. Parton, *Life of Jackson*, I. 241.

To Gen. Daniel Smith. Poplar Grove [Tenn.], Oct. 29, 1795. Asks to have land surveyed. Parton, *Jackson*, I. 158; *Am. Hist. Mag.* (Nashville), VI. 230 (1901).

To [Benjamin J. ?] Bradford. Hunter's Hill, July 19, 1803. Charges against Sevier in connection with the Glasgow land frauds. *Am. Hist. Mag.* (Nashville), IV. 374 (1899).

Thomas Swann to Jackson. Nashville, Jan. 3, 1806. On the forfeit paid by the owners of "Ploughboy". Parton, *Jackson*, I. 271.

To Thomas Swann. Hermitage, Jan. 7, 1806. On the forfeit paid by the owners of "Ploughboy". Parton, *Jackson*, I. 271.

Charles Dickinson to Jackson. [Nashville], Jan. 10, 1806. Retort to provoke a challenge. Parton, *Jackson*, I. 274.

Thomas Swann to Jackson. Nashville, Jan. 12, 1806. Demanding satisfaction. Parton, *Jackson*, I. 273.

Aaron Burr to Jackson. Washington City, Mar. 24, 1806. On our relations with Spain. Parton, *Jackson*, I. 313.

Aaron Burr to Jackson. Washington City, Apr. 5, 1806. On politics. Parton, *Jackson*, I. 315.

To Gen. James Robertson and the Corps of Invincibles. [Nashville, December 1806.] Probably refers to the Burr scheme. *Am. Hist. Mag.* (Nashville), V. 273 (1900).

To the militia. [Nashville, January, 1807.] An address. Parton, *Jackson*, I. 326

To Gen. James Robertson's Invincibles [Nashville, Jan. 17, 1807.] An address. Parton, *Jackson*, I. 325.

To Governor Willie Blount. [Nashville, January, 1813.] On the departure of the troops for Natchez. Parton, *Jackson*, I. 371.

To John Reid. January, 1813. Regrets Reid's inability to accompany him, on account of his health. Heiskell, *Andrew Jackson and Early Tennessee History* (2d ed., Nashville, 1920), II. 65.

To Tennessee members of Congress. Camp Jackson [near Natchez], Mar. 15, [1813.] Protest against treatment of War Department. *Am. Hist. Mag.* (Nashville), V. 134 (1900).

To Robert Andrews. July 12, 1813. On settlement of accounts for Tennessee volunteers. Heiskell, *Jackson* (2d ed.), III. 139.

To Governor Willie Blount. July 13, 1813. On expedition against the Creeks; offers services of certain volunteers. Heiskell, *Jackson* (2d ed.), I. 478; *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, I. 850.

Willie Blount to Jackson. Dec. 22, 1813. Advising Jackson to give up campaign and return to the Tennessee border. Parton, *Jackson*, I. 479; Heiskell, *Jackson* (2d ed.), I. 485; *Daily National Intelligencer*, June 9, 1828.

To Governor Willie Blount. [After Dec. 22, 1813.] Believes the country in danger and advises Blount to take a more determined course. Heiskell, *Jackson* (2d ed.), I. 486.

To Volunteer Officers. [Fort Strother, winter 1813-1814.] Urges them to remain. Parton, *Jackson*, I. 468.

To Col. William Cocke. [From the field], Jan. 28, 1814. Commendation for services. *United States Telegraph* (semi-weekly), Sept. 29, 1827.

To. Brig.-Gen. Isaac Roberts. Fort Strother, Jan. 31, 1814. Military order to lead the mounted gunmen back to Tennessee. *Am. Hist. Mag.* (Nashville), VII. 355 (1902).

John Armstrong to Jackson. War Department, Feb. 4, 1814. States that the governor of Tennessee has been required to call out the militia to reinforce Jackson. *Daily National Intelligencer*, June 19, 1828.

To Maj. W. B. Lewis. Fort Strother, Feb. 21, 1814. On the prospects for the Creek campaign. Parton, *Jackson*, I. 502.

CORRESPONDENCE OF ANDREW JACKSON.

THE JACKSON FAMILY.¹

There were four Brothers, each occupying a large Farm, or as such are termed in Ireland, Townlands, as long as grass grows and water runs i. e. Freeholders, subject perhaps to a small peppercorn or chief Rent to the Lord of the soil, who besides was entitled to the Royalties, that is the whole or a portion of the mines, minerals and fisheries which might then be known or afterwards discovered altho' sometimes these advantages (if the lands had been originally granted by King) were specially reserved to the Crown.

One of the Brothers Andrew the youngest resided near Castlereagh he sold his property and emigrated to America in 1765. He landed at Charleston² settled back in the country had three sons Hugh, Robert and Andrew the latter the far famed Hero and deliverer of New Orleans. he was born 15 March 1767.³

Another at Ballymisca in the Parish of Car-Donnell his only surviving son Samuel Jackson lived many years in Philadelphia and was principal in the House of Jackson and Bayard with whom William Patterson of Baltimore first lived on his arrival in that country having been brought out there by his friend Captain Thomas Ash from Belfast. This Mr. Samuel Jackson married Miss Vateau of Dublin who inherited a large estate. They had two sons both of whom died and two Daughters the eldest of whom married the Revd Archdeacon Cleland who now owns the elegant family mansion at Car-Donnell, the other the Revd Mr Cassidy now Rector of Newtown Ards.

¹ This paper is given here for what it is worth. The fact that it is in the Jackson MSS. indicates that Jackson thought enough of it to preserve it. It is without comment by him, favorable or unfavorable. It seems to be in the handwriting of a copyist. See Jackson MSS., Library of Congress, vol. 118, p. 33.

² The statement that Andrew Jackson, the elder, landed at Charleston, long accepted as true, has been disproved by A. S. Salley, jr., secretary of the Historical Commission of South Carolina. With others of his relatives, Jackson seems to have reached the Waxhaw settlements through North Carolina, Virginia, and Maryland. [Letter from Mr. Salley to the editor.]

³ The birthplace of Jackson has given rise to much controversy. The editor's opinion, expressed in his *Life of Andrew Jackson* (I. 7), has not been changed by any arguments made since the publication of this book in 1911. He thinks the point is somewhat in doubt, but since Jackson himself believed he was born in South Carolina, and since the evidence brought against this view is tradition and largely conjecture, it is better to hold to Jackson's own opinion, which he held firmly, and presumably in face of the assertion on the other side.

On the North Carolina side of this controversy, see James Parton, *Life of Jackson*, I. 52-57, and D. A. Tompkins, *History of Mecklenburg County, North Carolina*, vol. II., ch. V. On the South Carolina side, see A. S. Salley, jr., in the *Charleston Sunday News* of July 3, 1904, which is reprinted as an appendix in Cyrus T. Brady's *Life of Jackson*. In the *Report* of the Historical Commission of South Carolina for 1908, pp. 15-19, is a revised version of the same article. The matter was taken up in the national House of Representatives by William F. Stevenson, of South Carolina, who went over the whole case, with conclusions favorable to South Carolina, Feb. 23, 1922. In this published speech in the *Congressional Record* Mr. Salley's report is incorporated as "Exhibit A".

Another at Knocknagoney in the Parish of Holywood whose Daughter married Mr. James Suffern some of whose children now reside in the City of New York and whose Brother John Suffern was many years a Senator of the State and first Judge of the County of Rockland.

The fourth Brother resided at Ballywilly in the Parish of Bangor and agreeably to the Custom of the then times called Laird Jackson a kind of title unknown in the Books of Heraldry and originating in Scotland the land from which this family and the great majority of others in the Province of Ulster had emigrated.

These Brothers and such of their descendants as I know were remarkable for their Hospitality and a strict adherence and attachment to the faith as professed by the Kirk of Scotland and preserved till lately a great portion of Scottish phraseology and Dialect.⁴

A MEMORANDUM HOW TO FEED A COCK.¹

A MEMORANDUM HOW TO FEED A COCK BEFORE YOU HIM FIGHT.

Take and give him some Pickle Beaf Cut fine 3 times a Day and give him sweet Milk Instead of water to Drink give him Dry Indien Corn that hase been Dryn Up in smoke give him lighte wheat Bread Soked in sweet Milk feed him as Much as he Can Eat for Eaight Days Orrange Town in Orange County

March the 22d 79
Mr. Mabee Merchant

JACKSON'S MEMORANDUM ON HIS IMPRISONMENT AT CAMDEN, S. C.¹

April, 1781.

In the month of april 1781 I was a prisoner with the British, confined in camden Jail, which was then included in the British Redoubt nearest

⁴ Amos Kendall's *Life of Jackson*, the first number of which appeared in 1843, says that Jackson's grandfather, Hugh Jackson, was a linen draper of Carrickfergus; that he had four sons, all of whom were respectable farmers, and that Andrew, the youngest, married Elizabeth Hutchinson and moved to America. He speaks of Samuel, a son of another of the four brothers, who came to America and settled in Philadelphia, where he "was long one of the most respectable citizens". Also, descendants of another of the brothers, through a female line, with the name of Suffern, lived in New York.

Kendall follows the usual narrative as to Jackson's birthplace, fixing it as the home of "Mr. Crawford". He inserts a map of the Waxhaw settlement with Jackson's birthplace marked on it. This map, with the text accompanying it, was submitted to Jackson before publication with the request that errors be corrected, if found. It is therefore to be assumed that Jackson approved map and text. In his account Kendall says that Mrs. Jackson lived, with her sons Robert and Andrew, at Crawford's, and that her son Hugh lived some years in the family of a neighbor named "M'Kamey". It is noteworthy that this narrative, so closely inspected by Jackson, does not say that McKemey was married to the elder Jackson's sister.

¹ This memorandum is the first piece in the Jackson MSS. in the Library of Congress. Some persons consider it the earliest existing bit of Jackson's writing. In fact, it is not in his handwriting. It is probably a recipe gathered at random and valued for its reference to a sport in which Jackson was much interested. The "Orange Town" mentioned was probably Orange Courthouse, Va. Mr. Frank Nash, of Hillsborough, N. C., assures me that no "Mr. Mabee Merchant" appears in the history of that town, and although the place was the county town of Orange County, N. C., it always had a name of its own and was never called Orange Town, or anything like it.

¹ Jackson MSS., vol. 117, p. 37. This memorandum was doubtless made by Jackson in 1843, for the use of Amos Kendall in his *Life of Jackson*, then being written. See Jackson to Amos Kendall, May 10, 1843, *post*.

Hobkirks Hill, and Loggtown when Genl Green with his army advanced upon Camden, and encamped upon Hobkirks hill. I with others, were confined in the second story of the Jail, and in the room, overlooking Genl Greens encampment out of its north windows.

A few days after Genl Greens approach an american soldier in the evening was seen coming in from the american lines, to the redoubt where we were confined, supposed to be a deserter—soon after his arrival, there appeared considerable stir amongst the British troops, and we began to fear that a retreat during the ensuing night was intended—about sunset a carpenter with some soldiers came into our room with plank, and nailed up the windows looking toward Genl Greens encampment; some Tories who were in company, abused us very much, told us Green was on their lines without artillery, and they intended to make a second Gates of him, and hang us all. When night closed, we heard much bustle in the Garrison, and soon found that the effectives were removing and the invalids relieving them, from which we inferred their intention to attack Genl Green in the morning or attempt to surprise him before day—being anxious to see the Battle, if one took place, having only a razor blade which was allowed to us to divide our rations with, I fell to work to cut out a pine Knot, out of the plank nailed over the windows, obstructing the view of Greens encampment, and with aid of a fellow prisoner, compleated my object before day, making an aperture about an inch and half in diameter which gave a full view of Genl Greens situation—so soon in the morning as objects could be distinguished, the British army was seen drawn up in column, under cover of the stockade and Col Kershaws houses—a little after sunrise were seen to move a south east direction, keeping themselves under cover from a view from Greens encampment. It continued this direction, untill it reached the woods, when it wheeled to the left, under cover of the woods, untill it reached the cheraw road, here it recd. a severe fire from the american piquet, and was seen to halt for a moment, when it was again seen to advance and the american piquet retiring keeping up a brisk fire of musquetry—soon after this, the British were seen advancing in order of Battle up the Hill, and Genl Green forming on the hights. The British supposing Green had no artillery, the officers in front lead on their men encouraging them, when Greens battery opened upon them with great effect, many horses coming in, with out riders, and many with the wounded upon them and the noncombatants running, helter, skelter, for safety—soon the small arms were heard, and a general action appeared to commence, when the american squadron of horse were seen to charge them on their left and rear, and cut off the retreat of the British from their redoubts—never were hearts elated more than ours, at the glitter of the americans swords, wielded by the american arm so successfully which promised immediate release to us, having cut off the left of the British army which as appeared, he had perfectly in his power if Green had been able to have sustained himself in his position—how short was our Joy, for soon thereafter the *roar* of the cannon ceased, the sound of our small arms appeared retiring, and the cavalry appeared to be attacked in front *vigorously*, and his only alternative to cut his way thro the enemy, which appeared to be done with great gallantry and

retired out of view. The firing having ceased, Capt Smith of the artillery was brought in a prisoner and lodged in the room with us, who related to us the disaster of our army—he had reached Genl Green Just before day, had thrown himself down to rest, in his shirt and drawers, in which he was taken not having time, after the alarm given, to put on his cloaths; Capt Smith said his command was entirely killed or taken but he saved the pieces.

A few days after this battle, I, with six others were exchanged, I traversed the battle ground, found many musquets without their locks, with their butts up, and some barrells out of their stocks, every appearance indicated a sudden unexpected attack and when many were cleaning their arms etc., etc. Thus unprepared, and one Regiment giving way when ordered to charge the enemy, compelled the other to retreat which left washington in the perilous situation described and compelled him to seek safety by cutting his way through the lines of his enemy which he appear'd to do gallantly.

COURT RECORD.

State of North Carolina

Surry County

[At the November term of the Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions, November 12, 1787.]

William Cupples and Andrew Jackson, Esquires, each produced a license from the Honorable Samuel Ashe and John Williams, Esquires, two of the Judges of the Superior Court of Law and Equity, authorizing and empowering them to practice as attorneys in the several courts of Pleas and Quarter Sessions within this State, with testimonials of their having heretofore taken the necessary oaths, and are admitted to practice in this court.¹

COURT RECORD.

State of North Carolina ¹

Randolph County

December 10, 1787

At a Court of Pleas and quarter Session began and held for the County of Randolph at the Court House in Randolph on the second Monday in December "no Domi" 1787 the 12th year of the independance of the state, Present John Arnold, Zebede Wood, John Lane, Aaron Hill, Esqrs, Andrew Jackson Esqr produced a license from the Honorable The Judges of the Superior Court of Law and Equity authorizing him to practice as an attorney in the several county courts, took the oath prescribed and proceeded to practice in the said Courts.

¹ Previously Jackson had been admitted to the bar in Guilford County and had settled at the county-seat, Martinsville. William Cupples, a friend of these days, settled at Salisbury, N. C., where he was a prominent Mason. See Bassett, *Life of Jackson*, I. 12.

¹ For a copy of this entry the editor is indebted to Mr. S. H. Loughlin, of Greensborough, N. C.

TO WAIGHTSTILL AVERY.¹

August 12th 1788

Sir: When a man's feelings and charector are injured he ought to seek a speedy redress; you recd. a few lines from me yesterday and undoubtedly you understand me. My charector you have injured; and further you have Insulted me in the presence of a court and a large audiance. I therefore call upon you as a gentleman to give me satisfaction for the Same; and I further call upon you to give Me an answer immediately without Equivocation and I hope you can do without dinner untill the business done; for it is consistant with the charector of a gentleman when he Injures a man to make a spedy reparation; therefore I hope you will not fail in meeting me this day. from yr obt st

P S this Evening after court adjourned

COMMISSION OF JACKSON TO PRACTISE LAW IN COUNTY OF
DAVIDSON, TENN.¹

November 3, 1788.

State of North Carolina ss

To the Judge or Judges of the Superior Court of law and Equity for the County of Davidson

Whereas Andrew Jackson Esquire hath applied to me the Subscriber, Judge of the Superior Court of law and Equity for the County aforesaid to be admitted to plead and practice as an attorney in the said Court of law and Equity and whereas the said Andrew Jackson from proper credentials to me produced appears to be of an unblemished Moral character, and from a previous examination before me had likewise appears to possess a competent degree of law Knowledge for the purpose aforesaid,

I therefore in pursuance of the authority vested in me by the act of the General Assembly to that purpose do hereby admit and empower the said Andrew Jackson to plead and practice in the said Courts of law and Equity within the said county as an attorney thereof with all and Singular

¹ When Jackson went to West Tennessee in 1788 he halted for some months at Jonesborough, Washington County, in East Tennessee (see next note). In a case in that town he was opposed by Col. Waightstill Avery, who ridiculed his ideas of the law in the case. Jackson, angered, protested in a note, to which no answer seems to have been returned. The next day he sent the challenge here published. The two men met and fought, and neither was injured. The original of the challenge is in the possession of the Avery family of Morganton, N. C., of which Mr. A. C. Avery is a leading representative. A facsimile is given in Heiskell, *Andrew Jackson* (2d ed.), I. 432. A tracing exists in the Jackson MSS., which does not conform to the facsimile. The copy given here follows the facsimile.

¹ This entry in the records of Davidson County, Tenn., is the earliest discovered writing connecting Jackson with Nashville. In the preceding winter the North Carolina legislature had set up Mero District, consisting of the counties of Davidson, Sumner, and Tennessee, with a supreme court to try cases. John McNairy and Thomas Searcy, both fellow law-students with Jackson, were appointed judge and clerk respectively. When they set out for the Cumberland Jackson went with them. They arrived at Jonesborough, Washington County, in East Tennessee, so late that it would be impossible to hold a spring court, and remained where they were until September, when they proceeded on their journey. While in Jonesborough Jackson was licensed (May 12, 1788) to practise law in Washington. (Heiskell, *Andrew Jackson and Early Tennessee*, 2d ed., I. 431.)

the Rights priviledges and emoluments belonging or in any wise appertaining to Attorneys and practisers of the law in the said courts, he the said Andrew Jackson taking the Several Oaths appointed by law for his quallification

Given under my hand and seal this third day of November A. D. 1788, and in the XIIIth. year of our independence

JOHN McNAIRY. J. S. C. L and E

PETITION OF ANDREW JACKSON.¹

November 13, 1789.

To the Honbl. the Genl. Assembly of the State of North Carolina.

The memorial of Andrew Jackson attorney at Law sheweth

That the Honbl. John McNairy esqr. Judge of the Superior Court of Law and Equity for the County of Davidson at November Term of the said Court in the Year 1788 appointed your Memorialist attorney General for the State for the said Term the Services of which were performed by your Memorialist.

That the said Honbl. John McNairy esq. Judge of Superior Court of Law and Equity for the district of Mero at May Term of the said Court Last past appointed your Memorialist attorney General for the State at the said Term the Services of which were also performed by your Memorialist. The act of Assembly for establishing Superior Court for the County of Davidson and the Act for erecting the district of Mero have made no provision for the attorney General therefore your Memorialist prays that this Genl. Assembly may direct some allowances for the said Services and your Memorialist has in duty bound etc. etc.

DEPOSITION.

November 27, 1789

State of No. Carolina }
Cumberland County }

In the year of our Lord Seventeen hundred and Eighty Nine and on the twenty seventh day of Novr. personally appeared before me James Porterfield Esqr. one of the Justices of Cumberland County, James Cole Montflorenc of Davidson County and State aforesaid who made Oath on the holy Avengelist of Almighty God, that having Business to attend to for several individuals at the honourable Superior Court of Law and Equity for the County of Davidson, at November Term in the Year Seventeen hundred and Eighty Eight he was present when the Honble. John McNeary Esqr. Judge of the said Court did appoint in Open Court Andrew Jackson Esqr. Atto at Law, Attorney Genl. for the State at the Term aforesaid; and that the said Andrew Jackson did perform the

¹ This memorial was referred to the committee on claims, which recommended that Jackson have the same fee for attending the two terms of court mentioned as was paid to the attorney-general for the Washington District; and on this basis the claim was settled (see *North Carolina State Records*, XXI. 231, 234, 293, 597, 637, 642). The original of the memorial, with other papers on the same subject, is in the collections of the N. C. Historical Commission, Legislative Papers, House File, 1789.

Services of the said office. This deponent further saith that he was in the Town of Nash-Ville on the first Monday of May last past when the aforesaid John McNairy Esqr. Judge etc. for the Superior Court of Law for the District of Mero appointed the said Andrew Jackson Esqr. attorney Genl. of the said Court for May Term and that he knows of His Certain knowledge that the said Andrew performed the duties thereof and further that deponent sait[h] not.¹

J. C. MONTFLORENCE.

Sworn to before me

JAS. PORTERFIELD, J. P.

On the same day and year also appeared Joel Rice and Thomas Johnston Esquires who both made Oath that they were at Nashville at the Two terms above mentioned, and that they believe to the best of their Knowledge that the facts contained in the Above affidavit are true.²

THOS. JOHNSON,
JOEL RICE.

JAS. PORTERFIELD, J. P.

TO DANIEL SMITH.¹

February 13, 1789.

Sir, I had the pleasure of seeing Capt Fargo yesterday who put me under obligations of seeing you this day but as the weather seems dull and heavy it prevents my coming up; but I comit to you in this small piece of paper the business he wants with you; he expresses a great friendship for the welfare and harmony of this country; he wishes to become a citizen and trade to this country by which means and through you I think he can have a lasting peace with the Indians; he wishes you to write to the governor informing him the desire of a comercial treaty with that country; he then will importune the Governor for a privilege or permit to trade to this country which he is sure to obtain as he is related to his Excellency; then he will show the propriety of having a peace with the Indians for the pirpose of the benefit of the trade of this country; and also show the governor the respect this country honors him with by giving it his name; he bears the commission of capt. under the King of Spain which is a honorable title in that country and can in my opinion do a great deal for this and hopes you will do him the honour as to see him upon this occasion before he sets out for Orleans and I think it the only immediate

¹ A similar statement, signed by David Allison, Nov. 3, 1790, witnesses that Jackson served at the November term of court, 1790, in the capacity of state's attorney.

² N. C. Hist. Comm., Legislative Papers, House File, 1789. The copy was sent to the editor by Professor R. W. D. Connor of the University of North Carolina.

¹ Gen. Daniel Smith was one of the earliest settlers in the Cumberland region. He occupied a position of social and political prominence in the territorial and early statehood period. Captain Fargo referred to here was probably a Spaniard. The governor alluded to was Estévan Miró, Spanish governor of Louisiana 1785-1791. In his honor, and for the reason mentioned by Jackson, probably, the Cumberland region was named the District of Miro, frequently written Mero. The original of the letter is in the Tennessee Historical Society. It is published in Parton, *Life of Jackson*, I. 141, and in the *Am. Hist. Mag.* (Nashville), VI. 216, 201.

way to obtain a peace with the savage. I hope you will consider it well and give me a few lines upon the occasion by Collo. Donelson who hands you this as I have the good of this country at heart and I hope also if you will do Mr Fargo the honor as to go and see him upon the occasion as you go down you will give me a call as I think I could give you som satisfaction on this subject, this Sir from your

Very Humble servant

ANDREW JACKSON IN ACCOUNT WITH MELLING WOOLLEY.¹

NATCHEZ, March 14, 1790

Dr.

March 14. 1790.	To 4 case Bottles white wine at 12 rs.....	6."
" " "	" 2lb white sugar lens.....	1."
" 26. "	" 1 Snuff Box	"..2.
April. 14 "	" 1 case Bottle wine.....	1..4.
March. 1. "	" Sundries d'd at Bayou Pierre.....	181..2
		<hr/> \$190."

Cr.

March. 8. 1790.	By note payable Decemr. 25th. 1790.....	150."
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Balance due melling woolley..... \$40

¹This account remained unpaid for many years, on what ground is not known. Jackson's ordinary business reputation was that he was very careful to pay his debts. Melling Woolley transferred the note here mentioned and it came to Eben Reese, who still had it in possession on June 7, 1815, when he made a statement of the matter to Jackson. Reese's account on that day was as follows:

"To amount of your note given to Mr. melling Woolley and by him endorsed. to Thomas Irvin and by him to Clark and Rees dated March 1st. 1790 payable the 25th Decr. 1790.....		150."
Int. on \$150 from 25th. Decr. 1790: to 25th Feby. 1813, is 22 Years and 2 mo: at 6 pc.....		199.50.
To amot. of an open accot. as now rendered.....		40."
Int. on Do. from Decem: 25th 1790. to feby. 25th. 1813. is 22 yrs. and 2 months.		53.20.
		<hr/> \$442.70

To Balance brot down..... 348.26½"

Thomas Reber's *Proud Old Natchez* (1909) contains a brief account, evidently gathered from traditions, of Jackson's connection with Natchez. He says that Jackson "was a planter residing at Brunsburg, near Natchez", in 1791, and that he constructed a race track on his plantation. It is not possible to reconcile this statement with the fact that in 1791 he was attorney for Mero District, as Governor Blount's commission of Feb. 15, 1791, shows. Mr. Reber says that Jackson's quarrel with Benton grew "out of a dispute about the occupancy of the two Floridas", which is a mistake. He also says that Mrs. Jackson was given a divorce from Robards by the Spanish government. In view of the opposition to divorce in Catholic countries it is hard to believe, without documents to support it, that a divorce was granted at Spanish Natchez to a transient visitor from Tennessee, not properly a resident in the locality issuing the decree. About twenty years after 1791 Jackson was "an inactive partner" in the firm of Jackson, Coleman, and Green, the third of whom was connected with Mrs. Jackson by marriage (Parton, *Jackson*, I. 354); but nothing exists to show that this partnership reached back as far as 1791.

Mississippi Territory }
 Adams County. }

This day came melling woolley before the Subscriber a Justice of Quorum for said County, and made oath according to Law, that the above account of forty Dollars is just and due, Augt. 6th. 1812.

Signed. JAMES KEMPE. J. P.

I have sent the above Copies from originals in my possession for the satisfaction of major Genl. Jackson.

EBENR REES

LIST OF NEGROES FOR JACKSON.¹

[November 8, 1790.]

One Negroe fellow Daniel about 28 years old sawyer.....	£250.
One Wench Kate32	150.
One Boy Joe11	150.
One Boy Bob9	100.
One Boy Pompey between one and two years.....	60.

£710.

List of Negroes for A Jackson

JOHN PROCTOR Kentucke Maddison County	} Witnesses
SILAS CHAMBERS, do. Bourbon County	
THOMAS BELEW Sumner County No. Carolina	
BULL Davidson County No Carolina	

TO DANIEL SMITH.¹

January 20th, 1791

Sir: I Recd. a power of attorney by Mr. David Allison from the Heirs of Barnard impowering me to Transact Some Business for them in this country, amongstst which Business I was Desired to Supperintend the Surveying of their pre-Emption rights, for which purpose I applyed to Mr Ant. Foster who I understood you had Deputise[d] for such purposes; and has waited upon him Eight days to have the Business done and at Last he disappointed me and refused to run it to the Cardinal points; I yesterday which was the Ninth day I had spent in the Business applyed to Major Hay who undertook the Business attended by Mr. Foster and survayed it; and will return the Plot on Conditions that he can obtain a Special Deputation from You for that purpose; which when you Consider the Circumstances of the case I hope you will grant; the Heirs have Laid

¹ This list is in Jackson's handwriting, but it is signed by David Allison, who was then a lawyer in Nashville (see *Am. Hist. Mag.*, Nashville, II. 232). The list seems to refer to some division of negroes and to point out those allotted to Jackson, with Allison's approval of the allotment. Manuscript in the Wisconsin State Historical Library.

¹ In 1790 Smith (p. 7, n. 1) was appointed secretary of the territory that became Tennessee in 1796, and he was serving in that capacity when this letter was written. From 1798 to 1799 he was United States senator, serving as successor to Jackson, who resigned to become a judge of the state supreme court. He was elected senator in 1805 and held office until he resigned in 1809. The original is in the library of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

out of the prophets of their Land for Many years and wish to have the works Conveyed by this Company. also I cannot Conjecture the reason why Mr. Foster would not run it; for he made no hesitation to begin and run the lick land and that not to the Cardinal points for their first course was South 85 west 110 . . .² thence no. 9 and 8 chains to the river then up the Meanders of the river about 2 Miles and 120 poles then the line to the Beginning will be about So. 80 west; which I thought Illegal. When the Made their Begining I set the Compass and run a due North to the river and there made the begining which I think agreeable to the laws of our Country; I hope under these Circumstances as Mr. Foster would not run it you will Grant and send by the hands of Capt. Wm. Donelson a Special Deputation for Majr. Hay to return the works or by Mr Hayne who bears this. I am Sir with the greatest Esteem your Most obt and very Hbl Svt

JACKSON'S COMMISSION AS ATTORNEY FOR MERO DISTRICT.¹

February 15, 1791.

William Blount Governor in and over the Territory of the United States of America South of the River Ohio

To all who shall see these Presents Greeting

Know ye that I do appoint Andrew Jackson Esquire of the County of Davidson Attorney for and in behalf of the State in the District of Mero and do authorize and empower him to execute and fulfil the duties of that office according to Law and to have and to hold the same with all the Privileges and Emoluments of right appertaining thereto, during his good Behaviour or during the existence of the Temporary Government of the said Territory.

Given under my Hand and Seal in the said Territory this fifteenth day of February one thousand seven hundred and ninety one.

WM. BLOUNT

Andrew Jackson Esquire
Attorney for the State Commission.

AGREEMENT OF ARBITRATION BY JACKSON AND ROBERT WEAKLEY.

[April 18, 1791.]

We the arbitraters whose Names are under written; who were unanimously chozen to arbitrate all Matters of Controversy from the begining of the world to the day of the Date Hereof 'between Isaac Thomas William Brown and James Hamilton do Make the following

² Illegible.

¹ April 2, 1790. Congress accepted the cession of Tennessee by North Carolina and erected it into a territory. June 8, 1790, William Blount, of North Carolina, was appointed governor. Reaching Tennessee in the following autumn, he re-established county government under the new authority. Dec. 15, as the local records show, he was at Nashville, "laying out" the government of Davidson County. Among other things, on this day he granted licenses to practise law to Josiah Love, John Overton, Andrew Jackson, David Allison, Howell Tatum, James Cole Mountflorenc, and James White. He also appointed Andrew Jackson attorney general for Mero District, but the commission was not issued until Feb. 15, 1791. The early records of the Davidson County court are in the possession of the Tennessee Historical Society and are published in the *Am. Hist. Mag.*, Nashville, II. 230 ff.

award vizt that the said William Brown and James Hamilton pay to the said Isaac Thomas on or before the first day of october one thousand seven hundred and Ninety one the sum of Twenty four pounds North Carolina Currency to be paid in cattle or horse flesh at Cash price and the said James Hamilton is to give his note to the said Isaac Thomas for the above sum in behalf of himself and the said William Brown. this we award for the said William Brown and James Ham[il]ton to do on their part; and the said Isaac Thomas on his part is to Deliver up all the papers and instruments of writing he has in his possession against the said William Brown and James Hamilton and particularly a bond for the Conveyance of two hundred and six acres of land on the north side of Cumberland River on Bull Run being the uper part of a three Hundred and twenty acre Tract given by the said William Brown and James Hamilton to the said Isaac Thomas and all other paper he may have on the said William and James and we further award that the said William Brown and James Hamilton deliver up to the said Isaac Thomas all papers and instruments of writing that the[y] have in there possession vs the said Isaac Thomas and that the said William and James give the said Isaac a Receipt in full from the Begining of the world to this present day and that the said Isaac Thomas give a Receipt to the said William Brown and James Hamilton a Receipt from the Beginings of the world to the present day; and all these Transactions to be done as soon as possible or at least on or before the 19th day of april one thousand seven hundred and Ninety one and this to put a final End to all Matters of Dispute from the Begining of the world to this present day in witness wereof we the arbutrators unanimously chosen by bothe parties have hereunto set our hands and seals this 18th day of april 1791

the words (of land) ; in the 5 line on
this side insertend [*sic*] before signed;

R WEAKLEYSeal
ANDREW JACKSON...Seal

JACKSON'S COMMISSION AS JUDGE ADVOCATE.

[September 10, 1792.]

William Blount Governor in and over the Territory of the United States of America south of the river Ohio,

To all who shall see these presents Greeting.

Know Ye that I do appoint Andrew Jackson Esquire of the County of Davidson, Judge Advocate in and for the said County. And do authorize and empower him to execute and fulfil the duties of that office according to law: And to have and to hold the said office of Judge Advocate during good behaviour or the existence of the temporary government of the said territory with all the powers privileges and emoluments thereto of right appertaining.

Given under my hand and seal in the said Territory this tenth day of September one thousand seven hundred and ninety two.

By the Governor

DANL SMITH

WM. BLOUNT

TO JOHN MCKEE.¹

CUMBERLAND, January 30, 1793

Dear Sir: I Received your letter by Mr. Russle and observe that My papers were not forwarded pr first Express; by advise of Governor Blount. Any Transaction of yours or Governor Blount with Respect to My Business will be perfectly pleasing to me as I know from experience that My Interest will be attended to by Each. You are the Best Judge what time will be most advantageous to forward them; also what authentication will be most proper to forward with them; all, which, I let Rest with you.

The Late Express that proclaimed peace to our Western Country; attended with the late Depredations and Murders Committed by the Indians on our frontier has occasioned a Great Clamour amongst the people of this District and it is Two Much to be dreaded that they Indians has Made use of this Finesse to Lull the people to sleep that they might save their Towns and open a more Easy Road to Commit Murder with impunity; this is proved by their late conduct, for since that Express, not Less than Twelve Men have been killed and wounded in this District: one Question I would beg leave to ask why do we now attempt to hold a Treaty with them; have they attended to the Last Treaty; I answer in the Negative then why do we attempt to Treat with Savage Tribe that will neither adhere to Treaties, nor the law of Nations, upon these particulars I would thank you for your sentiments in your next. I have the honour to be with the highest Exteem

Your Mo, ob, Serv.

TO JOHN MCKEE.¹

POPLAR GROVE, TENN., May 16, 1794.

Dear Sir: I Recd your letter of the 17th April 94 which give me Sanguine hopes of a general Peace With the Southern Indians, but I had Scarcely finished Reading it before these hopes all Vanished, at the information of the Murder of James Mc since which time they have been Constantly infesting our frontier. I fear that their Peace Talks are only Delusions; and in order to put us of our Guard; why Treat with

¹ Southern Historical Association, *Publications* (1898), II. 9. When published this letter was owned by Thomas M. Owen, of Alabama. Col. John McKee was born in Virginia. Early in life he moved to the Southwest Territory and spent some time among the Cherokee Indians, where he became a fast friend of the leading chiefs, who were well disposed toward the United States, notably to Watts, who lived at Will's Town, near what is now Chattanooga. In 1791 Governor Blount appointed him one of the three commissioners to run the boundary line from Clinch River to the Chilhowee Mountain, according to the treaty of Holston, July 2, 1791. In 1793 he was sent by the governor on a mission to pacify the Cherokee and restrain them from a threatened outbreak against the settlements. He reported his actions on this trip in a letter dated Mar. 28, 1793. Later in the same year, in September, he was appointed to conduct a party of five Chickasaw chieftains to Philadelphia, to have an interview with the President, but turned back at Abingdon, Va., when he learned that yellow fever was in that city. The next year he was agent to the Cherokee and resided at Tellico Block House. He continued to reside among the Indians, and twenty years later was United States agent to the Choctaw. He finally settled at Tuscaloosa, Ala., and was a representative in the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth Congresses. (See *Am. State Papers, Indian Affairs*, I. 326, 444, 457, 458, 459, 468, 475, 538.)

¹ Southern Hist. Assoc. *Publications* (1898), II. 10.

them does not Experience teach us that Treaties answer No other Purpose than opening an Easy door for the Indians to pass through to Butcher our Citizens; what Motives Congress are governed by with Respect to their pacific Disposition towards Indians I know not; some say humanity dictates it; but Certainly she ought to Extend an Equal share of humanity to her own Citizens; in doing this Congress would act Justly and Punish the Barbarians for Murdering her innocent Citizens, has not our Citizen been Prosecuted for Marching to their Town and Killing some of them. then why not when they Commit Murders on our Citizens agreeable to the Treaty demand the [murderers] if they are not given up it is an infringement of the Treaty and a cause of war and the whole Nation ought to be Scourged for the infringement of the Treaty for as the Nation will not give murderers up when demanded it is a[n] acknowledgment of their Consent to the Commission of the Crime therefore all consenting are Equally guilty, I dread the Consequence of the Esuing Summer. the Indians appear Verry Troublesome the frontier Discouraged and breaking and numbers leaving the Territory and moving to Kentucky, this Country is Declining fast, and unless Congress lends us a more ample protection this Country will have at length to break or seek a protection from some other Source than the present. I will thank you for the News of the Place. My Next shall be more full. I am Dr. Sir yr. Hbl st

TO JOHN OVERTON.¹

KNOXVILLE, June 9, 1795.

Dr Sir; I expected to have had the pleasure of seeing you here yesterday, for that purpose I dropped a line from Mr Dyer's to Colo. Coke if you were at his house to inform you that I wished to see you at Knoxville on Sunday evening, my business being of such a nature that put it out of my power to call to see you, Two thousand, five hundred dollars depending on my dispatch to Knoxville, which I find is secured and my confidence not illy placed.

¹ Tenn. Hist. Soc., Claybrook Papers. This is the earliest paper that has come down to us on the complex land transaction with David Allison, then of Philadelphia, formerly of Nashville, Tenn. With it is preserved, under date of Mar. 8, 1795, the following "Memorandum for A. Jackson in Phila", signed by John Overton:

"When you sell land it [is] my wish that you be candied and unreserved with the purchasers, with respect to the situation and quality of the Land and particularly inform them that they are situate without the Treaty of Holston, and if this does not appear any objection, you can get an acknowledgment from under the hand and seal of the purchaser, that the warranty in the Deed (if one is necessary) is not understood to extend to any Tribe of Indians or the U States, but this latter part if you think best.

"If you sell Land and get money that you can spare, it will be best that you purchase, somewhere in the lower part of the eastern States such Negroes we may want for Rice, and also a likely Negroe Boy which I want for a Servant. Upon the subject of taking Goods in part paymt of our Lands, I wish it to be avoided if possible, because it appears to me that the sale of Goods will be uncertain, but a part Goods you will take if a sale cannot be made without

"N B. If you purchase Negroes in any of the northern States, be careful in so doing not to subject yourself to the penal Laws of the State."

In the manuscript the first paragraph of this memorandum is crossed out and in the margin is written: "This clause to your discretion. Perhaps it would be best to raise as few difficulties [as possible]. I think no danger of warranty." Jackson and Overton were partners in this speculation, which consisted in buying land claims in the South (Tennessee or North Carolina) and selling them in Philadelphia.

I set out at nine to Cumberland and am astonished, that you would not put yourself to the trouble to ride to Knoxville to here the fate of my long and expensive journey, when you must have known that had not urgent business pressed me forward I would have seen you at my friend Coke's, but perhaps, tho you seem careless about the business, you may have a propensity to hear something of the business.

I here send you a small and short statement of the business. And before I enter into the business suffer me to observe; that after all the fatigue and expence of my long and circuitous rout through No Carolina, all the land I could obtain was Rice's and that only on commission. I then proceeded to Frederick Town and there was unsuccessful, Mr Richey rather wishing to buy than sell, from thence to Philadelphia where from Grant's letter I expected no trouble but sign the conveyance, receive the money and return, but to my sad experience I found nothing done no purchaser but Mr Allison to whom Major Grant had conditionally sold at one fifth of a dollar,² and to be short only to observe that through difficulties such as I never experienced before at the end of twenty-two days I concluded the sale of the land with David Allison at one fifth of a dollar reducing the credit proposed by Grant six months and our friend Grant was generous enough (after all my fatigue and trouble added to that expence) to observe that he would (after some altercation had) relinquish the commissions on the sale of Joel Rice's land, as he termed it, there was then objections to the title submitted to the decision of a lawyer and given against me I mean the 1000 acres conveyed by Elisha Rice alone and not named as heir executor or attorney and no conveyance appearing to show his title derived from John Rice, the patent being in his name, in fact I was placed in the Dam'st situation ever man was placed in which I will communicate to you when I see you, the titles I have left for your inspection in the hands of Governor Blount. I was compelled to enter into an article of agreement with Mr Allison to perfect the titles, a copy of which I have. I drew as you will see by the statement 1000 dollars 881-66/100 dollars, paid Rice's order on me in Philadelphia and a draft on Colo. King for 2501-67/100 which he has accepted and the other payments as you will observe in the statement enclosed. The money Colo. King has not paid me I therefore have lodged the bill in the possession of Mr McClung to be delivered to you for you to receive the monies and bring on which he says shall be advanced as soon as it can be got from Colo. Hanly which he expects in a few days subject to the appropriations mentioned in a line from me left with the bill, of money to be paid Perkins, on account of Joel Rice five hundred and dollars etc etc Joel Rice's being the ballance of the sum due him. you will also observe I have left your notes in the possession of Mr McClung and Colo. King has thought proper to back Mr Allison's note to you agreeable to my contract with Allison which was done without hesitation, this is all I have time [to write] to you at present, when I see you I hope to be able to give you a satisfactory account of my

² In a grant from the state of North Carolina to William Cocke, 1788, of land in Davidson County the stipulated price was ten pounds for each hundred acres (Jackson MSS., Military Papers, I. 7). See a power of attorney to Jackson and James Grant, May 14, 1795 (Jackson MSS., vol. II.), in which 50,000 acres are to be sold for John Overton and 18,000 for Joel Rice.

stewardship, and I would not undertake the same business again for all the Hatchey lands. I did not lay in any goods for you but Mr Foster did for reasons which I hope will be satisfactory when you hear them, tho I have sent on some for myself, which I negotiated a note for. I congratulate you on your late appointment.³

I am Sir with esteem yr H'ble servant,

P. S. I am very much fatigued even almost unto death, I hope to reach home. A. J.

AN ACCOUNT OF CONTINGENT EXPENSES.

[August, 1795.]

AN ACCOUNT of the Contingent Expences Arising on the preparation, Carriage, Boating etc. of a Cargo of Merchandize purchased by Andrew Jackson and David Allison in Philadelphia and brought to Nashville between May and August 1795.

For Amount paid Isaac Richardson for Waggonage from Philadelphia on 2330 lb neet weight a 8 dol per hd...	186..40
" Amo't paid Joseph Kennady for Carriage on 1682 lb from Baltimore to Pittsburgh a 6.66⅔ pr hund.....	112..13⅓
" Amo't paid Saml Nichols for Carriage on 492 lb from Baltimore to Pittsburgh.....	33.—
" Amo't paid Robert Hodgsons Bill of Freight etc. £3..4..10½ Pens Currency is.....	8..65
" Amo't paid Howel Tatum's Bill Sundries.....	3..25
" Amo't paid for Expences Arising on the purchase of a Boat and finding hands etc. from Pittsburgh to Nashville exclusive of the Subsequent Charges.....	182..92½
" Amo't Cash furnished Saml Donelson for Expences to Limestone in Kentucky and while there waiting for the Boat	49..50
" Amo't paid Saml Donelson for 46 days labour in going to Limestone taking Charge of the Goods and bringing them Around to Nashville a 1..50 pr day.....	69.—
Dollars.....	644..86

³ The following letter from John Overton to William Meeker, of Philadelphia, July 16, 1796, gives us an idea of the results of this transaction:

"Sir, Upon the return of Mr. Jackson from Phila to this place I expected to receive the note on Allison, left in your hand. Mr. Jackson informs me that he did not receiv[e] the Letter concerning the note, but that you had brought a suit and expected to recover the money upon it. your friendly attention to this business merits my warmest acknowledgements which he pleased to accept. My situ[ati]on respecting the debts due from Allison to me is somewhat critical and embarrassing. I had purchased about 50,000 acres of land in the Country for which deeds were made to me. Mr. Jackson became interested in one half. He went forward in the spring of 1795 to Phila, in order to dispose of our joint interest, together with a Power of a certain Joel Rice, to dispose of a quantity for him. Mr Allison became the purchaser of the whole. Jackson interest and mine were joint yet Jackson has secured his and Rice reced., and I can't get a farthing. Allison owes me about three and twenty hundred dollars, and I can assure you I do not expect to get a farthing without compulsion. Such appears to be the train of the business, but I trust if Mr. Allison is not able those concerned with him are, by which means I hope my debt will not be intirely lost. The disclosure of these Circumstances, it is probable may not be amiss for you to know, for which reason Be pleased to let me know the state of things." See also Jackson's Statement, dated June 11, 1796, *post*. The fact that Overton continued after this incident to be Jackson's intimate friend shows that no ill feeling was engendered by it between the two.

MEEKER, COCHRAN, AND COMPANY TO JACKSON.¹

PHILADELPHIA, August 11, 1795.

We are sorry so soon after your departure, to follow you the advice, that any notes or acceptances of David Allison's now falling due are not generally or regularly paid, and that there is little reason to expect he will be more punctual hereafter, as his [resources] no doubt must suffer, in his want of punctuality. We take this early opportunity to make known to you that *we* have little or no expectation of getting paid from him, and that we shall have to get our money from you, which we shall expect at maturity, as the original cr. was longer, than we usual gave, assuring you of our perfect regard we remain Dear sir your very ob servants

WILLIAM CUPPLES TO JACKSON.¹

MONTGOMERY COUNTY, NORTH CAROLINA

August 19, 1795.

D'r S'r, The circumstances of the note you mentioned in your last are as near as I can recollect as follows. we won of S Bittles five pounds. my part was paid in cash yours, with a thick sett of royal rib. pattern for breaches after that you purchased of Mr. Allen some brown cloth for a big coat which I think came to about eight pounds. I recollect your gameing at Richmond² but not how you broke. but the Sunday after Anson court we were at Mr Lincars in company with Mr Crawford when Mr Allen and yourself made some Settlement and you gave this note. it is your own hand writing and Mr Crawford the witness. it is in my possession and your direction respecting shall be attended to untill the boys come of age to call for that with a number of others.

It was doubtfull whether I should even write you this time or not for untill I had such evident proof I could never believe you would have come within fifty miles of me and not called on me being confident that if I had been within fifty miles of you nothing but a company of *red men* should have prevented my seeing of you. We have nothing among the politicians but Damn Jay and his Treaty. last week we had a most destructive fresh in the river which besides the injury it has done crops threatens a plentiful harvest of fevers, which may likely be advantageous to the Coffin and grave makers. I have received several invitations to visit your country but never have had so serious thoughts of doing so as at present if I could know whether I could make my bread by my profession, or indeed any way else I believe I should make a venture.

The bearer Mr Collier is about to [visit] the country on your side the mountain perhaps [he may] Satisfy himself before he reaches your neighbourhood if not I have directed him to call on you. if he does hope

¹ This letter indicates that Allison failed in business in 1795 and not in 1798, as Parton says, *Jackson*, I. 242.

¹ "Will Cupples", as he signed himself, wrote again to Jackson, Oct. 31, 1795. This time it was from Fayetteville, N. C.

² Then the court-house town of Surry County, N. C. This letter seems to indicate that Jackson visited Anson County court before he left North Carolina. Remembering that he was admitted to the bar in Surry, it is evident that in the brief year he practised law in North Carolina he rode a circuit more than a hundred miles long.

you will write particularly what prospects I should have as to myself and next with respect to settlement the qualities of land to be purchased with the price. this young man lives in my house as overseer. have advised him to visite Cumberland but do not know whether he will or not. if you do not see him write me by the first opportunity. my family is above half down at this time with the fever. Health and hapiness to you and your family. I am with the greatest respect

Your's etc

The last time I saw Mr Crawford about four weeks ago he promised to call on me in one week from that time on his way to Nashville. I encouraged him all I could

I am

WC

TO NATHANIEL MACON.

NASHVILLE, October 4, 1795

Sir: When in philidelphia last april a full and Compleat state of the business I had intrusted to your patronage was handed me (by David Allison Esqr) agreeable to your instructions; wherein I viewed (with Gratitude) with what unwearied attention you had prosecuted my claim. I have now to request a Continuance of your friendly aid in bringing the business to a final End and Determination the Ensuening Session of Congress; and to Communicate to me the result of that Determination.¹

What an alarming situation; has the late Neg[o]ciation[?] of Mr. Jay with Lord Greenvill, and that Negociation (for a Treaty of Commerce it cannot be properly Called, as it wants reciprocity) being ratified by the Two third of the senate and president has plunged our Country in; will it End in a Civil warr; or will our Country be relieved from its present ignominy by they firmness of our representitives in Congress (by impeachments for the Daring infringments of our Constitutional rights) have the insulting Cringing and ignominious Child of aristocratic Secrecy; removed erased and obliterated from the archives of the Grand republick of the united States.

I say unconstitutional; because the Constitution says that the president by and with the advice and consent of the senate are authorisè to make Treaties; but in the present Treaty the advice of the Senate was not required by the president previous to the Formation of the Treaty; nor the Out[li]nes of said Treaty made known to the Senate untill after made and their Consent wanting to make it the Supreme Law of the land (therefore made without the advice of the Senate and unconstitutional) and erecting courts not heard of in the Constitution etc. etc. all bills for reasing a revenue to originate in house of representatives by treaty. It is not only unconstitutional, but inconsistant with the Law of Nations, Vatel B2, P. 242 S325 says that the rights of Nations are benefits, of which the sovereign is only the administrator, and he ought to Dispose of them no farther than he has reason to presume that the Nation itself would dispose of them therefore the president (from the remonstrance

¹ Jackson had filed a claim for services as public attorney under the early territorial régime. See under date of Apr. 11, 1796, *post*.

from all parts of the Union) had reason to presume that the Nation of america would not have ratified the Treaty, notwithstanding the 20 aristocratic neebobs of the Senate had Consented to it. But why should I pester you with these remarks your superior understanding can discover a thousand Defects in that Treaty that my genius are not adequate to therefore will Drop the subject. I am Sir with the highest Sentiment of Esteem and regard your most obedient

JOSEPH ANDERSON TO JACKSON.

GREAT BENT OF CHUCKRY,¹ December 3, 1795.

Dear Sir, On the first instant, after experiencing a very tiresom ride; and some bad and disagreeable Weather, I arriv'd safely at my own home; had the happiness of finding my Family well; and a young son, a charming fine boy, about ten days old. This I heard off at Knoxville, and felt about a thousand guineas richer, the moment I heard it. Thus my friend do the Springs of industry, increase our Wealth some in one way, and some another. Present my most sincere respects to Mrs. Jackson, and let me beg, both you and her, to accept my Gratefull acknowledgements, for your friendship, politeness and attention, whilst I had the happiness of being at Cumberland. The sense I entertain of your friendship and liberality, induces me to trespass upon your time. By Mr. Samuel Donaldson,² (whom by the bye, I consider one of the Cleverest young fellows I ever was acquainted with, and whose principles and Mental Virtues do Honor to human nature) I send you a power of Attorney, to make a purchase of Six hundred and forty acres of Land, lying at the mouth of Ceder lick Creek, the property as I think of the Heirs of Crutchfield. Captain Caffary as Attorney has the Selling of it. Permit me to request you to take a Veiw of it, and on your Judgment, I can fully rely, as to the quality and terms of purchase. If it does not overflow more than One hundred acres, no post and rail fence wou'd stand, thereon that quantity wou'd not injure it. Captain Caffary, told me, that it shou'd not exceed thirty pounds a hundred. if on Veiwing it, you think it worth that Sum, I wish you to purchase. it wou'd suit me to pay for it, either in a negro and Horses, or in Horses and some Money. If payment cou'd be defered until next fall it wou'd suit me best, as I wish to make some other purchases in your Country. I have two already on the way, for two six hundred and fortys, and the Contracts for those, may perhaps be so made, that I might not without inconvenience, be able to comply with the whole.

¹ Probably intended for "Chucky", a popular form of "Nollichucky", the name of a river in East Tennessee.

² Mrs. Jackson was a daughter of Col. John Donelson, who shared with Gen. James Robertson the honor of founding the Cumberland settlements. Since her family was large and played an important part in Jackson's life, it may be well to state here that Col. John Donelson's children, with the husbands of the daughters, were as follows: Alexander, Catherine (m. Thomas Hutchins), John, Mary (m. John Caffery), William, Jane (m. Col. Robert Hays), Rachel (m. Andrew Jackson), Samuel Severn, Leven, and Elizabeth (m. first Stockley Hays, second John Anderson). The Samuel Donelson mentioned in this letter was the father of Maj. Andrew Jackson Donelson, who was Jackson's private secretary in Washington. See a bill of complaint of John McIver, Jackson MSS., vol. 35, last entry.

I also want you to inform yourself, what Stewarts can be had at, I mean the tract that adjoins Castlemans on Stoners Creek. If Captain Caffary thinks he cou'd not wait for the whole of the pay until fall, I cou'd make out to let him have a part in the Spring, but fall wou'd suit me best. I wish you to make yourself well acquainted with the Titles, so that, at a future day, there might not be any dispute.

By the enumeration it appears, that there is in the Territory, 77,508, Souls, by which we are entitled, to two Representatives in Congress. My Choice, (as well as a number of others) is yourself, and Willm. C: C: Claiborne. Your interest here, will by his friends be Supported, and blended with his; it is our wish, that you may have the same Done for him in Cumberland. from present prospects, he will certainly, out poll, either of his Opponents. I hope to see you at the Convention, when we will Communicate more at large. I am Dear Sir, with every Sentiment of the most sincere Esteem, your friend and Obedt Servt

NATHANIEL MACON TO JACKSON.¹

PHILADELPHIA, January 17, 1796.

Sir: I inclose you a copy of the report of the Committee Claims on your petition, and sincerely wish that it accorded more with my ideas of right, I attended the Committee while they had the petition under Consideration, explained the nature of the claim and shewed the laws and resolutions under which it originated, together with a letter from the Treasurer of North Carolina on the subject. But to no purpose.

Congress have not yet passed a single act this session, none of the Committees to whom important subjects were committed have reported. Every thing contained in the speech of the President is before some committee, as well as a bankrupt system and a plan for establishing offices for the sale of land in the territories of the United States. A motion has been made, on the subject of a navigation act, and not yet acted on. You will see by the papers that a Robert Randall and Charles Whitney had an easy plan for obtaining land, however they are disappointed. The last Accounts from Europe are very vague and contradictory. It is I believe certain that Genl. Jourdan has retreated, but every thing else is too uncertain to trouble with.

I am Sir yr. most Obt. Sert

JACKSON'S REMONSTRANCE TO THE ASSEMBLY OF TENNESSEE.¹

[April 11, 1796.]

To the assembly of the State of Tennessee

The Remonstrance of Andrew Jackson of the District of Mero Sheweth.

That your Remonstrant, in the year Seventeen hundred and Eighty nine was appointed by the General assembly of the State of North Carolina Attorney for and in behalf of the State for the District of Mero, and

¹ Macon was member of the House of Representatives 1791-1815 and of the Senate 1816-1828. He probably d'd not know Jackson in North Carolina, since the two men lived in parts remote from one another.

¹ This paper is preserved in the Jackson MSS., at the end of 1796.

a compensation of forty pounds annexed to said appointment for each Court your Remonstrant should attend.

That your remonstrant by Virtue of the said appointment and under a law of North Carolina passed in 1786 Chapter the Eight, has received from the State of North Carolina the sum of forty pounds per Court, and continued to receive the same untill the Organization of the Territorial Government by Virtue of Cession made by North Carolina to the Congress of the United States, under which Government your Remonstrant received the appointment of attorney for and in behalf of the State for the District of Mero from William Blount Governor in and over the said Territory, and accepted of the same under an Idea that your remonstrant would receive the same compensation for his Services from the General or Territorial Government as he had received from the State of North Carolina but particularly from the Territorial Government as the Cession Act recognized and enforced the laws of North Carolina and attach to the appointment the compensation of forty pounds for each Court the attorney Should attend.

Your remonstrant represent that he has called upon Congress (by remonstrance) for the payment of the stipend annexed to the appointmt. agreeable to the laws of North Carolina and at the last Session of Congress it was acted upon and no compensation whatsoever was allowed.

Your remonstrant further shew that he performed the duties of Attorney General for the District of Mero for and in behalf of the Territory from May Term 1792, untill the expiration of [the] Territorial government by Virtue of the before mentioned appointment, and executed the duties of said office, and has not received any compensation for the same.

Your remonstrant further Shew that by a law passed by the Legislature of North Carolina at there Second Session in Eighty four, and third chapter of Said Session, it was enacted, that all Taxes upon Suits, fines, and forfeitures Should remain a Tax, appropriated to the Sole purpose of the payment of the Saleries allowed by Law to the Judges of the Superior Courts, and Attorney General; that, under that Law the monies arising from Suits, fines, and forfeitures, in the District of Mero ought to have been converted to the payment of the Stipend, due your remonstrant for his Services as attorney for the said District, the Judges being paid by the General Government.

Your Remonstrant represent, that there was a Sufficient Sum, arising from Taxes on Suits, fines, and forfeitures, within the District to have paid the Sum due your remonstrant, which have been converted to the payment of the General expences of the Territory.

Your remonstrant further represent that agreeable to the law of North Carolina enforced by the cession act he is entitled to the sum of forty pounds per Court, for each Court he has attended, and as the monies arising from Taxes on Suits, fines, and forfeitures, have been converted to the use of the Territory, which by the law of North Carolina passed in Eighty four ought to have been converted to the payment of the Stipend due to your remonstrant, Your remonstrant declares that it is the duty of the assembly (and agreeable to Justice and Equity so they ought to do)

to appropriate other publick monies within the District of Mero, to the payment of the Debt, so Justly owing to your remonstrant

AN ACCOUNT OF THE STORE EXPENSE.

[April 26, 1796.]

An Acct of the Store Expence of the Goods of Andrew Jackson and Co. Arrising from the Sale of said Goods Together with the Amount of Expence from Philadelphia to Nashville, the Amount of the first Cost, the Amount of Sales and the Amount of Neat Gain or Difference Between the Cost and Amount of Sales.

Amot of Store Expence.....	16.. 4..
Amot of Expence from Philadelphia to Nashville.....	257..19..
<hr/>	
Total Amot of Expence.....	274.. 3..
Amot of first Cost of Goods.....	1860..13.. 4
<hr/>	
Amot of first Cost and Total Expence.....	2134..16.. 4
Total Amot of Sales.....	3501..10.. 2
Neat Gain or Difference Between Amot of Sales and Amot of Total Expence and first Cost.....	1366..13..10
E. Excepted. April 26th 1796.	

DAN'L JAMES Agent

JACKSON-ALLISON LAND DEAL.¹

June 11, 1796

This Indenture made this eleventh day of June One thousand Seven hundred and ninety six WITNESSETH that whereas, on the fourteenth of May seventeen hundred and ninety five articles of agreement was entered into between David Allison of the City of Philadelphia of the one part and Andrew Jackson of the County of Davidson and Territory south of the River Ohio, (now State of Tennessee) of the other part, stating that the said Andrew and David had laid in Stock in goods, wares, and Merchandize, to the amount of four thousand eight hundred dollars, for the purpose of being disposed for lands by the said Andrew, which said Articles have been complied with, and thirty thousand acres of land procured by reason of the sales of goods, twenty eight thousand eight hundred and ten acres of said lands have this day been convayed by deed indented by Andrew Jackson, to David Allison with a general warrentee. Now it is the true intent and meaning of these presents, that should the Tittles to any part of the land Convayed by the said Andrew hereafter prove Insufficient, so that a recovery may be had against him the said Andrew, by reason of the warrenty contained in said deed, then and in that case the said David Allison is only to have recourse against the said Andrew for one half of the amount of said lands to which the Tittle may prove deficient; but the said David is to have recourse to those persons that have convayed the said lands to the said Andrew, and fully authorised to make use of the name of the said Andrew, and all Title papers for the recovery of the same. In Testimony whereof the said Allison has

¹ Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.

hereunto set his hand and affixed his seal the day and year above mentioned and in the presents of

DAVID ALLISON

JAMES GRANT }
THO. BLOUNT }

THE ALLISON TRANSACTION.¹

[June 11, 1796.]

In the year Ninety-six, I endorsed D. Allison's bill for \$1466.66- $\frac{2}{3}$ to John B. Evans. In the fall of the same year was notified by Evans, to prepare to cover my endorsement, in the ensuing winter. I sold to James Stuart, of Jonesborough, thirty M acres land. Mr Blount in Philadelphia was appointed Stuart's agent, the terms of sale were that the first payment was to be made on my arrival in Philadelphia and to the amount of my endorsed paper in the hands of John B. Evans and Co, and in the hands of Meeker, Cochran and Co, which amount was about \$5000, and on the payment of this sum I was directed to convey to Allison. The money was not advanced, but upon Mr Blount assuring the amont to Evans and Cochran, I conveyed, and credited Stuart by deducting that from the amt. of the sales, since which time Blont has conveyed to Evans 5000 acres of land, on consignment of my endorsement of Allison's note. It can be proven that Evans and Allison were partners in trade at that time, that when the note was endorsed to Evans, the house of Evans and Co was indebted to Allison's private acct. about \$15000 and at the time it became due upwards of 12,000, or thereabouts, at the time of his death about \$10,000. It might be well here to observe before I passed the note to Evans or took out any goods, I took Mr Allison to Evans' store, who named the subject to Evans to let me have goods to any amount I thought proper to take out, he readily agreed to it, and when the invoice was made out I was to give him Allison's note to the amount. the note was accordingly drew from the amount of the invoice payable to me, and when I offered it to Mr Evans he requested me to put my name on the back of it. I did so, but at that time, I did not conceive I stood security for the payment of the note, or that Mr. E. expected me to do so, or then contemplated such a thing. Mr Evans never had the note protested, but threatening to bring suit in case I did not pay and knowing as I did the law of Merchants would make me liable, I obtained Mr B., as agent for Stuart as before stated to pay for me the amount of the note. during this whole transaction I could not get Allison and Evans face to face. Allison still said that Evans was considerable in his debt. Evans denied it. . . .²

¹ Tenn. Hist. Soc., Claybrook Papers. A memorandum in Jackson's handwriting and signed by him. The paper has no date but is endorsed "Jackson vs. Evans". It is here placed with the other papers relating to the Allison transactions, under a date that is quite arbitrary.

² The Allison land deal has aroused some interest among the biographers of Jackson. Parton's *Jackson*, I. 251-253, gives it a prominent place, as it deserves, since it materially modified Jackson's financial condition. But his account is not altogether in accord with such documents as survive on the subject. In a letter to James Jackson, Aug. 25, 1819, a full account appears by Jackson himself, *post*. Cf. also in this work, Jackson to Overton, June 9, 1795; Meeker, Cochran, and Company to Jackson, August 11, 1795; the Jackson-Allison Land Deal, June 11, 1796; and Jackson to Overton, Feb. 3, 1798.

JOSEPH ANDERSON TO JACKSON.¹

August 4, 1796.

. . . . I am happy to hear of my friend Samuel, haveing entered into the Connubial State. What hath come to pass, I expected. I have however not a doubt but the young Couple are happy, and will Continue to be so, to the end of their days, for which they have my most Sincere wishes. Present my respectful regards to them both, and tell them, that a grand son, will put a period to the old Generals pouting.

I shall make a point of informing my fellow Citizens generally and specially, of your intention of holding a pole as a representative to Congress. If Blount and Cocke Shou'd be again elected Senators, you will be most certainly elected. if only one of them, and the other Senator shou'd be Doctr. White, I cannot answer so certainly, but in either event, you may count upon my interest, and that of all my friends. Colonel Outlaw has already told me, that he shall resign in your favour, and some of us are determined to push you in if possible, although you shou'd have a Senator from Cumberland.

I had but little time at Knox after I re[c]d. your letter. I mentd. Samuel Donaldson to some of my friends, and have no Doubt but he will succeed as atty. Genl. for your District.

Present my most Respectful Compliments to your Lady, And assure yourself that I am with every Sentiment of Esteem

Your friend

TO ROBERT HAYS.¹

PHILADELPHIA [1797 ?]

D'r Hays: I have this day been with the accountant of the War Department upon business of Major Farragut²—and can discover from their conversation that it will be difficult to draw any money on your claim as Muster Master, you will therefore do well to write to Col. Hanley and obtain from him approval of your still continuing to act as Muster Master and that he has not paid you any money for your services as Muster Master since the first day of [*mut.*], 1796, (and if he will) state that [*mut.*] referred you to the war office for settlement. Intrust the business to the care of Mr. Deaderick in case he will be on in the middle of February, as I intend leaving their the first day of March. You will please to inform Mr. Robert Searcy that his accounts have been paid but that General Winchester cannot draw it for the want of a power from him, that if he wishes it brought on if a power can reach here by the First of March, I will bring it to him, or transmit it to Winchester at Baltimore.

¹ Probably refers to the elopement of Samuel Donelson with a daughter of Gen. Daniel Smith, to which Jackson gave encouragement. Samuel Donelson was Mrs. Jackson's brother and became the father of Maj. Andrew J. Donelson, later Jackson's private secretary.

² The original is in the possession of Mrs. Rachel Jackson Lawrence, of Nashville, Tenn.

² George Farragut, father of Admiral Farragut. He had a claim before the government for services as muster master in Washington District, Tenn., 1792-1793. Colonel Hays was muster master in Mero District and it was to his claim of a similar nature to Farragut's that Jackson referred in this letter.

TO ROBERT HAYS.

PHILADELPHIA, January 8, 1797

D'r Col, I set down to give you the news of the place and a little family Chat.

By yesterdays paper it is announced, that there is an insurrection in Ireland, that the[y] have made themselves masters of a Considerable Stand of arms, viz 30,000 and attacked 10,000 of the British Troops and Defeated them, this is not as yet well authenticated, but this much I believe to be true that there are great Commotions in Ireland. the same paper announces further successes of the french, the masterly retreat of Morreau, 100 leagues through the heart of the enemy, and tho it has been reported under the london head that he was Captured, it appears that on his retreat he Captured 7000 Troops 2 Stand of Coulours 18 Cannon and 80 officers, and now is again advancing. It is further announced that the British minister has been ordered from paris and has returned without bringing about any thing by negotiations.

The Directory of France has given orders to their armed vessels to capture all american vessels bound to or from a British port which is bottomed on the Decree, to Treat all Nutral flags in the same manner Nutral flags suffers themselves to be treated by the english, the english still Continuing their Captures of our vessels when bound to a french port. In what this may end I cannot Conjecture. I Believe it to be a fact that France has acquired by Barter From the Spaniards the East and west floridas and part of Louisiana in exchange for part of St. Domingo, therefore the[y] will be masters of the mouth of the Mississippi, but I hope they will be good neighbours.

The Legislature of the Union progress slowly in business the greater part of the time as yet have been taken up in committees prepareing business for the house. It is much Talked off to increase the salaries of the officers of Government and to lay a direct Tax, neither of which I hope will take effect. It is strongly urged the necessity of a direct tax, it appears necessary by the Secratarys Report to raise for the next year a further sum than is annually raised of 1,200000 Dollars to meet the exigencies of Government. this is urged in favour.

Seviers Campaign has been before a Committee of the whole house on the report of the secratary at war on the petition of Hugh L White, and now referred to a select Committee to report. If a favourable determination should be had I will next bring forward our campaign.

I named to you the steps I had taken to Bring into view the subject of Col. Mankers¹ and men who marched to the Chickasaw nation in my

¹ Kaspar Manker was one of the early explorers of the Cumberland Valley and took a group of settlers thither in 1779. In 1781 the Chickasaw Indians made a treaty with the whites and lived peaceably with them thereafter. George Colbert was one of their chiefs and was a strong friend of the whites. In 1795 they were beset by the Creeks and appealed to the whites, and a band of forty-five volunteers, led, it seems, by Manker, and supplied by Capt. David Smith, responded to the call and drove off the attacking Creeks. Jackson's petition of 1797 did not succeed, but in the treaty with the Chickasaw, 1818, the United States government agreed to pay, for those Indians, \$2000 to Capt. David Smith, then of Kentucky, for the supplies alluded to. The expedition of 1795 was frequently mentioned in the correspondence of the whites with the Chickasaw. See Jackson to George Colbert, June 5, 1812, and *Am. St. Papers, Indian Affairs*, I. 363, 378, 384, 408, 441, 442, 451, 456, 465, 536, 556.

last, by preferring a petition in the name of G. Colbert, to obtain pay for the provisions and relieve Smith, but I think the Claim will be negatived.

Now for family Chat; I have got Genrl Winchester² to lay in the necessaries, wanted, Nails Glass etc. is already sent on to fort pit the Ballance of the Memorandum he is to lay in at Baltimore. I am Dohbtfull of Receiving your pay unless, a Certificate should reach me from Hanley before I present the account, but to answer our purpose I have given Winchester a power to sell 1250 acres of land on the Bluffs which he says he can do, and to lay in to that amount, and should I receive your pay has promised to transmit him to Baltimore some money. Thus far I have taken care of the needfull, but I do not expect they will be as well Chozen as tho I had got the money and laid them in myself, but Winchester is verry accomodating and obliging.

I have no expectation of receiving any thing from Allison. I think that firm in a bad way.

I have nothing more to say at present, but trust you to Deliver the inclosed letter and take care of my little rachael untill I return, and give my compliments to your lady and all friends and believe me to be as usual yours

P S Adams will be president and Jeferson vice. Adams has 71 votes Jeferson 68. you will be certain of the m[ar]sh[al] but who will be Judge I know not but I expect Rhea,³ the senate being in his Interest.

.....

DRAFT OF REPORT OF COMMITTEE OF CONGRESS.¹

[January 17, 1797.]

It appears from recurring to the Different official Communications from the Governor and Secretary of the then Territory to the Secratary at war, that the frontier was verry much harrassed by the frequent incursion Depredations and murders of the Indians from the day of 1793 untill the day of in the same year when the depredations and incursions of the Indians grew more frequent, and in larger parties,

² James Winchester, a Revolutionary soldier from Maryland, settled in Sumner County, Tenn., where he rose to the rank of brigadier-general of militia. He was given the same rank in the regular army in 1812 and served, first in the Northwest and later, under Jackson, in the South.

³ John Rhea. On Feb. 17, 1797, President Washington nominated John McNairy for judge of the United States district court for Tennessee, and Robert Hays for marshal; the nominations were confirmed. *Exec. Journal of Senate*, I. 226, 227.

¹ This draft is entered in the Jackson MSS., May 14, 1793. Another draft in Jackson's handwriting is entered Feb. 14, 1797. The two papers are not similar. See also *Am. St. Papers, Indian Affairs*, I. 621, where the date is Jan. 17, 1797.

When Jackson took his seat in the House, 1796, a bill was before that body to allow Hugh Lawson White pay for his services in the Nickajack expedition of 1793. The committee on claims reported it unfavorably, on the ground that the expedition was not authorized by the federal government and was contrary to the known Indian policy of the administration. Jackson met the report by moving that the expenses of the whole expedition be paid. After a brief debate the matter was referred to a select committee of which he was chairman. The above paper is a draft of the report of this committee, made to the House on Jan. 17, 1797 (Greeley, *Documents of the First Fourteen Congresses*, p. 214). It is not like the report as published in *Am. St. Papers, Indian Affairs*, I. 621, and it seems to have been brought into shape by a more experienced man than Jackson. The report was adopted. See *Ann. of Cong.*, 4 Cong., 2 sess., pp. 1738, 1742, 1746, 2154.

The attacks being made on different quarters, and the frontier being in a very Defenceless situation, the Secretary (the Governor being absent) on the [30th] day of [September] ordered General Sevier to take the field with one third of the men previously order[ed] by Governor Blount to be held in readiness, to act on the defensive and interrupt any parties of Indians that might attempt to invade the frontier, but before, the General had got into the field a large party of Indians Consisting of Two hundred on the day of September [August 29] made an attack on Henrys Station and killed a lieutenant Telford and one private but failed in their attempt to carry the station, Genrl Sevier having collected 300 foot and Two troops of cavalry marched to the frontier on the south side of Holston where he was stationed when a large party of Indians Consisting of 1200 crossed the river below him, and penetrated through the frontier within seven miles of Knoxville and on the 25th day of September 1793 attacked and carried the Caveat Station and murdered every man woman and child being thirteen in number, that Country being thus situated and invaded, the Secretary Issued his order on the 30th of september, Commanding General Sevier to pursue overtake and punish the Enemy with what men could be speedily raised.

These facts appears to bring 2 questions before the Committee.

1st Whether the then situation of the Territory was such, as to render the Expedition an essential or necessary measure for the Defensive protection of the frontier.

recurring to the facts before stated it appears to the Committee that the Frontier Country was in an actual state of invasion, and the measures adopted was essential to the efficient protection of the frontier by persuing and Discomfitting the invaders in such a manner as might prevent them, from returning and making an immediate attack on the frontier.

2 was the authority given by government to the governor of the Territory (or secretary in his absence) such as to lay the militia under obligations of obeying him,

It appears from the ordinance which is recognised by the Session act that the governor is to be Commander in chief of the militia, and in that respect similar powers to any state governor, and by the Communications of the Secretary at war, that he was authorised, and invested with discretionary powers, to call into the field any number of militia that he might think necessary to protect the frontier, therefore laying the ordinance asside, granting him the power to order the martial law required obedience—and therefore the militia bound to obey his orders, it is therefore the opinion of the Committee that the[y] ought to be paid.

It appears that the rations forrage and expence of the sick and wounded are paid by government and part of the pay due to soldiary, Leaving a Ballance of Dol which is suspended as being for offensive service.

The Committee therefore recommend the following resolution. Resolved that the sum of Dollars and be appropriated for the Discharge of the pay remaining due to General Sevier and his Command for his services from the day of 1793 to the day of December 1793 both days agreeable to his muster rolls.

To JOHN SEVIER.¹PHILADELPHIA,² January 18, 1797

Sir: I have to acknowledge the Receipt of your letter of the Twelfth ultimo, and have to observe that I would have answered it at an Earlier period, but waiting to have the pleasure of giving you some Certain information Respecting the pay due to you and your army for your Military services in the year 1793.

The subject of the pay due to your army was brought before the house by a report of the Secretary at war on the petition of Hugh L. White. Early in this Session (and I must observe the report was by no Means favorable to the petitioner) after being Twice before A committee of the whole house it was recommitted, to a Select Committee and this day they have reported to the House, favourably. I hope therefore that their report will be agreed to. Thus far we have progressed in that business.

We have acted finally on no business of importance, a law to Extend the Federal Judiciary into our state have passed the Senate and is Now before us, which I Expect will pass this house without amendment.

The subject of a direct Tax has been before the house of Representatives, and ably discussed, but not as yet decided on. I am doubtfull that it will be carried into a law, as for My own part I think it will be very unpalatable to the Tennesseans in their present Situation, therefore will be opposed to it, but was the revenue thus Raised I think there would not be half the profusion in government that now exists. the situation of our Commerce, is urged as a strong ground for a direct Tax, and I think the revenue arising from import in the year Ninty Seven will be far inferior to that of Ninety Six. The Republik of france was slow in their Determination what line of Conduct to pursue with Respect to america, but when once the[y] have Established that line of Conduct (which they have by a decree) if we Judge from their former Steadfastness, they will strictly adhere to it, with firmness. Their Decree is thus Expressed "She will Treat Nutral flags as Nutral flags suffer themselves to be treated by the English ". the[y] have under the decree gave order to their armed vessels to capture all vessels bound to or from parts of great Britain, Britain captures all vessels bound to or from french ports therefore their Captures are similar, and this is the advantage our Commerce derived from the British Treaty, the Merchants Experience the fruits of their prays. They petitioned for the ratification of that Instrument, and now they are Enjoying the fruits of their Industry.

I am sorry to see our Country by the Conduct of our Government involved in such a situation with the republick of France, who are now struggling to obtain for themselves the same B[1]essings (liberty) that we fought and bled for, we ought to wish them success if we could not aid them. How the present difference with France May terminate is for wiser politicians than Me to Determine. I enclose you this days paper that May afford you some news.

I have now to answer the first part of your letter which I have viewed with pleasure and happy to find that your Sentiments so perfectly accord

¹ N. Y. Hist. Soc.

² While in Philadelphia Jackson lived with "Mr. Hardy", who died early in 1805. See Felix Robertson to Jackson, Mar. 25, 1805.

with mine. No doubt you Recollect my sentiments Expressed in the Convention; they were sentiments, I long Entertained, and founded on mature deliberation, and the right to the Soil. My opinion is so firmly invested in the sovereignty of the State, both by Constitutional principles and by the law of nations added to that the Sovereignty, reserved by the states, in forming the federal Constitution, and that sovereignty as respected us recognised by the act of admission, that nothing but the act of the strong hand of power itself, can divest us of that right—for upon no Solid Legal ground can the Claim of the United States be supported, and as you have Justly observed it the right of soil was in the united federal head, we could not be said to Enjoy all the rights and privileges the original states Enjoy, otherwise the advocates in favour of the United Claim must shew that the right of Domain is not a right which must be proposterous and a perversion of the English Language.

I have to offer some reasons for my not writing More frequently, and I hope the following will be Satisfactory.

I am the only representative from the State. Consequently all the business of the State in the house of representatives devolve on me, on all Committees, before whom business is brought that is of a general Nature I am appointed and have to serve, and also upon Many select ones, wherein the Interest of the Individuals of My state are Concerned. the Committees meet general at 6 oclock in the Evening and sit to 9, and then on Saturdays. This they are Compelled to do from the shortness of the Session, having to attend to the Committees and the business of the house I have not Much time to wa[s]te and I am well Convinced that My Constituents would ruther have Justice done, and their demands paid then receive letters from me and as I am Compelled to Neglect one or the other My duty dictates to Me to attend closely to the interest of My Country.

Make my Compliments acceptable to your lady and believe Me to be with Respect your Mo. ob. serv,

[P. S.] This letter I write in haste and have not time to Coopy it therefore you will excuse obliterations and interlineations.

JOHN CAFFERY TO JACKSON.

April (?), 1797.

Dear Sir: I thought to have had the Pleasure of Seeing you at the muster this day held at S. Lick, but am hindred by a Old Acquaintance from Kentucky you I hope will Try to Engage the People in that Quarter to Turn against Lewis,s Elextion, he has ben very busy amoungst them, and is asserting Every falshood to Carry him, and to your Prujuedice, as well as Every dam,d low skeme he Can device.

I am D. Sir, with Regard, your Obt. Hume. Sevt.

P. S. I have Recd. a very Politic answer from Doctr. Willimson,¹ (and the Philocifcle Society) in which he Renders you Compliments.

¹ Probably Dr. Hugh Williamson, a native of Pennsylvania, resident and prominent official in North Carolina during the Revolution, and a representative of that state in Congress in 1790-1793. He was a prominent member of the American Philosophical Society, of Philadelphia, and removed from North Carolina to New York in 1793. It was the conduct of Lewis in this election that led to Jackson's quarrel with John Sevier, governor of Tennessee 1796-1801 and 1803-1809. It is possible that Williamson had met

WILLIAM COCKE TO JACKSON.¹

KNOXVILLE, April 18, 1797.

My dear, Jackson it is with pleasure I write to you that I have heard of your safe arrival to Cumberland. I have enjoyed my health very well since I see you, and found my family and friends in the like state. I have not as yet seen mr Stewart as he had not returned from visiting his friends when I left Washington Superior Court but I expect to see him shortly when I shall discharge the trust reposed in me by you

I shall now give you a statement of Govournour Seviere's Conduct as it relates to you.² I met him at mr Hanises with your letter in my Pocket and had not spoke three words to him before he inquired after you in the most affectionate manner and declared [his] highest approbation of your conduct as the representative of the state of tennessee as well as his Personal esteem for you the friendly trust you have been pleased to repose in me and the great regard I had for discharging that trust in the best Possible manner induced me to decline delivering the letter as I knew you never desired to make any man an enemy who wished to be your friend I am now the more pleased with the conduct that I pursued as I find him every day publicly expressing the same sentiments, from which I conclude he is sorry for his former dislike to you and while I know that you would not submit to be treated ill by any man I am satisfied that you would for give an indiscretion or even an Injury when a change of conduct manifested it self towards you in this state of things I have acted according to my best Judgement have never named the subject to any one the Govournour will be in your country in a few days when you will have an opportunity of seeing him and I expect will publicly a vow that he never ment to Injure your Reputation or feelings hear let me then Observe that friendship with all men is best if it can be had upon Honorable terms. Give my compliments to Mrs Jackson and all Our friends in Cumberland may every Blessing attend you.

your real friend

JOHN MCNAIRY TO JACKSON.¹

BELLVIEW, May 4, 1797.

Sir. On the 15th. ult. I received your two letters from Philadelphia, one dated the 24th. of January, the other the 3d. of February. The first is a very friendly communication, in which you "*assure me that it is with pleasure you communicate to me at any time, but having all the bussiness of the State to attend to, you cannot wright as frequently as your wishes*

Jackson in Philadelphia the preceding winter, for the former spent much of his time in that city. The reference to the "Philocificle Society" is not explained.

¹ William Cocke was U. S. senator 1796-1797 and 1799-1805. His efforts to preserve friendly relations between Jackson and Sevier came to naught. Persons interested in the often discussed question of Jackson's spelling will observe that it was not as bad as William Cocke's, whose family stood high in Virginia, his native state, and who was lawyer, prominent official, and eminent citizen of Tennessee, where he settled at a mature age.

² For the origin of Jackson's quarrel with Sevier, see Bassett's *Jackson*, I. 55-60, 74.

¹ Judge McNairy and Jackson read law together in Salisbury, N. C., and together went to Tennessee. They were now entering into a quarrel which lasted most of the remainder of their lives. The evident cause was McNairy's friendship for Governor Sevier.

would dictate" I will also bring to your recollection, the time when I mentioned to you my apprehensions that you were cool with me, and you assured me in very positive terms that you was not, this you must remember for you take notice of my jealousy of your friendship, all the remark I wish to make on this head is, that I should be much happier if I could be assured that your coolness arises from disgust with me and not from a desire to change old friends for new ones, but let the change be as it may, I wish you may experience much disinterested Friendship. You set out in your letter of the 3d. of February with observing that it is your first wish to be in friendship with all mankind, now, Sir, I would only ask why, (when I spoke to you) you did not tell me you had reasons for your coolness, that an eclaireissement might take place, and that the first wish of your heart might be gratified. Sir you may start from the Idea, and think with many other superior minds, that suspicion should never taint the noble bosom—"be not fancifully jealous, for that is foolish: as to be reasonably so is wise," is in my opinion a good maxim, that being a charge in your letter, I shall take the liberty to explain to you the reasons on which it was founded. Before the election of members of the convention, I was informed by my brother that you had been heard to say you did not like me and that you did not wish me to be elected about that time I had frequently requested you to call and see, you did not, you had meetings on the subject of the election I had no notice to attend, we sometimes met in town and it appeared to me that you did not possess that open friendly countenance towards me, you had used, in confirmation of the news I then heard, I will cite one Paragraph from your letter in which you say "*no doubt I have said that your conduct appeared to me in a manner that I could never have that real friendship for you that I once had.*" I shall leave the natural comments on this scene to your own breast and determine for yourself, whether such things would have been sufficient inducement to you to make the like enquiries, but when you told me that you was to me what you always had been I concluded the arrows had come from the quiver prepared for me in another quarter; your next charge in order is the affair of Sharp. I confess I felt myself hurt at your undertaking the suit and I think at this time (considering the friendship that had existed) you ought to have seen me and advised me to a proper line of conduct, for you must have thought me wrong or you would not have undertaken the suit, if your telling me (after this business of Sharps) that you was in friendship with me will not atone, permit me to inform you that when I entered into the resolution to nonsuit him it was not known to me that you had filled up the writ, but I confess that afterwards in Mr. Taits storehouse with you I was informed you had, being so much exasperated I determined to pursue my former resolution; and it did not then enter my mind that you conceived my aim to be at you. a few trifling errors humanity may at best be prone to. You ask did I not inform Genl. Robertson at the convention, that you had been plotting against my election as Judge. I told him that I was convinced you was unfriendly towards me in that respect for that I had heard several of the members say you had highly recommended Majr. Latom and said nothing about me and I think Berry was one of the men who

informed me. you know best whether you stood forward in his favor or not. You ask again did I not make a stroke at you in the convention unprovoked. you cannot mean by this that I was wrong to differ in Opinion with you, it cannot be, I do not at present recollect the question. I remember well there was warmth, but if I know myself I then thought you was first warm. You say again did I not shun your house, I never purposely did, but could I possibly make you a formal visit, when after the time you told me you was in friendship, I wrote you about your election as member to Congress and also wrote a ticket to you by my father to call and see me and you did not, and after all I had previously heard no sir, that would be courting friendship indeed. You ask did I not at the election suspect you and your friends for being oposed to your interest and tell Capt. Maxwell that there was a plan formed by Governor Blount and William Donnelson. As to your friends I will remark, Colo. Hays told me himself he was oposed to my election and walked the court Yard to get votes and sir I told Capt. Maxwell that Colo. Donnelson had received a letter from Govr. Blount, (I think my information was from Sampson Williams and that he brought the letter) in which Govr. Blount requested him to offer and knowing that Blount was unfriendly towards me and that Colo. Donelson did not offer till late, I told Capt. Maxwell that it must be to injure my interest, but as to you no man ever heard me say any thing at that time, you may draw such conclusions (as to the first breach of friendship) from these premises as is fairly deducible, you mention that the latter part of my letter is so obscure that you cannot give it an answer, yet you undertake to say something with respect to *retorting and the first law of nature* mentioned in mine, when just above you say you do as you are done by. pray give me the same liberty. as to your friends that I mentioned in my letter I will refer you to Mr. Saml. Donnelson, I shall conclude with one sentence more. To confess a fault that is none, out of fear, is indeed mean, but not to be afraid of standing in one, is brutish.

I am your's as usual

JOHN SEVIER TO JACKSON.

BELVIU¹ May 8, 1797

Sir: Your letter of this day is before me, and to which I reply in a concise, and I trust satisfactory manner.

permit me however in the first place to remark, that while I am particularly desirous of being at peace with all mankind my heart recoils at and disdains the idea of passing over in silence an unjustifiable attack on my character. I do not think it necessary to state the reasons which determined me to send blank commissions for the Cavalry officers of Mero district to General Robertson. My inclination however leads me to declare, that in doing so I was neither actuated by party spirit or any

¹In his diary Sevier notes that on May 8 he "went to Judge McNairys (Court began)", and he spent most of the nights there during his sixteen days' stay in Nashville. He spells erroneously Bellview, the name of McNairy's residence. See Heiskell's *Jackson*, II. 544.

other improper motive, but thought that I was strictly within the line of my duty. If in this or any other instance I have violated the Constitution, to the proper authority I am accountable.

Your public observations on my official conduct was represented to me as unfriendly and illiberal, I do not at present recollect the particular expressions; But Sir the inference I drew was, that they merited the Epithet Scurrilous, and proceeded from a wish to injure my reputation; which produced in me that spirit of resentment which exists in the breast of every good man. Thus impressed I wrote the letters you allude to. The expressions you have Quoted might probably have been used; some of them I am sure were; at that period it was not a matter of consequence to me who saw them. I viewed you as my enemy and thus was not choice in my language. On your way to Philadelphia (before which the letters were written) I expected to have seen you, and intended to have had personal conference, but in this I was disappointed. A few days after you had set out for Congress, a letter from Genl. Robertson placed the matter in a different point of view, and my resentment was greatly softened; on the return of Judge Claiborne my mind was considerably relieved; from that character I received a statement of the business which I fully confided in, and which led me to conclude that altho (in my opinion) your attack upon my public character was unmerited. I was not authorised to view you as a private enemy. Be not surprised then, at my communications to you while at the northward. My duties in office dictated the propriety of corresponding with you, and my feelings led me to the using of a friendly language. Thus Sir in General terms I have answered your letter. My reputation Mr. Jackson is to me my only treasure; it is the greatest pleasure of my declining years; I have laboured to merit the esteem and confidence of my Countrymen, and the great object of my political life, has been to promote the welfare of this part of the Western country; now the State of Tennessee. How far I have succeeded is not for me to determine. The voice of calumny has more than once been busied in trying to effect my political Destruction; I have had too many attacks upon my own character, to be desirous of attacking that of any other Citizen. rest assured then Sir, any observations I made in the letters you have quoted, were not bottomed on malice; they were the language of a man who thought himself highly injured, and if it betrayed a little imprudence, I will here add, that like yourself when passion agitates my Breast, I can not view things in the calm light of mild philosophy.

Your most obedt. Hbl Servt.

P. S. an answer is requested.

TO JOHN SEVIER.¹

NASHVILLE, May 8, 1797

Sir: From your friendly communications Recd. whilst I was at Philadelphia, I was convinced you had been rightly informed of the expres-

¹ Jackson's letters to Sevier of May 3, 10, and 13, 1797, are published in the *Am. Hist. Mag.* (Nashville), V. 118-122. See also Bassett, *Life of Jackson*, I. 57 n.

sions made use of by me at the election of the militia officers of this District with respect to your official conduct in communicating your constitutional power as the Executive of the state to another, and had Truly construed it to be a right *as a citizen* that I possessed, to take notice of any official act, of any officer of Government and express, my sentiments thereon, but sir behold my surprise, when I returned and was informed that amidst those friendly letters to me you had wrote a letter to General Robertson and another to Joel Lewis in which you cared not for any scurelous expression of this language that "*a poor pitifull petty fogging Lawyer*" could make use of respecting me (you) and that you would treat it with Contempt." these are expression, that my feelings are not accustomed to, and which my conduct through life by no mea[n]s, merri[s], and with respect to the scurrility, mentioned by you in your letter as having been made use of by me, it will be necessary to state facts and from thence enquire whether the expressions made use of deserv[e]d the epithet, *scurilous*. I was present at the Election as a private Citizen, who I conceived had no right to interfere, as their representative (they officers elected by the people) were present, who were constitutionally, and Legally authorised to conduct, and Debate upon any matter that might arise at the Election, and hearing your Constitutional power to transfer any of your official duties to another questioned—was still determined to be silent, but in the course of the Debate seeing Joel Lewis, rise to dispute upon the question, and to enforce his Argument, pulled out a private letter wrote him by you, viewing him as a Citizen in the same situation of myself—without a right to Debate, and viewing with horror a private Letter from the Executive of the State produced to influence the officers, to do, (in my oppinion) an unconstitutional act, and which would establish a precedent, dangerous to the rights of the people, I proceded to reply, with some warmth to Mr Lewis and observed, (in *substance*) that I was sorry to expose the Ignorance of the governor in attempting to negotiate his Constitutional duties, and further observed that it matters not, that the power was granted to a good man, the right being given up, and the presedent being established, that the Executive might Convey the power to any person evan to Tom Mcfarlin if Living, this Sir was the substance of my expressions in reply to Mr Lewis without personal reference to your character further than the law of argument and Mr. Lewiss conduct justified and I must still think that they did not merri[t], the epithet *Scurrilous*, but Sir why those private letters wrote why Sir the communication not directly to me, why Sir the friendly correspondence with me of philadelphia, and why Sir this private attack upon my character to a man that was my enemy, with (*I suppose*) instructions to publish it, in my absence; this Conduct requires an explanation, and the injury done my feelings and charector requires a redress, answer, to this letter sir is expected.

Mr Lewis certainly meant to put himself indecently at the head of a party, and when I saw him produce your Letter to influence unconstitutionally an election, in which he ought to have had no concern the first idea that struck me was, that he was authorised so to do by you, otherwise he would not have taken the liberty to produce your Letter. Whether this was the case you alone can determine.

TO JOHN MCNAIRY.

NASHVILLE, May 9, 1797

Sir: your Letter of the 4th Instant is now before me and was handed me by mr Mitchel this day, I cannot help observing the date, and the time of delivery, and how closely your letter keeps pace with another Subject, Communicated to me whilst in philadelphia, and now under Consideration.¹

But to attend to the substance of your letter, as I do not intend following you in Detail, and for this reason, that you requested Candeur of me; in your letter to me in philadelphia in the Essence of Candeur I dealt with you, and you sir in the Instance of the Suit of Sharp, made Such an infraction upon the Strict principles of friendship, which was persued by your Jealous inquiries with Respect to My friendship, that Convinced Me, that unless you were convicted in your own Mind, that you had given Cause to me, no longer to be in habits of friendship with you, such Conduct, would not have been persued by you, and the information I Recd. on the day you applied to me in the Street of Nashvill to know if there was any plotts in contemplation at Knoxville to prevent you from being appointed as Judge, and which I recd. immediately after Determined me in My Mind, that you were not Capable of true principles of friendship, and that my friendship was attached to a Jealous reed not to be Depended on;

I shall only take notice of one or two sentences of your Letter; you observe that before the Election for members to meet in Convention you were informed by your Brother Andrew that I was heard to say "that I was not your friend, and that I did not wish that you should be Elected". But this I find upon Calling on your Brother is misrepresented by you (as many parts of your Letter would turn out to be should I put myself to the Trouble of enquiry, which I do not mean to do) he says he was informed, that I had said I was not your friend but I wished you to be Elected, and cannot well recollect his informant, but the person that he thinks informed him, disavows it (do not construe this as so as to draw Andrews veracity in question) but it shews upon what foundation your Jealousy rested and your Conduct towards Col. Donelson, shewed (and for that purpose mentioned in my letter) how little regard you had for strict friendship, in him you always found a steadfast friend, without disguise, and upon what futile grounds your Jealousy was raised, and now sir I have to observe why as you were in possession, of those grounds of suspicion (you say you were) you did not Communicate them to me. my information respecting your Jealous Conduct and Enquiries had never reached me, untill after the Convention, and a great part of it, after your Enquiry at me with respect to the plotts against you at Knoxville, and with Respect to my attachment to Major Tatam,² and proposing him as a Judge. the world, I hope knows I am his friend, and I hope always to Continue so, and I told you I had named him as a Judge to a circle

¹ Jackson seems by this to connect his quarrel with McNairy with that which he was then conducting by letters with Governor Sevier.

² Maj. Howell Tatam, formerly a Revolutionary officer from North Carolina, a lawyer in Tennessee, a surveyor, and Jackson's topographical engineer in 1814-1815.

of the Member of Convention but to hasten to the last Sentence of your letter which is the only part, that Deserves my serious attention "you say to Confess a fault through fear, is indeed mean, but not to be afraid, of standing in one is brutish", If this Sentence is intended to be, by you confined to yourself, (as I conceive you to be the first Egressor,) you need not be confined long to a Brutish Situation *as the door is open* but If intended for me, we are at Issue; and I do Reply, that it is an ungentleman puppy like Expression, and these Expressions *I wish to be taken in the worst sense of the words.*

I am

ANDREW JACKSON

TO JOHN SEVIER.¹

NASHVILLE, May 10 1797

Sir: Your letter of the 8th instant has recd every consideration which I have been able to give, and be assured Sir that your sentiments and ideas upon abstract principles entirely accord with my own. Facts may be mistated, and it is not improbable they were in the instance before us. I can assure you Sir that at the time the expressions were made use of by me in the case of the election, I was neither your *political* nor *private* enemy, nor am I yet inclined to be so, but I feel the sweetness and necessity of protecting my feelings and reputation whenever they are maliciously injured as sensibly as yourself or any other person.

It is with pleasure sir that I now remark to you that I think you had no *malicious* design to injure my reputation and that your letters proceeded from the warmth of the moment. That you were not actuated by party spirit I hope and am willing to believe was the case, though I can assure you Governor Sevier that when I saw Mr Joel Lewis making use of your private Letter for a public purpose I had a right to think otherwise.

Far be it from me to think Sir that for any errors in the discharge of your duties you are answerable except in a constitutional manner but for malicious slander all men ought to be answerable at the bar of honor. This I hope applies to neither of us in the present case. Permit me to request sir in future that as far as it respects myself you will pay some attention to the essential distinction between observations invol[v]ing your political conduct by way of *argument*; and such as are malicious and personal.

In regard to the conduct of Mr Lewis I have nothing to say in this letter except that as by his producing your private letter to *answer his own purpose* it unavoidably brought your political conduct in view. If Mr Lewis produced the letter without your approbation he is answerable to you and not to me. One thing is certain and needs no demonstration from the nature of the transaction itself; that the warmth of argument originated between Mr Lewis and myself upon this subject no doubt Mr Lewis is pretty well informed, if he is not he may be.

From the impressions I now hold Sir I can assure you that it will give me pleasure, to converse personally with you upon this or any other, subject. Be pleased therefore to state some particular time when I can see you at your own room.

¹ Copy. See the *Am. Hist. Mag.* (Nashville), V. 120.

JOHN SEVIER TO JACKSON.

NASHVILLE, May 11, 1797

Sir: Your very polite letter of yesterday, calls for an immediate and candid reply: I take pleasure in assuring you that I never was nor am I yet, either your private or political enemy; a man of merit will always find me his friend, and I am a foe only to such who in private and public life continue to act dishonorable and disgraceful. The objects of us both seem to be an honorable reconciliation. When men act coolly and dispassionately this may easily be effected; and if language of sincerity be used, that reconciliation may be durable.

You propose a personal conference and that I shall name the time when, and the persons to be present, since you wish this formality to be observed, and which I myself think necessary. I have no objection. I shall continue in Town until the adjournment of the court, and it will be agreeable to me, to meet you at any place you will please to name; as to the characters present, I have no particular choice, my friends Captain Sparks and Judge Claiborne is now with me, and if it is not inconvenient to General Robertson I shall ask them to accompany me.

Before I conclude, I must remark that it is the characteristic of a noble mind to acknowledge an Error when convinced, and however disposed we both may be, regardless of personal consequences, to preserve the Sweetness of our feelings, and carefully to guard the respectability of our characters, I trust that if it should appear on investigation that either of us has acted somewhat rash and imprudent, that the proper concessions will be made, and that if a reconciliation should ensue, that the consequence will be, the future existence of not a nominal but real friendship.

Accept Sir my respects

Your Hbl. Servt.

JOHN McNAIRY TO JACKSON.

BELLVIEW May 12, 1797.

Sir: I postponed answering yours of the 9th. instant untill I saw my brother on the subject of my representation expressed by you, on speaking with him, he says that he is not positive, but thinks I am wrong in this, that you *did not wish me elected* but that the amount of it was that you did not like me, yet you thought I ought to be elected. Whether the information to him was authentic, it is impossible for me absolutely to determine. You mention you will take no further notice of my letter except the last sentence, on which you observe, that if *this sentence is intended to be by me confined to myself, as I have been the aggressor that you have only to observe that I need not remain any length of time in my brutish situation*, if you are of opinion that being afraid of standing in a fault is brutish I am content to remain in that brutish situation always, but I am convinced you will agree with me that the man who is not afraid of standing in a fault degrades himself beneath the Character of a man and consequently a brute. that sentence now under consideration, when wrote was intended to apply to that part of my letter which takes notice

of the business of Sharp or to any other circumstance in my life which may have been an error, as a reason for its application. I do not recollect one word in my letter which charges you with want of candor in your last letter from Philadelphia and endeavoured to state my reasons to you, it was impossible for me to tell what would be your reply but I expected candour, therefore it could not apply as by your last stated, Your replication altho. conditional (before you knew my construction) evidences a degree of war[m]th if not a disposition unfriendly to a discussion of the differences existing between us. But Sir if any of my words or actions have made me responsible, I am ready to answer for them as honor may direct.

I am

P. S. if I should request you for a copy of this letter I hope you'll grant me one as I have not a copy of it all and company urging me to start with them.

TO JOHN MCNAIRY.¹

NASHVILLE, May 12 1797

Sir: Your Letter of this day is now before me upon which permit me to remark in a few words; that [it] is observeable, the harsh and grating expressions in the latter part are understood to apply to yourself. This Sir was not accepted in that sense by me. Not through inattention I conceive was the idea taken up, as from experience in life; I have been accustomed to hear men speak of their own failings at least in milder terms. From this cause together with the uncertainty of the tenor of the letter, I was led to adopt the opinion: Your Letter informs me I was wrong in that particular; but I must in candor say sir, however immaterial it may be to you, that my feelings in regard to the violation of our once intimate friendship are not healed.

To give you any other information would be uncandid. Let the matter drop here; as members of civilized Society, I indulge the idea that we shall pass through life in an easy manner; with the help of those rules and forms of politeness which such a state ought to impose upon every man. A copy of your Letter, to which this is in answer you shall have, at any time so Long as it remains by me.

I am Sir
yr mo. ob. serv,

JOHN SEVIER TO JACKSON.

NASHVILLE, May 13, 1797

Sir: Your note of to day ¹ was handed me, by Mr. Lewis. permit me to assure you that I am extremely sorry that I could not attend in time. I did not know that your professional business would interfere having heard, you had declined practice. I will do myself the honor of waiting on you this evening if agreeable to you. I have the honor to be Sir

Your mo. ob. Servt.

¹ Copy. *Am. Hist. Mag.* (Nashville), V. 121 (1900).

STOCKLEY D. DONELSON TO JACKSON.

FORT BLOUNT, TENNESSEE, [1797?]¹

Dear Sir: By Mr. Dillon I drop you a line. I have Blundered up this far. Set out Backe to your house this Evening. Sister Jackson and all were well when I left there and anxious to get Back. I would thank you to write me, by the first Opportunity. your friendly advise, I now and Continually want. some New annoyances seem to be awaiting me of a Singular Nature. I forbear to Mention. I have no doubt but some other Judgements will be this Court Obtained against me, and perhaps the Securities follow me hear, so that the first plan must in the end be pursued. I wish to See you Return. Mr. Dillon goes on to North Carolina undertakes Some Business. Pray if you hear any thing from Colo. Glasgow and Mrs. Donelson, acquaint me therewith. I shall endeavour to See My Sister to morrow evening, yours and hers unbounded friendship, will never be forgotten, whilst hear on earth I live. I have No News to write you. all friends are well.

I am with all Esteem
yours Mo. Obt. Sevt

TO ROBERT HAYS.

KNOXVILLE, November 2, 1797

D'r Col. This will be handed you by your old acquaintance and my old friend William Crawford ¹ who, I met with this morning, at this place. He is going to that country to refit his weather beaten Constitution, and to fix upon a spot to situate himself on for life. he has entirely left of Drink and I am in hopes will profit by his imprudence. Anything that you can do for him I am convinced your goodness of heart, will excite you to do, I mean in giving him information, of the Country. Should he stand in need of any small supplies will thank you to furnish him and I will be accountable to you therfor.

Upon the subject of the Mercantile business I am sorry we had not more conversation, But sir send on your Grant, by Mr Wiggins and I will Try to do the needfull, fix your price and I will try to get more, If possible, however I will not sell for less than you name.

I intend upon mature deliberation If you send on the Grant, to lay in about six thousand Dollars stock, perhaps more—but this will be regulated by your advice. If we dip into the business It will be necessary [to] lay in a sufficient stock, so that the profits may be an object.² But you may rest satisfied that I will not run in Debt.

I reached this place last evening where I found Mr Claibourn, with whom I expect to go on. My horse is verry sick perhap I may send him

¹ Without date, but the context shows that it was probably written while Donelson was concerned in the Glasgow frauds and before Jackson wrote his letter of Nov. 2, 1797, to Col. Robert Hays.

² Probably one of Jackson's South Carolina relatives. He appears later in the Jackson letters, and seems finally to have settled near Huntsville, Ala.

³ To sell Tennessee lands in Philadelphia was a common practice of the day. They passed into the hands of speculators, who later sold them to settlers. Dealing in frontier lands was the foundation of many of the great fortunes of the colonial and early national period of our history.

back and ride one of Mr Loves^s as far as Winchester. This I would do could I be certain of funds, to purchase another at Winchester on my return. If we go into the Mercantile business It will be necessary to forward me some small sum to discharge the freightage to pitsburgh.

I must now beg of you to try to amuse Mrs. Jackson and prevent her from fretting. the situation in which I left her—(*Bathed in Tears*) fills me with woe. Indeed Sir, It has given me more pain than any event in my life, but I trust She will not remain long in her dolefull mood, but will again be cheerfull. Could I learn, that, that was the case I could be satisfied.

your attention to her, and to my old friend Mr Crawford, will create a Debt of Gratitude that shall never be forgotten by me. I will expect to hear from you by the first post and every post. My respects to Mrs. Hays and believe me to be with Esteem

your friend sincerely

^s John Love, of Winchester, Va., whom Jackson met on his journey. From him, or from Charles J. Love, of Nashville, he learned of the frauds in the issue of the warrants to settle the military lands reserved in Tennessee by the state of North Carolina. He communicated this information to Alexander Martin, in Philadelphia, a member of Congress from North Carolina, who sent it to Governor Samuel Ashe, of that state, on Dec. 7, 1797, in the following letter:

"Sir, Andrew Jackson, Esqr. a senator from the State of Tennessee in conversation respecting the affairs of that State, a few days ago told me he was doubtful there were great Frauds about to [be] practised on the military Lands reserved in that State by the State of North Carolina for her late continental Line; that forged Certificate from drunken Officers had been obtained for officers and supposed Soldiers in order to procure military Warrants to a considerable Amount, and that this Business was in the Habit of daily going on with Impunity—similar to the Rascality and Villany late practised with regard to the Warrenton Certificates. I requested Colo. Jackson to reduce to writing what he knew respecting these nefarious Transactions that I might transmit his Account of the same to your Excellency. he was so obliging as to comply with my Request, and your hath his statement of the above enclosed—he has his Information from a Mr. John Love, of Virginia who was present at one of the aforesaid Transactions, and will be ready to swear to the Truth of his Assertions whenever required. He is expected in a few Days in this City and then I propose to take him before one of the federal Judges and have him sworn to the truth of the above and transmit his Affidavit. In the mean while your Excellency may cause the military Returns in the Secretarys Office to be examined and perhaps the returning person or Surveyor on Examination may discover the above Fraud, or the Returns themselves may carry on their Face marks of the same, by which your Excellency may be able to suspend all such Returns as may appear suspicious; at all Events permit me to suggest the propriety of your Excellency suspending all such Warrant and Grants that may appear as above till Mr. Love's Deposition can be forwarded. Your Excellency will please to pardon the Liberty I have taken in the above Hints your Wisdom and Prudence will do that which will be right and proper to detect and prevent such shameful Abuses about to be made on the public Lands. I have the Honour to be with great Respect

"Your Excellency's most humble servant"

This incident became known as the Glasgow Land Frauds, from the name of James Glasgow, secretary of state in North Carolina, who was considered guilty of a share in the conspiracy. Governor Ashe referred the matter to the assembly, and a committee investigated and uncovered a vast amount of fraud. It recommended the arrest of eleven men and declared that William Tyrrell, Redman D. Barry, and Stockley Donelson were the leaders of the conspiracy, with Glasgow strongly suspected of complicity. Glasgow resigned his office. Stockley Donelson, who was Jackson's brother-in-law, was charged, about 1801, by Will White, secretary of state, with having a warrant for 100 acres which by courses and distances made 100,000 acres and which was registered for 100,000 acres in Tennessee. An indorsement on Governor Ashe's message to the assembly shows that Jackson's statement, transmitted by Martin, was missing when the papers came back from the senate.

TO WILLIAM COCKE.

November 9, 1797

S'r, When I last saw you I conceived that the first letter you wd. receive from me wd. be a letter of friendship but sir some recent information of your extraordinary conduct compels me to make use of the language of reproach.

Your sacrificing all private confidence by making publick my private letter merits and receives my utmost indignation, Sir the baseness of your heart in violating a confidence[e] reposed in you in an hour of intimate friendship, should ¹ as I conceived it was between you and me, by the most solemn obligation will bring down the indignation of the thinking part of mankind upon you and the thunderbolt you were preparing for me will burst upon your own head, it will occasion that part of mankind, that heretofore view'd you worthy of publick confidence to pause a moment and reflect how far a man is worthy of publick confidence who has violated all kind of *private* at the Shrine of malice occasioned by goaded disappointment, the Western world will think for themselves like freemen as they are and view the man who has made such sacrifice as you have done, capable of betraying all publick confidence to private interest.²

I wish not to inquire into the motives of your conduct, it is enough for me to know the baseness of a mind, that could under any pretext whatever violate a confidence that under the banners of a close and intimate friendship was reposed in him.

It will not palliate the crime there being nothing in the letter that was necessary to be kept sacred, your intentions were as criminal as tho it had contained treason. your object must have been to have made use of it to my injury and that in an ungentlemanlike manner, but sir as you have step'd forward to injure me in the publick mind, you will pardon me for also stepping forward, and pronouncing to the World the act you have been guilty of and then the world may judge between you and me, you will also pardon me for retracting, that good opinion that I publicly expressed of your publick conduct when I now am convinced, that all your publick acts that I heretofore thought were bottom'd on publick good, were founded on the broad basis of private Interest and *popularity* and I am supported in this opinion by *your* late conduct, *by your stepping forward to raise your own popularity, by sacrificing your private confidence, by which means you thought to destroy mine.*

Sir your conduct in shewing my letter to your greatest Enemy, a man whom you view'd with contempt and calumniated in the bitterness of your Soul when with me in Philadelphia last in order to reconcile him to you and bring him over to your party adds still to your disgrace and he must deprecate the act.

¹ "Should" is clearly the reading of the manuscript, but one would think "sealed" was intended.

² No evidence has been found showing the basis of this quarrel. The letter was written while Jackson was on his way to Philadelphia to take his seat in the United States Senate. A week earlier he was at Knoxville. This writing illustrates his great sensitiveness. He was never a man to adjust a quarrel in which he was one of the principal parties. The sequel was a challenge, issued June 24, 1798, *q. v.*

You now are at liberty to shew this letter if you please with the others when I return you and myself will have an eclaireissement of the business and let me assure you, that if the publick can repose confidence in you I never can.

I am Sr
Yr Mo ob Servt

JACKSON IN ACCOUNT WITH CHARLES WATSON.

PHILADELPHIA December 5. 1797.

A Jackson Esqr. to chs. Watson Dr

To Making Coat, Vest and Breeches.....	£2..12..6
3¼ Yds: Brown cloth 45/.....	7.. 6..3
Velvet collar	7..6
Backs and Facings.....	5..
Linen, Muslin and Linings.....	1.. 0..9

£11..12..=\$30 93/100

Repairing a pr Pantaloon..... 27/100

Recd. the contents in full.....\$31 20/100

CHAS C WATSON¹

To JAMES ROBERTSON.¹

PHILADELPHIA, January 11, 1798.

Sir: Congressional business progresses slowly; all important questions postponed until we are informed of the result of our negotiation with France.

The Tennessee memorial² has attracted the attention of the two Houses for some time. Many difficulties presented themselves, and many delays thrown in the way. Policy dictated to us that the only thing that could strike at the root of opposition, and secure success, was a nomination of commissioners by the President for the purpose of holding a treaty with the Cherokees. This was fortunately brought about, and, I believe, will have the desired effect. Opposition is on the decline, and I have no doubt but a treaty will be ordered. The Senate agree in the expediency of the measure, but differ with the President in the number of commissioners necessary. This has occupied the Senate to delay in agreeing to the nomination of the President; and as those in nomination may be withdrawn, and others presented, I am not at liberty to give you their names.

¹ These clothes were ordered just after Jackson's arrival in Philadelphia. A similar statement of account from Watson, Mar. 8, 1798, shows that Feb. 20, 1798, Jackson ordered "a Black Cloth Ct. and Collar" at 6 pounds 15 shillings and "A pr. florentine Breeches" at 4 pounds 3 shillings and 9 pence, and that he settled the account at \$28.50. In Pennsylvania currency the pound was equivalent to \$2.67.

² Parton, *Jackson*, I. 218, and *Am. Hist. Mag.* (Nashville), IV. 348 (1899).

² Printed in *Am. St. Papers, Ind. Aff.*, I. 625. President Adams's message of Jan 8 nominating commissioners is *ibid.*, p. 631. The treaty of Tellico, signed Oct. 2, 1798, by other commissioners than those first nominated, is *ibid.*, p. 637.

It appears to be the wish of the President, by the treaty contemplated, to purchase all the lands from the Indians that they will sell; and I do hope that Tennessee river will become the line. When this is completely acted upon by both Houses, I will write you more in detail; and should it be carried into effect, of which I have no doubt, I trust that it will be acknowledged that the delegation have done their duty so far as related to that object.

France has finally concluded a treaty with the Emperor and the King of Sardinia, and is now turning her force toward Great Britain. Bonaparte, with one hundred and fifty thousand troops (used to conquer), is ordered to the coast, and called the army of England. Do not then be surprised if my next letter should announce a revolution in England. Should Bonaparte make a landing on the English shore, tyranny will be humbled, a throne crushed, and a republic will spring from the wreck, and millions of distressed people restored to the rights of man by the conquering arm of Bonaparte.

I am sir with sincere respect,
Your most obedient servant.

TO JOHN OVERTON.¹

PHILADELPHIA, January 22, 1798

. . . . I find from your letter, that an examination has been made, into the practices of some characters in the Secretaries office—I am sorry that my friend Starkely or the Secretary of State are implicated, but I hope that they may finally acquit themselves and more particularly, as I was the cause of the enquiry. I was informed on my way to this place by Mr. Charles J. Love of the rascality carried on at Nashville by William T Lewis and William Tyrell,² being thus possessed of the information the duty I owed to my country was a sufficient inducement to me, to make it known to the Governor of North Carolina, that the fraudulent plans of those two Villians might be arested, regardless of who might be implicated with them, not having the most distant idea that such practices was countenanced by either Donelson or Glasco, but sir Even had I suspected this, my duty would have impelled me to have made the communication that I have done, Mr. Lewis I have no doubt is at the head of the business and when Mr. Love's deposition can be obtained it will be found that a Mr. Turner drew almost all the certificates signed by Nelson and Phillips, this Turner confessed to Love at Nashville as Mr. Love has informed me, and as soon as the business can be well matured and leisure admit Mr. Lewis will be attended to.

I am sorry such an idea should be entertained that this business, being discovered would induce Congress to do an act which in my oppinion the[y] have no power to do; that is to pass a law on the subject invalidating titles compleated under the State of North Carolina.

¹ From transcripts made by Professor St. George L. Sioussat.

² It is impossible to reconcile this statement with Alexander Martin's statement that the information came from John Love, of Virginia. Charles J. Love lived at Nashville and was a warm friend of Jackson's through life. It would seem that Jackson would know best from whom he learned of the land frauds. On the other hand, Martin got his information from Jackson, who had just arrived in Philadelphia.

I have not any idea that a legislative power can affect the rights of individuals who holds under patents, it is a Judicial question solely belonging to a Chancery Jurisdiction competent to the vacating of grants on the ground of any fraud being made appear. Therefore sir I assure you that no legislative proceedings shall be had on the subject If I can avoid it; and I have not heard it suggested that Congress contemplates any thing of the kind. before Congress takes upon itself to Legislate on this subject, It must first Shew that it has a right so to do,—and I am informed that A. Hamilton has given it as his opinion that the vacant soil belongs indubitably to the Sovereignty of the State and Congress has no right thereto. . . . This question must therefore be decided before Congress have any power to Legislate on that subject. However sir I will keep you well advised on this subject.

I have not had it in my power to have a personal interview with the Secretary of the Treasurer on the necessity of a more ample provision being made for your services. This has been owing to two causes, the first is, that I meant to do that business through Mr. Cox³ but unfortunately, he is removed from office the second is that I have been twice at the Secretary of the Treasury office, neither which times was he to be seen, I have seen the comptroller on that Subject, and will certainly attend to it attentively and I have a hope of Success.

We have been much engaged with the subject of relief, to our frontier Citizens. a treaty is ordered, and I hope a purchase under this treaty will be effected to the Tennessee river—It will be held early in the Spring.

I have not time to write you on politicks. there is a question before the house of representatives that has arrested the attention of the publick mind verry much, it arose from an amendment proposed by Mr. Nicholas to the intercourse bill. I have not time to give it you in detail but in the argument the policy of the Executive has been taken into view relative to his removing all those from office who differ with him in politicks and filling those offices with men who subscribe trully to all his acts, this is not an ideal thing. it appears to be a system lately introduced and latterly oppenly avowed by some of the heads of departments and in the debate in the house attempted to be Justified.

This is too insolent attack to pass unnoticed by those who fought the battles and yet retain fresh in their recollection, the part many of those have taken, who are now the favorites of Executive patronage, it is time that the American mind should be awakened from its lethargy; and view the true interest of this country, and I hope the present debate will rouse them to reflect, who are the true friends to Liberty [*illegible*] and their country, whether those, that wish to extend executive influence by discarding from office every man who does not compell himself to think as the Executive does or those that oppose that execrable system. a system that is bottomed upon a basis that has for its object a change of government, which never can be brought about unless by some such strategem. those that patronise this system open every door to new and Multifarious offices by which they strengthen the executive patronage. those who see

³ Tench Coxe, assistant secretary of the treasury, whom Adams had dismissed toward the end of December, 1796.

the true Interest of their country, wish to curtail the expense of government by doing away every useless office. Here then the parties are at Issue and the publick must descide, which are in the right.—I have recd a letter from Mr. Antony Foster dated the 14th ultimo, that states that, on that morning, our worthy friend John Deaderick, was interred, having died on the night of the 17th., Nashville may weep for the loss of two invaluable citizens in John and Henry which time cannot repair. It appears that it was the sight of Henry Wiggins *corps* that occasioned a return of his former desseas, he lingered 17 days and died.

I thank you for your friendly hint [*illegible*] but sir it is a heavy tax you may depend writing letters—he cannot injure me, the powers of fortune may cause me to continue in a political life one more session, perhaps more, but not my wishes. I have Experienced more disquietude in a political life than all the advantages derived from it, can compensate for and I assure you that my political life will be a short one.

Nothing done in the Nicojack or Gallaspies certificates yet,⁴ the[y] are before the Secretary at war, and we will try to have them acted upon shortly. . . .

TO ROBERT HAYS.

PHILADELPHIA, January 25, 1798

Dear Colo. This is a letter in part of enquiry, I have wrote you many letters since I left home, and am as yet without an answer, and as you will not write I hope you will answer this civil question, and when you are answering this, be so good as to tell me how it Happens, that none of my friends write me.

I have not recd. one single letter from any of my friends (capt Cafferry excepted) since I left home. I have no news from our commissioners at Paris, that can be relied on, the only account certain is that they were Politely recd. by the minister of foreign affairs, and furnished with cards of hospitality but whether acknowledged by the directory is not known, differrent accounts say not, but these are verry contradictory, and flow from sources I believe that wish it so to be.¹

France having Peace withlin are preparing to make a descent upon Ireland and England should this take place it will be a happy circumstance for america, and I have no doubt but what it is intended and will take place unless a sudden Peace should be made with England. Should that Happen, Perhaps France may give america a sweap with her tail.

I enclose you a paper which contains part of a verry important debate, that has taken Place in the representative branch, I have and will sent on papers to Gentlemen in Nashville where you can see the debate at length. I have made no arrangements in the mercantile business waiting to hear

⁴ Gallaspie murdered by Creeks Sept. 13, 1792; expedition under Maj. James Ore, which destroyed Nickajack, Lower Cherokee town, Sept. 13, 1794. *Am. St. Papers, Ind. Aff.*, I. 325-632.

¹ The country remained in daily expectation throughout the months of January and February of information from the commissioners to treat with France. It did not arrive until Mar. 4, 1798. It related, when published a month later, the insolent attempt of Talleyrand to force the commissioners to pay money to obtain a hearing from the French government.

from you, and whether it will be in my power to go into that line I cannot say untill Genl Winchester comes forward.

I would be happy to hear, whether and how the landed dispute between Sandy and the heirs of Bledsoe, has been determined whether in favour of Donelson or otherwise.

A Treaty with the Cherokees is ordered, and I believe the object will be to purchase from them all the land the[y] will sell. The treaty will be held in the Spring say the month of april therefore lands on Duck river, should the Tennessee become the line will be valluable. This is as much as to say to you keep all you have and get what you can.

Make my respects to your Lady and believe me to be with Esteem
yr mo. ob. serv.

TO JOHN OVERTON.¹

PHILADELPHIA, February 3, 1798.

Sir: Since I wrote you last I have made Particular Enquiry relative to the Prospect of raising your Salary upon which I find there remains no hope of obtaining that object. It appears that the President has passed rules regulating the salaries and perquisites of the different Supervisors, and inspectors, it appears, from the arrangement, that it is not Possible for him to raise the salary of one without altering those rules throughout, it appearing that he has appropriated in this Manigment, the whole amount that he was authorized by law, . . . it will be recollected, that there is a provision the law limitting the President on this head.

But sir you can by a strict construction of the law make your salary *much* better than it is at present *agreeable to the construction of the comptroller*. I expect you are furnished with a coopy of the Executive rules, or law on this subject . . . and when I have the pleasure of seeing you will give you this construction. Believe me sir, however Painfull to my feelings to visit the heads of department, for certain reasons, nevertheless I have pursued this business as far as there is any hopes of success; Unless the Legislature should interfere you will not be relieved and of that there are no hopes.

On the Subject of Wm. Allison,² I can assure you there are no hopes of Payment, I believe he is in funds. If he was only possessed of honesty, but this is wanting. I happened to be security for his appearance, at Jone borough in '88. Judmt.last court has passed against me as his Bail for upwards of Two Hundred Dollars, and D—n the Rascal, he will not Evan convey me land to the amount. This shows the Principle of the man. . . .

TO ROBERT HAYS.

PHILADELPHIA, March 2, 1798

. . . . My Dear Sir, Pardon me for not Entering into a detail of Political information to you. letter writing has become Irsome, and I have no news worth communicating. We have obtained a treaty to be

¹ Transcripts of Professor St. George L. Sioussat. John Overton was supervisor of internal revenue for Tennessee.

² Probably David Allison is meant.

held with the Indians, and a grant of money to discharge the Expence. this the only news in which our State is immediately concerned, that I am able to communicate. Accounts this day recd. from urope, as late as the last of December, state our commissioners at paris on that date not recd. and that the French were makeing Every Exertion to attack England. I have not a doubt but the French will make the attempt, and from the Divisions in England and Ireland I have but little doubt, but they will be successfull.

I will Endeavour to have some arrangement made in the compensations of Marshals and attornies, an annual salary annexed If Possible, this will give satisfaction to the marshals and be a convenience to the accountant officers in ajusting their accounts.

Make my compliments to your Lady Little Rachel and all friends and believe me to be with Esteem yr mo. ob. serv.

STEVENS THOMSON MASON ¹ TO JACKSON.

PHILADELPHIA, April 27, 1798.

Dear Sir: Since you left us an Act authorising the Prest to procure 12 Vessels from 16 to 22 Guns and an act establishing a new Executive department to be denominated Dept of the Navy have passed Goodhue who introduced this last Bill is talked of as Secretary of the Navy (in direct violation of the constitution as I humbly conceive) a Bill authorising the Prest to provide ten Gallies and another to raise at any time he pleases within three years an army of 20,000 men with a numerous train of officers at their head a Commander with pay an[d] emoluments equivalent to what was formerly allowed to Genl Washington. the soldiers to be enlisted for three years also to accept of an unlimited Number of Volunteers subject to be called on at any time within 2 years after they shall offer their ser[v]ices and be accepted, thus under the pretext that it *may* be necessary to raise a standing force before the next meeting of Congress, a power is given to the Prest for three years, (tho' Congress will be at least three times in Session during that period) to raise an army to any amount or for any purpose he thinks proper, and that, however averse a future Congress may be to pursuing this measure they cannot prevent or controul it so long as more than one third of either House shall support him in it. this appears to me one of the most dangerous attempts to transfer the Legislative powers of the Constitution to the President and to establish a military Government that can be conceived, and I really fear it will pass the other House, so ready do our Countrymen seem "to court the Yoke and bow the neck to Caesar". a Committee of the Senate are appointed to bring in an Allien Bill, by which I understand it is intended to give the Prest an absolute power according to his discretion, his caprice or his resentment, any Foreigner he pleases.

A Sedition Bill is also intended to authorise the same omnipotent person to muzzle or silence such presses as he pleases, probably to controul and regulate meetings of the people, and perhaps to banish such political

¹ U. S. senator from Virginia. He was a member of the extreme Republican group, with Macon and Randolph, and the correspondence seems to show that Jackson trained with them during his short stay in Congress.

Infidels as you and myself. for such is the intollorance of J A and his Party, and so favorable to their views do they consider the present state of things, that there is no calculating how far they will go to attain their favorite object of crushing in this Country the Spirit and principles of Republicanism.

late dispatches have been recd from our Envoys at Paris but men in the confidence of the Cabinet say they are only duplicates of those formerly communicated. I own that I at least doubt this statement. various private accounts lead to a belief that our Commissioners are at this time received and proceeding in their negotiation. it is greatly to be wished that they may accomodate our differences and conclude a treaty, before their puerile correspondence gets back to France. I shall be happy to hear from you respecting the politics of your State. And to be informed of your i[n]dividual prosperity and happiness will always give pleasure to ²

STEVENS THOMSON MASON TO JACKSON.

PHILADELPHIA, May 25, 1798.

Dear Sir: On Friday last we recd intelligence through different channels that our commissioners [were] recd and negotiating.¹ it seemed generally beleived and produced great chagrin and open declarations of dissatisfaction among the Tory Party, who seemed fearful that we should be obliged to have peace however to do all they could to guard against such an evil and to secure us the b[el]essings of War our War committee in about four hours after s[ub]mitted a Bill to authorise the Presdt to send out our armed force to take and bring for condemnation all French Cruizers. the [Bill] has passed the Senate and will I beleive go through the H of Representatives I have all along considered it as a declaration of war some of the most candid of its advocates admit that it is tantamount to it. We often wish [you] back.

Yours Sincerely

TO JOHN SEVIER.¹

NASHVILLE, June 24, 1798

Dr Sir, Your letter by Mr Irwin I have just recd for which I thank you. I have also to thank you for making me acquainted with Mr Irwin, I think him an amiable young man, and nothing could give me more pleasure than to have it in my power to render him civilities.

I am sorry that circumstances puts it out of my power to have the pleasure of seeing you at the treaty. my letter should be longer but time and disagreeable business in which I am engaged prevents it.

² The signature follows.

¹ The Republicans, friendly to France, were loth to admit that the commissioners from the United States were rebuffed in Paris.

¹ Tenn. Hist. Soc. The note indicates that Jackson's reconciliation with Sevier lasted longer than has been supposed. This letter was written more than seven months after Jackson revealed to Alexander Martin the land frauds in Tennessee. He could not have known when it was written that the investigation would lead him to believe that Sevier was concerned in these frauds.

Present my greatest respects to your lady. her politeness to me is gratefully remembered. Accept sir of my warmest respects and believe me to be with sentiments of esteem yr. mo. ob. serv.

TO WILLIAM COCKE.¹

NASHVILLE, June 24, 1798

Sir, Your making publick my private and confidential letter and making use of it to impress on the publick mind that I had wrote that letter in order to deceive you, and further publishing to the world that I had acted the double part with you in your election for Senator, are such injuries as require satisfaction, the information which you have attempted to justify those charges and ground the publicity of my letter upon having upon investigation proved to be false, Justice calls aloud for redress.

Knowing the falsity of the charges you have utter'd against me and sensibly feeling the injury you intended me by making publick my letter, I call upon you as a gentleman to make such a reparation of the injury you have done me as the nature of the case requires, or to meet and give me such satisfaction as is due from one Gentleman to another for such injuries. the Gentleman who will hand you this is authorised to transact the business on my part.

I am Sr
Yr Huml St.

TO WILLIAM COCKE.¹

NASHVILLE June 24, 1798

Sir, Your letter in answer to mine of this date is now before me to which I beg leave to reply; understanding from my friends Genl. Robertson and Coll. Hayes, that you had a consultation with them after my last to you relative to fixing on a mode of making me reparation for the injury I have sustain'd from you in the exposition of my private correspondence and your having reported publicly that I had acted a double part in writing you friendly letters meaning to deceive you.

I must inform you those Gentlemen have been mistaken if they stated to you that I had consented (at their request) to leave all matters of differences between us to be my three Brothers² decided; my feelings no gentlemen however nice their Judgement, can determine.

Here then Sir is your mistake, I observed to those two Gentlemen that I had been injured by charges publickly made against me by you, upon information which you have since said you grounded your declarations upon (which information has on investigation appear'd to be false; having thus stated to those Gentlemen, I observed to them that I was willing if

¹ Copy. Col. William Cocke was U. S. senator from Tennessee 1796-1805.

¹ Copy.

² Jackson seems to mean brother Masons. Sept. 5, 1801, he, with George W. Campbell, Jenkins Whitesides, John Rhea, William Dickson, John Gass, Daniel Kennedy, and John Newman, acting under a dispensation from the Grand Lodge of North Carolina, met and organized a masonic lodge in Greenville, Tenn. (From records furnished by A. B. Andrews, jr., Raleigh, N. C.)

preferred by you to leave the mode of reparation for the injury you had done to me to any three or more Brothers to determine.

I have now to say that you have held me up to publick odium upon falacious information, and that this odium must be wiped away by some act of as publick notoriety. if its your choice that this reparation should be referred to the three Brothers or four including Brother Foster it will be acceded to by me, on your agreeing to have laid before them the afore-said statement of the injury I have received.

I am Sr. Your Huml. Servt.

TO WILLIAM COCKE.¹

NASHVILLE, June 25. 1798

Your letter of this date is now before me, and as you deem it improper to make such reparations as justice demands, my feelings and honor say Justice must be done me, Coll. Cocke well knows how and in what point of view I have been publicly held up in by him in Holston and upon what evidence that odium was founded. Coll. Cocke can judge for himself, with what propriety and how consistent it is with the feelings and character of a Gentleman to repair an injury when done and committed, he has *determined*, my feelings and justice demand that the approbrium that has been attached to my character upon false evidence must be publicly washed away by an open declaration that I did not merit the stigma, this is what justice demands, and which I will obtain at the risque of my blood. can Coll. Cocke seriously request me to leave my feelings to men of honor or can he expect that I wou'd do an act that wou'd be a stain to my feelings. my last contains my sentiments on this subject.

with respect to me being deseivd. with false evidence with respect to you, I have not seen the evidence against you. it was your publick charges agt. me and the publicity of my private letter, which you have acknowledged.

Coll. Cocke will further observe, that the injury I complain of was committed by him, and that a reparation can alone be made by him by an open and publick declaration that those charges were unfounded and inapplicable to me upon investigation, I cannot help rebutting the idea, that I could either do, or wish another to do a dishonorable act, I wish not the blood of Coll. Cocke but my reputation is dearer to me than life and as you have determined that you will not place me on the ground I ought to stand upon and which you know in justice and honor I am entitled to the Gods of fate must decide between you and me. I must be placed with respect to my character and feelings where they stood previous to the approbrium utterd agt me on the testimony which you now know to be false, if Col Cockes feelings cannot dictate to him the propriety of doing this my friend Mr Sweetman is authorised to name the time and place to meet me to give me that satisfaction that the wounded feelings of a Gentleman requires.

I am Sr Yr mo ob St

¹ Copy.

WILLIAM COCKE TO JACKSON.

NASHVILLE, June 25, 1798.

Sir, Situated as I am at this time Any Concessions to you from me might be considered as an act of timidity for which reason I deem it improper for me to make any, my honour and your feelings Should both be preserved and Justice Should be rendered to each of us. the Contents of the Letter to which you Allude beeing denyed by you I gave up the Author and furnished you with A copy the Author Acknowledgeed the letter and gave Mr Macclins name to you as the person on whose Information he had written. if I have been deceav'd in Crediting false information against you you have been also deceavd in Giveing Credit to false information against me, why then Sir Should you wish me to be Considered the only Culprit in this business I wish not to be the Judge in my own Case and am perfectly willing to ad the Gentleman you have named to those mentioned by Colo Hays and Genl Robertson, if Sir after the Circumstances above mentioned you refuse to leave Our differances to men of reputation Such as you nor no Other person Can Object to I Shall Consider it as intended to wound my honour which I Shall never part with but with my life but [if] you are inclined that all Our differances Should be Ended on fair Just and honorable terms to both, it is my wish but while I express this wish it is not to be understood that the bounds of honour Can be exceeded by me. your H Servt

HENRY TAZEWELL TO JACKSON.¹

PHILADELPHIA, July 20, 1798.

Dear Sir: I have to beg your pardon for not acknowledging the receipt of your Letter sooner, but the result of the Session was so uncertain, and the intelligence from Europe so various, that I hoped by the time of our adjournment I should be able to give you an account that would at once be full, and satisfactory. In this expectation I have been in part disappointed. still I will not longer delay to gratify an anxiety, which I had promised to allay.

Congress adjourned on Monday last the 16th. previous to the adjournmt. the President summoned the Senate to meet on the 17th. for executive purposes. I need not recite to you what had been done before you left us. Those things are within your recollection. The most material acts after you left us, were acts for increasing the regular military establishment about 12,000 men.² The provisional army Bill had passed before you went away, of 10 000 men, so that between the two we may have an army of between 22 and 25 000 men, over and above the present establishment. Besides this, Volunteer Corps from the militia to any amount may be accepted by the President upon the footing of the provisional army. The naval force ordered when you left us amounted to about 12 ships in

¹ Tazewell was U. S. senator from Virginia 1794-1799. This letter is a fair summary of the Republican argument in 1798.

² The law raising an army of 10,000 men was approved May 28, and the law authorizing twelve additional regiments was approved July 16. It was between these two dates that Jackson left Washington. The *Knoxville Register* of Oct. 9, 1798, has this note: "Andrew Jackson, the same who was a senator of the United States, is appointed

addition to those formerly provided. We have increased the President's power to accept and to build or purchase other Vessels, until the whole naval force may now amount to about 60 sail of Vessels large and small. This is the amount of the force provided by the present Session. The expence of it, to speak only from the legal app[ro]priations is—1,500,000 to be drawn from the surplus of former revenues—2,000,000, to be raised by a direct tax on Lands and Houses and Slaves—and the amount of the stamp tax which is uncertain, but which may amount to 2,000 000 more, and to make up the deficiency the President is authorized to borrow 5,000,000, dollars without any limitation of interest, so that our whole appropriations will be between 10, and 12,000,000 dollars. This is by no means calculated as sufficient to meet the expenditures. It was thought better by the rulers, to trust to the next Congress to provide for deficiencies than to create an alarm by present appropriations.

In this view of things the proposed war with France in the outset will cost the U States, almost as much as their trade is worth. It is a War intirely for the defence and protection of Commerce. The whole export trade of the U States for the year 1787 amounted to about 51,000,000 dollats. Of this Massachusetts, New York Penn[s]ylvania, Maryland and Virginia exported 46,500,000 dollars, leaving the export trade of the residue of the States to amount only to 4 500,000 dollars. Take their proportion of the direct tax necessary to raise this money, in the outset, and it will be greater than the whole amount of the trade, and if the War continues two years, than the whole amount of the whole trade for which it was entered into. Thus the aggricultural and manufacturing interests are made tributary to the mercantile interest, which at best is but transitory and fleeting.

You know the state of party spirit which existed here before you left us. The negotiation with France, was always calculated on by the Republicans, never calculated on by the opposite party. Whether any secret determinations to defeat it, had been entered into by the latter, or whether it had not been sincerely begun in the first instance are questions which some must solve. You have seen the various communications made by our Envoys and finally the result so far as we know it is, that Gerry remains accredited in France as the Minister of the U States, and Marshall and Pinkney have been discharged.³

The last advices we have induce a belief that Gerry will make a Treaty, but the Conduct of the President in his answers to addresses, and the Conduct of Congress pending the negotiation, leave no hope that even an advantageous Treaty made by Gerry, will have the effect of preventing the calamities of a War. Congress in their rage for War, have cut off all commercial intercourse with the ports of France, and have formally

and has accepted the office of one of the Judges of the Superior Court of law and equity, for the State of Tennessee. While his fellow citizens have to lament the loss of his abilities in the Senate, they have a consolation of hoping for his long continuance in his present honorable and important office”.

³ Pickering's despatch recalling the three commissioners, Marshall, Pinckney, and Gerry, was dated Mar. 23, 1798, and was received in Paris May 18. Gerry's continuation was of his free will and contrary to his instructions.

annulled our subsisting Treaties with that nation. They have authorized captures of the armed ships of France, both by our public and private Vessels, and already this authority has been executed, so that if Gerry makes a Treaty, it will not probably be here confirmed, or if confirmed our subsequent Conduct when known in France must prevent its ratification there. Under any event, war appears to be unavoidable, and a dreadful war it will be.

Our example is now in the annals of the world, pending a negotiation, and whilst every reason existed to induce a belief that one of our Envoys at least would make an accommodation we have hurried ourselves into a War, which is now inevitable. Step by step Congress have been led on to warlike measures, when a majority were in truth agt. a Declaration of War, for it would at last have been declared if a majority could have been found to favour it. Two measures only have been omitted to consummate the plan which was formed. The one an open declaration of War, the other a british alliance. A majority could not be procured for the first, and it was believed by the minority that enough had been done to produce a War without an open Decln on our part, and hence they became less anxious for an open Declaration. A british alliance was earnestly desired by some, but the more considerate of that party considered it as a thing which must necessarily result from a war with France, and that in proportion as we were threatened with danger from France, the desired alliance would become more apparently necessary, and of course more popular, and that it was better to leave it thus to be brought on than by openly beginning with it. With these views we have for the present escaped these two acts. But I still consider both as impending over us, and as scarcely possible to be avoided.

The war party dreading that the expences, created, the expected calamities of a War, and the general unpopularity of their views might turn the tide agt. them, deemed it necessary to banish all foreigners who were here under republican principles, and to suppress the liberty of the press. Accordingly they passed an Alien Bill, and a sedition Bill. By the former, they authorized the President to banish any suspected alien. By the latter, they created heavy penalties for traducing the President and the acts of the Government, so that the freedom of censuring their measures was silenced whilst Porcupine and Fenno were permitted to utter every species of abuse agt. those who defended the Constitution, or clamoured at the measures of the Government. The papers and public acts will shew you these Bills, in which you will read the Death blow to State authority over the migration of foreigners, and to the freedom of the press. In vain was the Constitutional restraints on power urged agt. these measures. Our politic situation therefore at the close of the present Session of Congress stands thus. An army and navy under the unbridled will of the President—Money to support both—The freedom of political discussion abolished, or placed in a situation to be suppressed by this very force.

Having voted these measures Genl Wasshington was appointed to the Command of the army, Alexander Hamilton Inspector Genl. Chs C. Pinkney and Genl Knox Major Generals of the regular forces, Gen

Brooks, Colo Wassington, Jonath Dayton, Brigadeer Genls. in the regular army, H. Lee and Genl Hand Majr Genls of the provisional army, Ebenezir Huntington, Anthy W. White, Genl Davy, and Gov Severe Brigadeer Generals in the provisional army. Genl. Wassington accepted his appointment by a Letter which I now send you. His approbation of Mr Adams's administration, and of the measures which have been pursued agt. France, puts every hope of an amicable adjustment of our differences at an end, and leaves us nothing to expect but a dreadful War. Thus equipped internally we have only to turn our attention to the situation of Europe, in order to form some tollerable conjecture of our fate.

France is triumphant over all Europe except G Britain. Every appearance of internal disquiet in that nation is at an end, and all the Continental powers of Europe seem to hold their existence at the pleasure of France. Her whole forces and resources are engaged agt. England. The Contest between them is a Contest of political principles. One or the other must be annihilated, both cannot survive the Storm. Either monarchy or Republicanism must be rooted out of Europe, or the War will not cease. If England succeeds, Monarchy will become more formidable then ever to the liberties of mankind, for having Conquered its Enemy, there will be nothing left but to secure itself agt. future opposition of the same kind by tyrannizing over mankind. If France succeeds liberty will at least for a time be emancipated from the despotism of Kings.

What turn the Revolution will take, cannot be exactly foreseen. Some suppose that the object of France is universal domination and plunder, and that if she triumphs, the World will be no more free than before. This is but a speculative opinion, and I confess I cannot bring myself to believe that men who have begun so great a Revolution in favour of human rights will end it by becoming the greatest Tyrants in the World. At best it is but attributing to France, what would certainly be the effect of the success of Royalty, and as it is doubtful to say the least whether the French Revolution would take this turn, its success will certainly abolish an indubitable evil, when it may possibly turn to the universal benifit of the human race. It is not difficult to foresee that when we take a part in this War, ours must also become a War of political principles. If by uniting with G B we should assist the triumph of Kings over France, we enable them to triumph over republicanism every where, for this is her Enemy, and it is immaterial where she finds it. Her object must and will be to suppress it. Whilst then we are complaining of injuries to our Commerce, we are feeding a power whose interest it is to devour our political Tenets, we are waring with a power whose interest it is to support them. But what is to be done? Here is the awful question. If in America we had no men desirous to subdue the spirit of Republicanism, I should not fear a War for Commerce, or any other national injury from any foreign power. But if Commerce is to lead us into a Contest which may subvert our best rights, I had rather see that Commerce totally annihilated. By uniting with England we do not better our commerce, and we endanger our political principles. We provoke France to a situation, in which if she subdues England exposes us to the double horrors of War,

and we loose the reputation of a friendship which ought to be cemented by a reciprocity of interests. I could dilate much more largely on this subject, but my time will not permit it, and it is a subject perfectly familiar to you.

I see one desireable remedy for us, and that is by a republican Congress of the choice of the people. We have so many instances of defection by means of the Executive patronage, by means of private views, and personal considerations that the people cannot be too cautious whom they elect. I pray you to exert your self in the attainment of this object. A Hint is sufficient with the knowledge you possess of our real interests. I find by Letters to this place that your return home from Congress is used for the purpose of destroying your influence in Tenessee. I do not know if you are apprized of it. Had you been here you could not have altered the state of things, and I hope you will do more good where you are. But pray attend in time at the next Session, and let us have men equally disposed with yourself to work in the cause of Republicanism. I write to you in the fullest confidence. I hope you will not expose my remarks nor suffer an improper use to be made of them. I shall be proud to hear from you whilst I am at home, and if I meet with an oppy I will write you again from thence. Until I see you I beg you to be assured that you have no more sincere friend than

Yours

STEVENS THOMSON MASON TO JACKSON.

PHILADELPHIA, January 18, 1799.

Dear Sir: Congress have yet passed no laws this Session on the discussion on the Bill for preventing interference with Executive authority a paper was brought forward by Harper purporting to be a memorial from an individual to the French Government, it was without Signature nor [would] he ascribe it to any body but plainly insinuated that it was from Dr Logan. There has been evidently a preconcerted design in the Prest and his party in Congress to foist it upon the public as such, and to use it as the means of existing [*sic*] prejudice against the Republicans of this Country generally and Mr Jefferson in particular. the true history of the paper¹ is that a Mr Codman a staunch Boston Federalist, wrote to his brother residing in or near Paris suggesting the Idears contained in that paper, this brother threw those suggestions into the form of a memorial shewed it to Dr Logan and requested him to sign and present it to Tallerrand. Dr Logan conceiving such a step improper and that the paper was in some respects exceptionable refused to do so. Mr. Codman of Paris gave a copy of the paper to a Mr Woodward then about to return to one of the N England States on his arrival he waited on Mr Adams at Braintree and gave it to him. Mr A forwarded it to Pickering who furnished Harper with a copy, they probably being no other Member weak and wicked enough to become the instrume[nt to] such a low and dirty attempt.

¹ This story of Logan's attempt to patch up the French quarrel is not supported by facts.

Tho France is spoken of hear by our Executive men as in the inevitable road to ruin yet the Prest through his Sectys tell us, that, we must augment our Navy by the addition of 12 [vessels ?] make up our frigates 12 and build 12 sloops of 18 guns² and that the Pt. must be authorized to augment the army to 50.000 men. As a proof of the flourishing state of our credit and finances and the ease with which we can embark in this trifling establishment the 5 million loan is opened at 8 PCt irredeamable for ten years the subscription to be paid in 8 monthly installments. The Prest has not yet given us the papers relative to France which he prom[ised] so long ago as the 8th of Decr why this delay and why the Legislature should be so trifeled with I know not these papers have been long since published in the Paris news papers which have lately arrived here and are said not to comport very well with his speach at the [op]ening of the Session.

This day the Presdt sent us his long promised communication the reading of which is not finished in either House as far as we have gone in the Senate they appear very conciliatory on the part of France and I have no doubt we might have avoided war if J A had not been predetermined in favor of it.³

Yours sincerely

JOHN SEVIER TO JACKSON.

KNOXVILLE, March 27, 1799.

Sir: Yours of this day, I am honored With. and Am extremely sorry to hear of Mrs. Jacksons indisposition, I hope ere this, she is on the recovery. I am sorry that you have to depart from Knoxville on so early a day, And Also that the Occasion is so Urgent and Necessary.

I thank you sir, for your Very polite offer, to be the bearer of Any commands that I might have to Mero. provided, I can prepare a letter to Judge McNairy in time, I will take the liberty of troubleing you with the care of the Same. Be Assured that I shall take the earliest opportunity in recommending Mr. Eli Hammonds¹ to the Secretary at War, And Shall Also Name him in A particular Manner to the Secretary of State, And the Commander in Chief; And Under these Considerations, I shall have No doubt of Success. I have A small piece of business to transact With one of the Judges, it is of A private Nature, And Could your time afford to Spare about 15 Minuets towards the evening, I should consider Myself Much oblided, When I would communicate the Matter to your honor,²

I have the honor to be sir, With Sentiments of respect And great esteem
Your Mo. Ob. Sevt.

² By an act of 1798 the navy had been enlarged from twelve to twenty-four vessels, including six frigates, twelve sloops of war, and six smaller vessels. See Hildreth, *Hist. of the U. S.*, IV. 222.

³ In this connection we may recall John Adams's saying that he desired no other epitaph than this: "Here lies John Adams, who took upon himself the responsibility of peace with France in the year 1800."

¹ Capt. Eli Hammond, of Nashville, was a very efficient soldier under Jackson in 1813.

² Jackson was judge of the Tennessee supreme court 1798-1804.

GEORGE M. DEADRICK TO JACKSON.

BELLVIEW, August 16, 1799.

Dear Sir: Your favor was this evening handed me accompanied with Dick; who I was determin'd to chastise severely; your assurances that he will, in all probability conduct himself better in future has induced me to forgive him; your attention in having him sent back has oblig'd me; for which accept my sincere acknowledgements; the little illnature which you observ'd on yesterday evening in my language I am sorry to bring to recollection I assure you it was not premeditated nor intended to insult you, it arose in a moment and I wish it may take its rest in oblivion in as short period the uninterrupted good understanding which has existed for many years between us I hope will not be impair'd by a momentary inturruption I am Sir with real sentiments of Respect yr.

Hmble Servt.

NATHANIEL MACON TO JACKSON.

PHILADELPHIA, February 14, 1800.

Sir: I was last evening pleased with the reception of your very agreeable favor of the 9 ultimo, and will certainly give my aid towards establishing the post road you mention, as you *recollect* well, you know that it is a general rule with me to vote for every post road that may be deemed useful, and I have no doubt, but that from Jonesborough will be very much so.

Believing that Mr. Claiborne¹ gives you all the Congressional proceedings, you will excuse me from saying a word about them, especially when I tell you, that scarcely any thing has been done worth communicating; There is however one subject of the first importance, to which every true Republican ought early and seriously to turn his attention, I mean the election of President and Vice president, I am induced to mention this, because I have some reason to believe, that your acquaintance Parker of Virginia has written to the Govr. of Tennessee on this subject and not in the most favorable terms, of the man that is certainly best qualified to fill the office of President, in fact, He is not in favor of Mr. Jefferson, of whose character and talents it would be useless to praise, because they are known to all, I have mentioned this circumstance, to inform you of the industry of the men, who do not wish Mr. J. to be President; I have not heard of the sentiments of your Governor, you will consider this letter as confidential, because I am not at liberty to tell you how I got the information of Parker's having written, but of the fact I have no doubt.

I enclosed you some time past a pamphlet, have you received it. Believe me to be

Sir

Yrs. sincerely and truly

¹ Probably William C. C. Claiborne, who succeeded Jackson in the House of Representatives in 1797 and served there until 1801. He was governor of Louisiana from 1804 to 1816. The "Parker of Virginia" mentioned in this letter was probably Josiah Parker, a member of the House of Representatives from 1789 to 1801.

AFFIDAVIT OF MICHEL GLEAVE.

June 15, 1800

State of Tennessee, Davidson County.

Whereas a report has been in circulation that I Michael Glieves of the county and state aforesaid should have on the sixth day of June, in the year of our Lord Eighteen hundred and at the House of John Bosley utter and speak the following words of his honour Judge Jackson (to wit) As honest a man as Andrew Jackson was called he had stolen his Bull and he could prove it. I do therefore certify that if I did speak the above named words they were groundless and unfounded and further I do certify that I never did suspect Andrew Jackson of a dishonest act in my life. Given under my hand this fifteenth Day of June 1800.

MICHEL GLEAVE

Test

SAML JOHNSON.

TO ROBERT HAYS.

SOUTH WEST POINT,¹ July 13, 1800

D'r Colo. I take the earliest opportunity by Capt Emus Bird, to inform you that this morning I reached this place, without the smallest accident happening, all well and high in spirits, your Sweet little Daughter (who has behaved more like a woman of mature age, than anything else) has been much delighted with the mountains and different Prospects and has passed the mountains without the least apparent fear. My horses behaved well, after I left you I never had the second Pull at any place, and with Columbus I was obliged to pull the waggoner up Spencers hill. I am now with the ladies in the garrison where we have been recd. with every mark of Politeness and attention. I shall leave this on Tuesday morning and will write you at every stage where time will Permit. I had the Pleasure to meet Capt Purdy on the Top of cumberland mountain who was Polite enough to give orders to three of his soldiers to help us down the mountain and accompanied us himself. I have forwarded to him a letter of Introduction to you Should he deliver it, before I return, extend your usual Politeness to him and it shall be gratefully remembered by me. to cut matters short he is a d—nd. Clever fellow as you could meet with in a thousand. . . .

JACKSON'S AFFIDAVIT CONCERNING THE DESTRUCTION OF
HIS DISTILLERY.¹

January 3, 1801.

State of Tennessee

On this third day of January Eighteen hundred and one Personally came Andrew Jackson before me Thomas Hutchings, a Justice of the

¹ South West Point was at the confluence of the Clinch and Tennessee rivers and at the southwest corner of the region obtained from the Cherokee by Governor Blount in the treaty of 1791. It was one mile from Kingston and thirty-five from Knoxville. At this time the federal government kept a garrison at South West Point, to go as guards on the road through the unsettled mountain wilderness to the westward, which was still in Indian hands. Capt. Robert Purdy commanded this guard.

¹ Copy. This affidavit seems to have been made with reference to the excise tax, which was not repealed until 1802.

peace in and for the County of Davidson who being first duly sworn Deposeth and saith, that in the night of the first monday of June last Past, his still house got Burnt down, in which was consumed upwards of three hundred gallons of whiskey, all his Cooper ware and his stills rendered entirely unfit for use inasmuch as the caps and worms were almost intirely destroyed by the heat, and the falling in of the roof and timber, this deponant further saith that the said stills have not since been made use off in the distilery. sworn to and subscribed the day and year first above written before me

THOMAS HUTCHINGS J P

ANDREW JACKSON

TO WILLIAM DICKSON.¹

KNOXVILLE, September 1, 1801.

Dear Sir: Through life I have held it a sacred duty I owed to my Country and myself, never to give my suffrage to a candidate for a seat in the Congress of the U. States, unless I was convinced that *his political sentiments were congenial with those he represented*, and that he would speak and do the will of his constituents; and being now informed that you are a candidate for the honor of representing the citizens of the State of Tennessee in the Representative branch of the Federal Legislature—believing as I do, that any citizen who does obtain the suffrage of the freemen of Tennessee, must be a character, the composition of which is *virtue, talents, and the true whig principles of seventy-six*; in short, sir, that he must be a *Republican, and in politics, like Caesar's wife*, not only chaste but unsuspected.

The first two component parts of this character, I know you to possess; the latter, as to myself, I have ever thought you did. But, Sir, the public mind has been lately led to believe that your political sentiments are doubtful, and some have held you up as an aristocrat. These reasons have operated upon me to call upon you to answer the following interrogatories:

First: are you and have you always been an admirer of the true Whig principles of '76?

Have you always been an admirer of State authorities?

Are you now and have you always been an admirer of the Constitution of the U. States, friendly to its administration agreeable to the true literal meaning of the instrument, and banishing the dangerous doctrine of implication?

Have you always been and are you now opposed to standing armies in time of peace?

Are you now, and have you always been inimical to a standing Naval armament?

¹ Copy. At Jackson's request this letter was published in a Knoxville paper in 1801. It was sent to the *National Intelligencer* in 1824 by a Tennessee admirer of Jackson and republished in the issue of May 13, but with the date Sept. 24, 1801. The above copy follows a copy in the Nicholas P. Trist MSS. in the Library of Congress. Trist was Jackson's private secretary for a short time, and perhaps made a copy of the letter from an original in Jackson's hands. Dr. William Dickson was a representative in Congress from Tennessee from 1801 to 1807. The letter of Sept. 1, 1801, was given by Parton, from Trist's copy, in his *Life of Jackson*, III. 93. It is also in the *U. S. Telegraph*, Oct. 6, 1828.

Are you now and have you always been, opposed to foreign political connexions?

Are you now, and have you always been opposed to the extension of the Executive patronage?

Have you always been and are you now, an advocate for freedom of religion, and the freedom of the Press?

Are you now and have you always been friendly to economy in the public disbursements, and an enemy to the system of loans?

And lastly, are you a real Republican in principle and will you be a Republican in practice?

The above questions are put to you by a sincere friend in private life, and one who is very much disposed to extend to you his little political support. He expects, however, that these questions will be answered with your usual candor on other subjects. This letter is not confidential, nor will your answer be viewed as such. It is as well for the gratification of inquiring friends as myself.

Accept, sir, of my respects, and believe me to be your most obedient servant.

EARLY CONNECTION WITH MASONRY.¹

Lodge Room GREENVILLE September 5th A. L. 5801 A. D. 1801.

Agreeable to a Dispensation from the Grand Lodge of North Carolina directed to the Right Worshipful George W. Campbell Master Jenkin Whiteside Senior Warden John Rhea Junior Warden met at the house of Daniel Harrison when Brothers Jenkin Whitesides and John Rhea not attending the Right Worshipful George W. Campbell Master proceeded to open the Lodge in due form on the first Degree of Masonry under the Said Dispensation when were present Brothers Daniel Kennedy William Dickson John Gass John Newman and Andrew Jackson. Brother Andrew Jackson was appointed by the Worshipful Master S. W. Pro Tem. Brother Daniel Kennedy J. W. Pro Tem. Brother William Dickson Secretary and S. D. Pro Tem. John Gass J. D. Pro Tem. and John Newman Tyler.

On motion of Brother A. Jackson Resolved that Brothers Daniel Kennedy and William Dickson be appointed a Committee to Prepare Bye Laws for the government of this Lodge and Report the same to the Next Meeting.

Resolved on motion of Brother J. Gass that the Next regular Meeting of this Lodge be on the Friday after the fourth Monday in October next.

The Lodge then closed in due form.

¹ For this paper the editor is indebted to Mr. A. B. Andrews, jr., of Raleigh, N. C., who attaches to it the following note: "The foregoing extract from the Minutes of Greenville Lodge U. D. (afterwards No. 43 of North Carolina and later No. 3 of Tennessee) was made by me from the original copy returned to the Grand Lodge of North Carolina, along with the dispensation."

In an interesting article, "Andrew Jackson, the Free Mason" (*New Age Magazine*, January, 1921), Mr. Andrews sums up what is known about Jackson's relation to Masonry. He is not able to conclude that Jackson joined the order before he left North Carolina. The minute in the records of the Greenville lodge here given seems to be the earliest written record of his connection with an organization in which he rose rapidly to highest distinction.

TO ROBERT HAYS.

JONESBOROUGH, September 9, 1801

. . . . In my last I requested your advice on the subject of holding a pole for Congress, since which I have been importuned nay I may say pressed by some to let my name run. On the other hand I am pressed by the Barr to remain upon the Bench. one event has taken place, that I believe will determine me to remain where I am—and you may believe me when I say it is motives of Publick good.

Mr. Hugh L White who is really a lawyer has said upon the Terms that I would not leave the Judiciary, that he would accept the appointment of Judge if elected. he is a young man of cleverness, really, the la[w]yer and I have not a doubt but he will be the choice of the Legislature, and will fill Judge Roanes Seat with as much honour to himself and Benefit to the Publick, as any Legal Charector in our State. Certainly the filling of Judge Roan seat in the Judiciary by such a charector, is and ought to be the wish of every Citizen—and nothing can be of greater importance to the State. To have this done is my greatest wish, and If my remaining on my present seat will be condusive to the object it is a duty I owe my country to do so. But upon the event that Mr White is not elected or some legal charector in whose Legal talents I can place as much confidence I will retire to my farm, and domesticate myself.

I hope Sir that ere this you can Tell which of our coalts are the best coursers. will you inform me if opportunity offers whether there will be a course this fall on cumberland

DAVID CAMPBELL TO JACKSON.

KNOX COUNTY, January 25, 1802.

. . . . Since the reception of your letter I have reflected on the subject of your being held up as a candidate for Major General. I must confess at first I had my doubts wheather your holding such an appointment would be consistant with the constitution or not but on examining the constitution, and consulting Governor Roane Judge Campbell and Col. McClung my doubts are nearly removed. Should you be held up as a candidate I shall use my influence as far as proper on your behalf. I expect some will object to the propriety of your holding the appointment, I think you will get a number of votes in this district, but how it will be in the upper I cannot so well Judge. I expect General Winchester or some body will take some pains to give information to these two districts of the conclusion in yours. Charles McClung was elected Col. of the Cavelry in this district a few day ago Hugh Montgomery is chosen Col. of Anderson County, Littlepage Sims is chosen Col. and James Gallaher and Reuben Smith Majors of Roane County McClung has returned home from North Carolina without doing any business, as the Assembly of that State refused the priviledge. . . .

TO JOHN SEVIER.¹

KNOXVILLE, March 27, 1802

D'r Sir, Yours by Major Crosier of this days date is now before me, and the contents duly observed, I have to answer, That had I stept forward of my own accord and offered as a candidate for Major General of the State of Tennessee unsolicited, and soliciting the suffrage of the constituted authorities, I should have held myself at full liberty to meet you on the ground proposed, and readily agree to the withdrawing of our names and submit to another election. But Sir, situated as I am, my name brought forward by the military officers, as a candidate for that appointment, and when I sugested reason why my name should not be held up, answered, "that in a republican Government, when the services of any individual was called upon, his services belonged to the republick, and he ought to obay the Publick will", I was silenced, and the Respect I owe to my friends and the Publick will, is a sufficient reason to acquiesce under the constituted will, and that must decide, inasmuch as I do no think myself, (from the stand I have taken) authorised to take any step in the thing proposed by you, least I should athwart the wishes of my friends, which no consideration, under present circumstances would authorise, (let my private feelings be what the[y] may). I informed you with candeur at Jonesborough and let me here repeat, that so little pains was taken by me on the subject that I was not even at Nashville on the day of election, nor did I write but one solitary letter on the subject, purport of which was in case my name was held up as a candidate to make it known to those he thought proper; unless one I wrote expressive of my wishes that my name should not be held up as a candidate for reasons therin assigned to General Winchester in answer to his dictated by the will of a majority of the officers of the District of Mero. from this candid explanation and declaration you will readily see the impropriety of meeting you on the ground proposed, and the Propriety of the constituted authority deciding, and will present the answer that the constituted authority must descide—and rest assured, let descision be as it may it will meet my wishes. with high consideration and respect I have the honour to be your mo. ob. serv.²

¹ The major-general of militia was chosen by the field officers. When the election was held in February, 1802, Jackson and Sevier each received seventeen votes and Brigadier-General Winchester received three. Governor Roane cast the deciding vote for Jackson. The friends of Sevier were much chagrined, and got through the legislature, Nov. 5, 1803, a bill to create two militia districts, one in East and one in West Tennessee. Jackson was now made commander-in-chief over the second of these districts.

² Jackson's earliest military career and his election as major-general of militia are discussed in Bassett's *Jackson*, I. 73-76. His difference with Sevier, which had been smoothed out in 1797, was now reopened and carried on more violently than ever before.

TO COLONEL MCKINNEY.¹HUNTERS HILL, May 10, 1802²

Sir, On the 7th instant I recd a letter from Governor Roane, stating information recd. of an unwarrentable murder committed on an Indian in your county. it further states, that one of your Major[s] (Russle) has raised a party or is about so to do with an intent to search out some camps of Indians in the mountains over our boundery and break them up. The militia are considered to be the bulwark of our national peace prosperity and happiness, and for an officer thus to violate the law and hazard the peace of our country, is such an example to those of a lower grade, that it ought and must meet, with a speedy corrective.

I have to request that you make strict inquiry into those facts relative to the late conduct of Major Russle, If he has not carried his plan into execution, and you have information that can be relied on that he intends it, you will command him to desist, and should he be hardy enough to disobay your orders, and proceed to violate the laws of the land I command you immediately to arrest him, and to furnish Brigadier genrl. Winchester with the charges against him so that a court martial may be called and a speedy inquiry had into his conduct. If he has progressed in his illegal enterprise, and you can procure prooff of the facts, you are hereby required also to arrest him. The respectability of the militia require it, and the peace and tranquility of our country imperiously commands, that such unofficer like conduct should be punished. The pride of a good officer and a wish for subordination and discipline in his corps will always be a sufficient incentive to him to obey the orders of his superior and act consistant with the law of land. where that is not the case the good of the Service and the respectability of the militia require a corrective—by inquiry and casheering. I flatter myself, from your well-known military experience, that you will be vigilant in your enquiries and to the utmost of your power preserve the tranquility of your county by arresting and bringing to trial all officers under your command who act inconsistant with their duty as officers. your county being on the Frontier place your citizens in a dangerous situation, and the unwarrentable act of killing the Indian lately may involve in it the lives of a number of the innocent, I am truly surprised that the civil authority has not taken some notice of the act by trying to find out the perpetrator and bringing him to Justice. I do hope the good citizens will notice the thing in a proper manner.

With respect and Esteem

yr mo. ob. serv.

¹ Colonel McKinney seems to have commanded the militia of Jackson County.

² This letter was one of Jackson's first official actions as major-general of militia. It illustrates his manner of transacting his official duties and his sense of fairness to the Indians. On the same day, May 10, he wrote to Winchester, within whose brigade was the offending Major Russell, and ordered a strict investigation, with punishment if guilt was proved. Major Russell lived near the point where the road from East to West Tennessee plunges into the "Wilderness" going east. This unsettled region was not acquired from the Cherokees until 1805. (Cf. F. A. Michaux, *Travels*, p. 212.)

TO GEORGE DUFFIELD.

HUNTERS HILL, June 25, 1802

D'r Sir, Your letter of the 5th. of May came safe to hand. But owing to a pressure of private, as well as publick business, compelled me to omit answering it untill this date. I receive with gratitude your acknowledgements for my services as your chaplain, and hope the Turkey dinner was well dressed and afforded a good repast. I have no doubt but glea and mirth sparkled in each face around the social board—next circuit ¹ I hope not only to act as chaplain but stand by and see the nuptials consummated. I am happy to be informed, that *Brice* that pest to courts of Justice, is no more a sheriff, the change I hope will add much to fecility of the execution of the law, and when it is trampled upon his successor will bring them to trial. the change in Green I have no doubt is a happy one.

The congratulation of a sincere friend at all times, must be pleasing to a mind susceptible of friendship. yours Sir on my late appointment of major Genl. was highly pleasing inasmuch as I knew it flowed from the purest source of friendship, and a real wish for my success. It is of importance, that one of the aids should be of the District of Washington, and it is sufficient for me to know that you would accept the appointment. Sir it is my wish in selecting those two aids which by law I [may do] to find out men of Bravery and talents, men, (if the situation of our country requires it) that would be able and willing to advise in council, and Bravery to carry their admonition into full effect in the field. in you I view and [an] able counsellor in the cabinet, and a prompt executive officer in the field, this being my opinion and founded in merits when I have the pleasure of seeing you in the next circuit, will hand you your commission. I would enclose it, but I have none prepared for signing. I hope you will if necessity should require it, with freedom transact the duties of an aid under the authority of this letter. untill that time and If business should require it I will address you under that charrector. I wish to appoint the other in the District of Hamilton. my object in having one in each of the eastern Districts, is that the militia laws are not sufficiently attended to by differrent officers of the two Brigades, and it is absolutely necessary, that the militia of Tennessee should be placed on a more respectable footing in point of Discipline. myself in this District and one of the aids in each of the others; by a strict attention to the thing can instill into those officers a spirit of emulation that have not a sufficient share of military Pride that will benefit discipline. The only sure means to prevent invasion, is to convince the world we are able and prepared to repel it.

Receive sir my best wishes for your happiness and believe me to be, with high respect and Esteem

Yr obdt. serv.

¹ The judges of the supreme court went on circuit.

WILLIAM DICKSON ¹ TO JACKSON.

WASHINGTON, December 10, 1802.

Dear Sir, On Tuesday the house of representatives formed a quorum, but from a deficiency of Senators no business is yet done, there being but twelve of that body present. A sufficient number is not expected until monday next.

I recd. yours by Col. Green, as to the Salt Spring on the Salem I shall not be able to write you any thing conclusive until the Senate shall have acted on the treaty which is yet in the secret department. I expect in the course of the ensuing week it will be laid before the senate, the contents of your letter respecting it shall have due and early attention.

The Port of Orleans being shut against the United States has excited a very considerable degree of agitation here. A courier has been dispatched to the executive of the Mississippi territory with some instructions respecting this open violation of the Treaty and it is presumed a speedy adjustment will take place. It will however be prudent for the exporters of our country to retain their produce until they recive official accots. of the prohibition being done away.

The popularity of the President continues to increase. But the Vice Prest. has lost irretrivably the confidence of the American People.

The Author of Rights of Man, Common sense etc. is here. But that energy of mind and forcible language of which he was formerly possessed is gone, he is now in the sixty sixth year of his age, but the hardships sustained in the French Prisons have made him much older—he recives due attention from the Republicans.

Best respects to Mrs. Jackson.

TO MRS. JACKSON.

NEW PORT, TENNESSEE, March 22, 1803.

My Love: I am this far on my way to Knoxville from Jonesborough and being about to part with Colo. Christmas, who has promised to call and deliver some garden seeds and this letter to you, I write fully impressed with a belief that the letter and garden seeds will be handed to you.

These are a variety of seeds and as large quantities of each as I could obtain. If there should be any to spare of any kind sent I have said to Colo. Christmas that you would divide with him.

On the 15th instant in Jonesborough Mr. Rawlings stable was set on fire. It and two more stables were burnt down, and four horses, with great exertions and the calmness of the night, and other houses were saved. During this distressing scene I was a great deal exposed, having nothing on but a shirt. I have caught a very bad cold which settled on my lungs, occasioned a bad cough and pain in my breast. It was with the utmost exertion I saved my horse from the flames—not until I made the third attempt before I could force him into the passage. You may easily judge the anxiety by seeing the poor animal in danger. I shall write you from Knoxville, and would write you more fully, but the Colo. has promised to call, from whom you can receive all the information that I could

¹ Representative in Congress from Tennessee 1801-1807.

give. I wish you to say to Mr. Gowery that I wish my cotton planted between the 15th and 25th of April. I hope the apple trees have been safely brought and planted. I have been afraid they received injury from frost, from the very severe frost that fell about that time.

I hope it has been in his power to make your time more agreeable with the servants. I also hope that he has brought Aston to a perfect state of obedience. I have not heard a single syllable from you since I left home. I hope you have enjoyed and are now enjoying health, and may health and happiness surround you until I have the pleasure of seeing you is the sincere wish of your affectionate Husband.¹

ARCHIBALD ROANE TO JACKSON.

KNOXVILLE, July 10, 1803.

Dear Sir, I congratulate you on your safe arrival. It is true that there is a great ferment here as well as in your Country respecting the Election. I have sent you inclosed a Copy of the letter to Glasgow,¹ and also of Carter's Affidavit. The Affidavit was made at the instance of Mr. Martin to show that he had delivered all the papers in his possession, and tho' sufficient for that purpose does not contain all the facts which he stated respecting the transaction. The file alluded to in the Affidavit as delivered to me contains 175 papers purporting to be Locations for 640 acres each, 165 of which appear to be for John Sevier.¹ They appear to be all in the same hand writing, all dated 16th September 1779 and numbered from 1634, to, 1808 inclusive. I have not time to write more at present.

I am Sir

Yours Sincerely

¹ Parton gives an account of the burning of Rawling's stables (*Jackson*, I. 163). It was at this time that Jackson arrested Russell Bean (*ibid.*, pp. 167, 228). That incident receives further light from a statement made in a letter from James A. McLoughlin to Amos Kendall, January 3, 1843. McLoughlin was Kendall's nephew, and was at the Hermitage when he wrote, having gone there to select from Jackson's great mass of papers such as he thought useful in his uncle's forthcoming life of Jackson. Writing from the Hermitage under this condition, it is fair to assume that his authority was Jackson himself. His statement is as follows:

"Dear Sir. I send you the enclosed because it furnishes an argument in the case of Arbuthnot and Ambrister and it may possibly suggest some new ideas to you. It also contains an account of an encounter which the Genl. when a Judge had with a felon. The account is substantially but not literally correct. The correct statement is as follows 'The man had in a fit of jealousy with his wife cut off the ears of his child and afterwards went armed to the teeth to avoid apprehension. The sheriff had summoned ten men to take him but they were afraid. The judge then told him to summon the whole posse. He did so but returned the same answer to the judge and at the same time apologized for his want of success. The Judge told him to excuse himself if he could to his fellow citizens and country. The court, consisting of Judge Campbell, Rowen and Jackson, then adjourned to dine. On their way to the hotel the Sheriff summoned the judges. The first two put themselves upon their dignity and declined serving but Jackson with readiness assented and having armed himself advanced to the felon and told him that if he did not surrender he would shoot him down. He said he would do so but was afraid of the people. The Judge told him he should be perfectly safe from the people and he immediately surrendered and Jackson handed him over to the custody of the Sheriff.'"

¹ The charge that Sevier was concerned in the Glasgow land frauds was made in 1803, when he was candidate for the office of governor. Jackson led the attack on Sevier in a long communication in the *Tennessee Gazette*, July 27, 1803. Sevier replied in the same newspaper on Aug. 8, 1803. Cf. Dr. F. A. Claiborne to Jackson, July 11, 1803, and Archibald Roane to Jackson, July 22, 1803.

S. WILLIAMS TO JACKSON.

FORT BLOUNT, July 20, 1803.

Dear Sir, Your letter of the 11th Instant is now before me, and I truly sorry that I cannot comply so fully with your request as the importance of the case requires, Neither the records or letter from the secretary of North Carolina have been deposited in my office nor I cannot pretend to state the contents thereof so fully as I could wish, for the records contains at least twenty folio sheets, and if the records are true, our late Chief Magistrate gave himself great latitude. to the best of my recollection the secretary states that the Grant of 32000 acres in the name of John Sevier is Bottomed upon consolidated warrants chiefly from Carters office and that Grants had issued upon warrants of the same No and date to the proper person long before. The substance of the letter from the late Governor Sevier to Colo Glasgow I think I do recollect and although he endeavoured to give it a different complexion from what I take to be its real object, I think there is no candid honest man who will not acknowledge that it was intended as a Bribe, he wrote to the secretary that he was highly sensible of his goodness and friendsh[ip] towards him in Executing his business in the manner he had taken the liberty to request, but that there was still a small remainder in the hands of Mr Gordon, that he had instructed Mr Gordon to make him out a plat to the amount of three 640 acres on his compleating his business, and begged him to accept of it in Lieu of office fees etc. now sir we all Know the fees on Issuing a Grant is only 6s prock ¹—equal to 75 cents. Who is their will believe that Sevier would give 1920 acres of land for 75 cents without he got it very easy. But surely the people of Davidson County do not want proofs of Seviars having been Guilty of Committing frauds on the publick, if they do let them enquire into his conduct in ordering a draft for Sinclairs ² Campeign, But I rather incline to think some of his most conspicuous friends are in hopes of getting three or four 640 acre tracts, should he be elected, his friends in this Quarter does not pretend to support him for any other reason than that of his being a Violater of the laws, he has got a number of the Jackson County people on fire with the Idea of shortly get Over the Indian line, and two men are now actually at work on the Indian side near Major Russells, one of the mens names is Joseph Taylar. Notwithstanding all this, his interest is declining verry fast and should the people on Obeds river turn out to the Election, I am of Opinion that Jackson County will give Roane a Majority for they are generally honest men. In this County I hope we shall have no crime to answer for in voting for him, but if the state must be disgrased by Electing such a charactar I hope it will be without a Majority from Mero, and should he get every other vote in the District, he will not get that of your real friend

¹ Six shillings proclamation money.² St. Clair's.

TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

NASHVILLE, August 7, 1803

Sir, The late arrest of Colonel Thomas Butler¹ added to the novelty of the order upon which it is founded, has occasioned a number of the good citizens of this District, to apply to me, to state to you the real Charector of the Colo. during his command within this state; this application added to a real desire that you should be made acquainted with the true charector of the Colo. under his present circumstances and the sentiments of the citizens with regard to him induces me to write you.

Shortly after Colo. Butler reached this state, the removal of Judge Campbell from off the Indian lands, and his arrest by military authority occasioned a great noise, and the circumstance was notified to the then delegation in congress, by a letter from Judge Campbell which was laid before Mr. Adams then President. Shortly after an explanation Took place between the Judge and the Colo. friendship was restored, and the thing there ended without enquiry whether the Colo in the arrest, had acted strictly within the powers given him by the Government. Leaving this solitary act out of view, as far as I have seen, heard or been informed the people of this state has always found in him both the citizen and soldier. he has by his conduct as an officer, by his strict probity and honesty endeared the citizens to him, in short Sir the removal of such an officer, for the disobedience of such an order would raise unpleasant sensations in the minds of the citizens as it is thought [by] many to be renewed for the express purpose of driving the colo. out of Service as his well known attachment, to his locks (which he had wore as an ornament untill they had grew gray in the service of his country) were such, that nothing but death itself could separate them from him. It is thought also that such an order, is approaching too near to the Despotism of a Sarrow² and better calculated, for the dark regions of the East, than for enlightened America. Should it be decided, that the heir is a part of uniform and subject to the order of the commander in chief, it may also be extended to the nose ear eye and so forth, they are all equally the gifts of nature, and all as much recognised by any written rules for the government of an army. The feelings of the militia are alive upon the occassion, as it is well known, that when in the field they are subject to the same orders, and liable to the same pains for disobedience. It opens a door for the greatest tyranny to be exercised by a commander in chief and by which he may deprive his country of the service of its most valluable officers, when he may think they

¹ Col. Thomas Butler was a Revolutionary soldier of distinction and served with great gallantry in St. Clair's ill-fated expedition in 1791. When the regular army was reorganized in 1802, he became colonel of the 2d regiment. In 1797 he was sent to Tennessee by Washington, to expel settlers on the Indian lands, and it was in that service that the incident occurred to which Jackson refers in this letter. His stern soldierly qualities made him popular in that country. The Col. Robert Butler who later served as Jackson's adjutant-general in the New Orleans campaign was his son. Jefferson replied, Sept. 19, to Jackson's letter and said that the important charge against Colonel Butler was disobedience to orders.

² Prince Suvárov, the Russian general, noted for his strict discipline, died in 1800. The German spelling of his name Suvarow, was common.

have become too honest, too economical too independant, to be subservient to his views.

To conclude I will just remark that, The novelty of the order, its renewal at the time it was, the uniform upright conduct of the colonel during his command in this state, his hospitality Politeness and attention to the citizens and those Passing through it, all combined to increase the wishes of our citizens, for his honourable acquittal and safe return, and in the golden moment of american prosperity, when all the Western Hemisphere rejoices at the Joyfull news of the cession of Louisiana, an event which places the peace happiness and liberty of our country on a lasting basis, an event which generations yet unborn on each revolving year, will hail the day, and with it the causes that give it birth, such Joy as these we hope will not be interrupted by the scene, of an aged and meritorious officer being brought before a court martial for the disobedience of an order that went to deprive him of the gift of nature which was worn by him both for ornament and convenience.³

JACKSON'S GENERAL ORDER TO THE MILITIA AS TO SPANISH THREATS.¹

HUNTER'S HILL, August 7, 1803.

The late conduct of the Spanish Government, added to the Hostile appearance and menacing attitude of their Armed forces already incamped within the limits of our government, make it necessary that the militia under my Command, should be in complete order and at a moments warning ready to march.

This armed force under the sanction of their government, have imprisoned and transported five of the good citizens of the U. states to the dominion of Spain. They have cut down and carried off the flag of the U. states, which was erected in the Cado nation of indians and within the limits of the U. States. They have compelled by force men in the employ of Government when exploring the red river to desist and come home and they have taken a unjustifiable and insulting position on the East side of the river sabine and within the Territory of New Orleans!!! Acts thus daring as well as degrading to our national Character and constituted rights demand prompt satisfaction and cannot fail to excite that resentment so becoming and so natural on the occassion.

In the first instance Gentlemen let it be recollected that our good *materials, our best of men*, must be properly deciplined and in this way the preperation cannot be too great to meet the wishes of the Genl. and the exegencies of our Country. Inspired with the laudable ambition of avenging our countries wrongs and impelled by the most cogant necessity of defending our national dignity and liberties, it is calculated that but one voice will be heard among us and that, that will be for *preperation and decipline*.

³ The order to crop the hair was given by General Wilkinson, commanding in the West with headquarters at New Orleans. Colonel Butler's refusal was taken as an act of insubordination and led to his arrest and trial by court martial.

¹ Jackson MSS., vol. 134, no. 23116. The real reason for calling out the militia was the fear that Spain would not give up New Orleans, just purchased from France.

You are therefore ordered, without delay, to place yr. brigade on the most respectable footing and be in readiness to furnish the quota required of you at the shortest notice. All volunteer companies well equipped will be accepted of. If the full quota can be raised by voluntary enlistment it will answer government a better purpose than by pressing men from their families by draft; but if it be discovered that this cannot be done, you will direct that the effective men be classed and that the law in this respect be particularly attended to and when the government and constituted authorities of our Country require, they must be in readiness to march. Two regiments, it is expected, from my division (in the event of a call) will be required and no doubt if more are in readiness to march, a tender of their services will be accepted of.

You will Gentlemen take the most speedy method of obtaining direct information of the number that can be raised by voluntary enlistment within your respective brigades thro yr. colonels or in such other manner as may to you be most proper and after this information shall have been acquired forward the same to the Genl. by mail.

MARTIN ARMSTRONG TO JACKSON.

NASHVILLE, August 29, 1803.

Sir: When you was last in this place, I think I heard You mention that you intended to resign being Judge, And should you intend hereafter to appear at The bar, I have some principal causes which I have always wished you to conduct for me, and which I would Make an object worthy your attention, and also am anxious that you would not be retained by any person Against me.

Mr George W Campbell has had my buisness in hand, but being elected a Member for congress I cannot expect him to appear for the future. If these Lines reaches you before you leave Knox, you will confer A favour which will much oblige me, by mentioning it to Mr Campbell And to know what gentleman he has appointed to conduct his law buisness in the district of Mero etc., and as far as I am concerned, I wish it may fall into your hand and in case You should practice, I would prepare such buisness to lay Before you which for the present would be Necessary.

A few lines by the post on this head would be of Service directed to

Sir

Your Mo. Obedt Servant

JAMES ROBERTSON TO JACKSON.¹

NASHVILLE, September 7, 1803.

Honrd. Sir, I have Just Returned from Smith and Wilson Countys, and have heard the generally opinion and wish of the people of both Coun-

¹ General Robertson, with Col. John Donelson, Jackson's father-in-law, was one of the two founders of the Cumberland settlements. He was held in the highest esteem by the Tennessee people of his time. Although his spelling was very bad, he was a man of fine sense, and he filled important offices of state.

tys that it Could be Consistant with your interest and other arangments to Continue Judg, it is likewise the harty wish of your frend and Humbel servant—but not a wish that you serve the state at your own Expence as heare to fore. I have no doubt but the insuing lageslat[i]on will allow such sallerys as may secure Judgs of Tallants and intigrety. it is said or doubted heare, that should you Resighn that Judg white will allso, and it is doubted should that be the case wheather governer Roan will take the opointment of Judg again. I think the time has Just arived that we shall most nead men of legal and natral knoedg metearley, in our land trials. I have for some time doubted that shifting our Judges would in-greg [injure] the Respectability of our Judisiey which I Ever have held the best security for harminy and good goverment of a new Country as ours is. I heard as I Returned home that your lady was well. Excuse the incorect scralls of one who wishes you all hapiness, while I am your most Humbel

Servant

TO JOHN HUTCHINGS.

KNOXVILLE, Sept. 23, 1803

Dear Jack, I recd your letter by last Post, am happy that you have sent some goods with Lt Campbell by way of Experiment, I hope we will have a good acct of them. Be attentive to the different stores¹ and to the engagements of Cotton as far as prudence will permit. I am happy to hear of the arival of the cordage and so forth, but am truly sorry, that the arbitrators have not made a final settlement of the business with Mr Watson. Press that thing—however I will be at home shortly and if not settled will immediately file a Bill in Equity against him. I have had a verry severe attack of the fever have recovered health tho not strength, but am strengthing daily. Anderson and Smith have had hard polling—five times tied—the sixth one of Smiths friends flew and gave Anderson the casting vote.² It is said the other election will come on today. If it does Smith will out vote Cocke in my oppinion. I have been much threatened at Jonesborough by the Sevierites whilst sick, but as soon as I got upon my legs, from the fierceness of lyons, the[y] softned down to the Gentleness of lambs, there is no spirit amongst them. If a man was alone without

¹ Jackson, like many other leading men in early settlements, was engaged in trading as a supplement to his profession. When he found that Tennessee lands sold readily to speculators in Philadelphia he bought them in large tracts, sold them for notes, or cash, which he converted into goods to be sold in Tennessee for notes, or cash, which in turn were converted into lands, and the process repeated. To enable him to sell his merchandise, he established stores. His first venture was at Hunter's Hill, his fine plantation in a great bend of the Cumberland River, about two miles from his later home, the Hermitage. He had for partner Thomas Watson, with whom there was some difficulty, so that the partnership was dissolved, and John Hutchings, a near relative of Mrs. Jackson's became a partner. In 1805 Jackson moved his store to Clover Bottom and took in John Coffee as a second partner. In trying to dispose of the cargoes he brought on from Philadelphia he opened small stores also at Gallatin, Lebanon, and perhaps elsewhere.

² Probably refers to the election of Joseph Anderson as United States senator. See Jackson to Watson, Jan. 25, 1804.

arms, a mob of fifty might make an attack, but they knew I was prepared, and the[y] sneaked to their Den.

Health and respect

TO JOHN SEVIER.

KNOXVILLE, October 2, 1803

Sir, The ungentlemanly expressions, and gasgonading conduct of yours, relative to me on yesterday was in true charactor of yourself, and unmask you to the world, and plainly shews that they were the ebullitions of a base mind goaded with stubborn proof of fraud, and flowing from a source devoid of every refined sentiment, or delicate sensation. But *Sir* the voice of the people has made you a Governor, this alone makes you worthy of my notice, or the notice of any Gentleman. For the Office I have respect, and as such I only deign to notice you, and call upon you for that satisfaction and explanation that your ungentlemanly conduct and expressions require, for this purpose I request an interview, and my friend who will hand you this will point out the time and place, when and where I shall expect to see you with your friend and no other person. my friend and myself will be armed with pistols—you cannot mistake me or my meaning.

I am etc. etc.

TO JOHN SEVIER.¹

October 3, 1803.

Sir: Your note without date handed by Capt. Sparks, and which I suppose was wrote this morning, is now before me—and am happy to find that the interview proposed by me in my note of yesterday, is pleasing to you, but I am extremely sorry *sir*, that the answer has been so long upon its passage and that my friend, Mr. A. White was obliged to call so often on yesterday. You say you will wait on me at any time and place not within the state of Tennessee. This, *sir*, I view as a mere subterfuge. Your attack was in the Town of Knoxville. Did you take the name of a lady into your poluted lips in the Town of Knoxville? Did you challeng me to draw, when you were armed with a cutlass and I with a cane, and now *sir* in the neighborhood of Knoxville you shall atone for it or I will publish you as a coward and a paltroon. I now call upon you, that you will this day meet me in the manner prescribed by my note of yesterday. If it will obviate your squeamish fears, I will set out immediately to the nearest part of the Indian boundary line, on receiving an answer to this note, but to travel to Georgia, Virginia or North Carolina is a proposition made by you to evade the thing entirely. I am therefore compelled to be explicit, you must meet me tween this and four o'clock this afternoon either in the neighborhood of Knoxville, or on the nearest point of the Indian Boundary line, or I will publish you as a coward and paltroon. I shall expect an answer in the space of one hour, or I shall expect as you are so fearful of the consequence of a breach of the law, that you may think it advisable to shield your body from paying the debts of honor under the law as you have heretofore your property. I here pledge my

¹ Original in the possession of Mrs. Rachel J. Lawrence, Nashville, Tenn.

honor, on yesterday my friend did the same, that no advantage of the law shall or will be taken by me or my friends, let consequences be as they may. I am sir, etc.

PETITION.

KNOXVILLE, October 5, 1803.

Sir, The friends of our country at an early period of your life, evinced their respect for your virtue and talents, by conferring on you some of the most important appointments, that were in their power: And it is with pleasure we announce to you, that our confidence is unabated. Permit us to observe that it is with peculiar concern, we hear of your intention to resign the office of Judge; which you have hitherto filled with entire approbation.

We hope at this momentuous crisis, when Party is raging in a most extraordinary manner, you will not retire from the service of your country, and leave them to struggle with the loss. We conceive talents like your's, were given for public good; and that they will not be withheld, when they are mostly wanting. With due deferrence we submit these observations to your serious reflection.

Accept, Sir, the assurance of our high consideration and respect.

JOHN TIPTON
JOHN KENNEDY
DAVID CAMPBELL
WILLIAM SNODGRASS
JOHN MINIFEE
JAMES RENFRO
ANDERSON CHEATHAM
JOHN BUNCH
RODHAM KENNER
JAMES STUART
THOS. A. CLAIBORNE
WM. HALL
SAMUEL TIPTON
CHED HANES
JNO. RUSSELL
JAS SCOTT
THOMAS BUCKINGHAM

W. MARTIN
R. C. FOSTER
NATHL TAYLOR
GEORGE RUTLEDGE
JOHN K. WYNNE
D. STEWART
JOHN GASS
JAMES MAXWELL
JAMES WHITE
R WEAKLEY
ROBT NELSON
JOSEPH M MINN
GEO. DOHERTY
J WHARTON
GEO SMITH
J. F. JACK

PETITION.

October 7, 1803.

Sir, We have heard with concern that at the expiration of the present Term of the superior Court you intend resigning the office of Judge which you now hold. That the laws should be impartially administered by men of Talents and integrity we think a matter of the highest importance to society at all times; and hope there never may be a period when this state may have greater necessity for men of pure principles and sound Judgment on the Judicial Bench than we believe the present.

In your Talents and uprightness we have the highest confidence; and should you now resign we for ourselves and country would sincerely lament the loss thereby sustained. Permit us therefore seriously to solicit your continuance in Office as much longer as your own situation will by any means authorise, that our common country may derive additional benefits from those powers of thought and that independence of mind which nature never designed should be lost in retirement.

Accept our assurance of wishes for your happiness and prosperity and believe that we are yours with the highest respect,

PATRICK CAMPBELL
J WILKINSON
ARTHUR CROZIER
JOHN CROSIER
JOS R HENDERSON
JOHN WILLIAMS
THO. EMMERSON
THOS BROWN
JAMES PARKE
H RAMSEY
ANDW WHITE
ARMSTRONG ELLIS
GILBRET BARTON
SAMUEL D CARRICK
WILLIE BLOUNT
WILLIAM PARK
JAMES TRIMBLE
W G. BLOUNT
PLEASANT M MILLER Attory
JN CAMPBELL
J CORKE
R. HOUSTON

JNO. SMITH T.
BENJ. C. PARKER
JACOB JONES
JOHN ANTHONY
ROBT CALDWELL
NATHL. COWAN
JOSEPH LOVE
THOMAS MCCOVEY
EDWARD ^{his} X TEAR
JOSEPH ^{mark} GREER
FRNS. MAY
MOSES RAWLING
ROBT ARMSTRONG
CHAS M'CLUNG
HUGH DUNLAP
JOSIAH NICHOL
JOHN GAMBLE
NOAH JARNAGIN
ROBT. CRAIGHEAD
EDW SCOTT
SAML LOVE

To JOHN SEVIER.¹

KNOXVILLE, October 9, 1803.

Sir, After this note I will bid you adieu, it being the last you will receive from me on the point of honor the subject of my first note to you dated the first instant. From the tenor of yours of the third instant in answer to my note of the morning of the same day, I did believe that all that remained to be done, was for our friends immediately to point out the place to which we were instantly to repair, and the satisfaction required in my note of the second was immediately to be given. as I had named to you in my note of the third, that unless you did meet me be-

¹ The original of this letter is in the Tenn. Hist. Soc. Among the papers of Mrs. Rachel Jackson Lawrence the editor found, in 1921, a copy with some variations. The only important difference, however, was the following note, in Jackson's handwriting, explaining events that occurred after the letter was written:

"Capt. Sparks on Friday evening the 7th through my friend, Capt. White, requested to have an interview, to which I agreed. In the course of conversation, he named to

tween then and the hours of four oclock in the evening of the same day, or set out immediately to the Indian boundary line a place named by me (to remove your squeamish fears) that I would advertise you as a coward and poltroon; but judge of my astonishment, (when it was stated to me by my friend after application to Capt Sparks your friend to fix the time and proceed to a place to be named agreeable to your note) that in express contradiction thereto he stated, that you had instructed him not to name a day sooner than the eighth instant. I directed my friend to state to him expressly, if he did not agreeable to your note, immediately proceed to name time and place, that after four oclock I would advertise you as a coward and poltroon and that ce[n]sure might attach to him, as he was by your note authorised to act. he replied, he hoped I would not advertise you, but if I did he could not help it, that he was strictly pursuing your instructions, of which I have no doubt as I believe him to be a man of truth.

I then had a right to expose you. I thought I would that evening post you as a coward; but to leave you no subterfuge, I determined to wait the eighth the day of your choice, on the seventh instant Capt White waited on Capt Sparks your friend to be informed of your determination, and did emphatically state to you thro Capt Sparks, that we had waited your own time, and expected you had instructed him to state, that on the evening of the eighth, that you would be ready to meet me in the vicinity of Knoxville, or be ready to set out to the Indian boundary line, there to satisfy my demand. The answer was no arrangement yet made not still ready. Capt Sparks was again told to state to you, unless you did meet me on the eighth instant, you would be posted as a coward and poltroon. on the eighth an answer was given to my friend Capt A. White that you could not see me untill the committee business was over. These delays I well thought was intended as a mere subterfuge for your cowardice. you will recollect, that you on the first instant in the publick streets of Knoxville appeared to pant for the combat, you ransacked the vocabulary of vulgarity for insulting and blackguard expressions. You without provocation made the attack, and in an ungentlemanly manner took the sacred name of a lady in your poluted lips, and dared me publicly to challenge you, and ever since you gave the insult, has cowardly evaded an interview *you on that day appeared to court*. you ought at least before you make a premeditated attack to be ready to repair the injury at the call of the injured. I have waited your time, I have named the Indian boundary line, to prevent you from having any subterfuge, to which you agreed—all in vain—cowardice is now your only shield,

me if an accommodation could take place. I answered that I expected it could not, that Governor Sevier as a man of courage could not make such concessions, as would be acceptable to me. Capt. Sparks then said that the inquiry was unauthorized but if it was to go any farther he would wash his hands of it. I then told him to state to Governor Sevier his intentions and also, that if Governor Sevier did not meet me on the eighth, I would publish him as a coward and poltroon. Answer on the eighth, that he would not meet me until his business was over with the committee as stated within, Captain Sparks left Knoxville on the eighth of October, the day that had been named by him as the time for the meeting."

On this affair, see Bassett's *Jackson*, I. 59. Parton treats it, with some inaccuracies, in his *Jackson*, I. 136.

to that you have resorted, and as you will not give me that redress in the field, that the in[j]ury you have done requires, and as your old age protects you from that chastisement you meritt, the justice I owe to myself and country urges me to unmask you to the world in your true colors; in the Gazette of Monday next. I have spoke for a place in the paper for the following advertisement, and I have named publickly that you are the greatest coward I ever had an[y]thing to do with. the advertisement as follows,

To all who shall see these presents Greeting. Know ye that I Andrew Jackson, do pronounce, publish, and declare to the world, that his excellency John Sevier, Captain General and commander in chief of the land and naval forces of the state of Tennessee, is a base coward and poltroon. He will basely insult, but has not courage to repair, Andrew Jackson.

You may prevent the insertion of the above by meeting me in one or two hours after the receipt of this, my friend who will hand you this is authorised to declare on a written note signed by you being delivered to him stating time as above and place and on no other terms. I shall set out for home on the thenth [*sic*] instant, about the middle of the day, I hope it will not be said that I ran away for fear of you or your friends. Adieu.

TO JOHN SEVIER.¹

KNOXVILLE, "Monday 12 oclock 10th October 1803."

Sir, Your note by Mr William Maben is this moment handed me and I hasten to reply, that you have been well advised what part of the Indian boundary line I would go with you to relieve you of your fears. South West Point was named, and that I would accommodate your fears by going there. you have been informed invited and requested to meet me there, within the vicinity of this place, or any other place that would be convenient. you have refused and evaded a meeting, and through mere cowardice. you may yet retrieve your character by seeing me in this neighborhood or at South West Point. If in this neighborhood, this evening or early tomorrow morning. If at South West Point tomorrow evening, or on Wednesday next any time before twelve oclock. If you incline to this meeting I will expect to be notified by you—I well know your friend Capt Sparks is absent, he told me and my friend Capt A. White on friday evening that for certain reasons he washed his hands of it, and was requested if he did to state it to you and to state agreeable to your appointment on the eighth we would expect to hear from you, or I would post you as you have been heretofore advised. Capt Sparks stated to my friend that he had stated to you every thing he had promised, and gave for answer as I advised you yesterday. you certainly are not so friendless, that you can get no other friend. this will not do well for a come

¹ The original is in the Tenn. Hist. Soc. A copy was found among papers submitted to the editor's inspection in 1921 by Mrs. Rachel J. Lawrence. In it the name here given as "William Maben" seems to be "William Maclin". To it is added this note: "This letter was handed to Mr. William Maclin [?] to hand to the Governor in the presence of Capt. A. White, which Mr. Maclin [?] promised to deliver." In the *Am. Hist. Mag.* (Nashville), V. 208, is a sworn account of the meeting between Jackson and Sevier near Kingston, Oct. 15, 1803.

off. The advertisement [is] in the press. I leave Knoxville tomorrow after breakfast. will obey a call from you between this and that time in the vicinity of this place. and I assure you will be happy to see you in a situation that I can obtain that redress, that I have been trying to compel you to afford me for nine days past, and which you pledged your honor to my friend to give me, and which you have forfeited.

GEORGE W. CAMPBELL TO JACKSON.

WASHINGTON, October 29, 1803.

Dear Sir, Since our arrival at this place, we have been generally engaged on the subject of the *Louisiana business*. We have passed in our house the necessary laws, for carrying into compleat effect, The Conventions, (or Treaty) with France, Ceding Louisiana to the United States. Some of those laws have and the others no doubt soon will, pass the Senate. These laws provide for taking immediate possession of that Country, creating the Stock etc. to pay France, the sum stipulated to be paid to her for that Country, by the sd. Treaty, and for paying our merchants the sum to be paid them on behalf of France, by the same Treaty. Pursuant to the law for that purpose, the president will no doubt, direct possession to be taken of the Country as soon as possible. should military force be necessary he is impowered to call out such force according to the law passed last Session for that purpose, and in such an event a part of such force will probably be taken from our State. Some doubts are entertained of the Conduct that may be persued by the Spaniards at Orleans. Since writing the above, monday, 3d Ocbr. have just recd. information thro' the Secretary at war, that directions will be forwarded, by this days mail (which is to arrive in 8 days at Nashville) to the Executive of our State to raise and embody immediately in West Tennessee, five hundred horsemen, *armed etc. if convenient*—if not to be furnished with arms—to aid if necessary in taking immediate possession of N. Orleans, and Louisiana in general. It is understood that the above number of men will be expected to be ready to march, in a few, (say five) days after the order arrives in that State. The utmost promptness in the execution of this measure, may be of immense importance. Should opposition be made at Orleans, and our Strength, at hand (which is understood to be at present but about 4 or 500, regular troops) not be sufficient to enforce obedience and take possession, it would no doubt be cause of triumph to the *opposition party*, who have, (a few excepted) opposed the Cession etc. in almost every Stage. And indeed, Sir, the officers of Government of the U. S. have recd. some assurances on our part, that should such a measure become necessary, the people of our State, would be at least foremost to engage in the enterprise. *The western States* are materially interested in having immediate possession taken of that Country. Doubts are suggested here of the Constitutionality of our admitting that Country into the Union as a State, and many appear opposed to admitting it to be populated etc. These objections are likely to become more serious than might at first be deemed. Should be happy to hear your idea on these points etc.

I am, with Sentiments of very high respect

TO HENRY DEARBORN.¹

HUNTER'S HILL, November 12, 1803

Sir, Your letter of the 31st Ultimo, reached me today, the contents duly observed, I hasten to answer, That the Boats required, shall be ready to sale against the 20th of next month, if within the reach of Possibility, and in procuring them oeconomy shall be attended to, as far as the shortness of time and the scarcity of hands at this busy season will permit.

I view with extreme regret, the necessity for this precautionary measure, and this at a period, when it was generally thought, and believed that the wisdom of our government, had laid the lasting basis of peace by the purchase of Louisiana in this quarter. But *Sir*, if we should be, by the conduct of Spain compelled into the measure, and war be the ultimatum you will find the spirit of Patriotism prevade the minds of the militia in the west, and that the regiments required will be readily filled; of this there is no doubt, unless their ardor should be abated by the mode the Governor has adopted in his selection of officers.

Permit me here to state, that the militia by the constitution of this State has a right to appoint, and elect their own officers, from that of a Lieutenant up to the colo. This being their right secured to them by the constitution, they view any change from this an act of usurpation, which the mind revolts at, and creates opposition. I am Just informed, and that too through a respectable channel that the Governor has assumed the power to appoint any person he pleases to office, taking them from the ranks, and paying no respect to the selection of officers already appointed agreeable to the existing rules and regulations of the state. I am also informed, that this has given offence to the officers commanding companies, and that they make use of all their influence to prevent those new created officers from taking any part of their company from them by enlistment, or otherwise; this I fear, will have a banefull effect, and occasion a serious delay in filling up the regiments.

There are a number of (Volunteer) independant companies who expected to have been called upon to march and held themselves bound to do so, at a minutes warning. These I am just informed have been neglected, not even a request command or invitation to march. This information comes to me directly from one of the independant corps, accompanied with a complaint of neglect on the part of the Governor. Unfortunately for our state at present, we have a governor who has always through life been governed by selfish motives regardless of Publick good, and unfortunately in the present instance he persues the system, of giving appointments to those who are his favourites, without consulting the Benefit of the publick service. If this system is not put an end to, by the interference of the general Government I fear that the Federal party will have to say that the militia cannot be relied on in cases of sudden immergency, and I am well assured if proper measures had been adopted the full quota of men required of this state could have been brought to the field in three weeks.

¹ Secretary of War.

Various complaints of the above description having been made to me, I thought it my duty to communicate the same to you, that as congress is in session if necessary, they might Provide by law that in all cases that hereafter might arise, where the services of the militia may be required, that the[y] shall be commanded, by their own officers appointed agreeable to the established laws of the state from which they are called. this I well know would have a tendency, to bring to the field at an early day any number of militia required. I can say with certainty, that it would be a pleasing tour to the militia of this Dist, when commanded by an officer in whom the[y] had confidence, to march to chastise those Dons, who would dare to infringe our rights or trample upon the Treaty. Should my attention to any business be thought necessary in this quarter to promote the Publick service it will be with pleasure rendered, and should my services in the field be required with promptness I will obey, and rest assured that my exertions shall not be wanting to bring to the field the requisition made upon the state. Health and respect.

NOTES TAKEN WHILE PRESIDING AS JUDGE.¹

[1804.]

McGuffin and son } motion
 vs }
 Acklin and others } for Execution

2 points 1st. bond taken before bounds laid off—2 discharged from bounds by order, of the Justices under the insolvent Debtors act—in support, it is urged, that the law with respect of notice was not complied with, therefore illegal and cannot exonerate Securities from their bond.

To the first point Mr Miller did not say any thing.

Mr. Miller, in favour of the motion—urged that notice is a substantial part, to give Jurisdiction therefore, without notice it

4 Beacon 641²— } must be considered, coram non Judice—
 2 Salkuld 475 } Beacon says that the authority
 } must be Persued.

Iredal P. 83—The courts power to mark out P. bounds and record them—The amendatory act P. 189. The bond to be assigned, and Judgt to be entered, in case the condition thereof should be broke.

Bond read—a true prisoner—untill regularly discharged.

the word regular—must mean discharged agreeable to law—and not agreeable to the oppinion of the court—quere.

¹ It has been said that no decision by Jackson when he was supreme court judge in Tennessee has been preserved. These notes however give some idea of his service in the office. They are preserved in the Jackson MSS., vol. 118, p. 91.

² The references are to Matthew Bacon's *Abridgement of the Law* (1736 *et seq.*), Salkeld's *King's Bench Reports*, Justice James Iredell's *Laws of the State of North Carolina* (Edenton, 1791), Haywood's *North Carolina Reports*, of which only vol. I. had at this time been published, Blackstone's *Commentaries*, and Espinasse's *Digest of the Law of Actions and Trials at Nisi Prius* (London, 1789; Philadelphia, 1791).

Page 262 and 3—rules prescribed to be persued, before oath administered—summons must issue before, the court can proceed—but suppose they do—can the Gaoller, enquire into the regularity of the proceeding. will shew this the only mode and this the only court, that relief can be had—cites, Haywood 414.

Plea—liberated under the act—presumed to be regular, if contra does not appear.

1 Salkd. 202—escape—coram non Judice—T.² lies against the officer.

1 Salkud 273—Escape warrent—often a discharge by a court not having Jurisdiction will lies [?]-4 Beacon—451.

Mr. Scott—This bond not known at commonlaw, but formed by particular statute.

1—no such Judgt. as set forth in the bond—reads the bond copies and record—a difference in bond and record of 40/100.

2—at the time bond taken, no prison bound—consequently the securities not bound untill bounds laid off, the Glr [Gaoler] must keep him in the public gaol.

3 Black. 415—Escape—
act of assembly P. 83—
on Escape, Espinasse 203.

3. point—as to the discharge etc. 4. Beacon 641—read by M.—2 Salk 475—and 1-202-2-273—Haywood 414.

Iredal 189—concluded by saying this court has no such controlling power over the acts of the Justices as to reverse their Judgt. and grant Judgt. on mere motion.

Mr. Dade—1. the bond Void, no bounds laid off etc. conditions impossible Void 2 Beacon P. 772.
Espinass 191.

Mr. Campbel—bond Void ab onitia [initio]—the Variance fatal—and the discharge a Judgt of the Justices still in force and securities discharged by the Judgt. which is binding untill reversed.

Mr. Whitesides—contended that if there was not Legal notice it could not be a regular discharge.

1. contends that the bond is fair in the face of it, and the[y] are Estopt to say that there is a Varience—and exonerate themselves, on that ground.

2 This court cannot say that the bounds were not laid off—The court cannot say that the bond is Void—agreed—but if the condition is broken the court cannot award execution.

reads Iredal P. 93 to shew that the bond is the Judgt., and not necessary to set out the Precise sum—P 189 the bond to be assigned filed in the office for safe Keeping—and in case the Prisoner Escapes, the court authorised to enter up Judgt. as Principle and his securities.

3 point—the case comes on between a Just and fair creditor—and securities who placed confidence in Deftd.—

The discharge must exonerate all or none.

the act gives an extraordinary Jurisdiction—not known in ordinary cases—and it must be performed, in strict conformity with the provisions otherwise their acts cannot have the effect contended for.

reads Iredall 262—

case in iredal, Judgt. as Excrs. Execution vs the real Property, without sci. fa. vs the heirs, Ejectment brought insisted, on the Judgt. and sale and the heirs bound—ruled that the[y] were not Estoped—why sci fa—was necessary to make the land liable.

McGuffin and son

	<i>vs</i>	
Acklin	}	motion for Exct. <i>vs</i> them for breach of the Prison bounds
Perrin		
and		
Combs		

no Judgt such as mentioned in the bond—etc.
against the motion—1st point, that the bond was taken and executed before Prison bounds were laid off—therefore Void, and a voluntary escape by the sheriff—2—that the Deftd. was admitted by a competent authority to the benefit of the insolvent Debtors act, and legally discharged by his order, which exonerated the Bail—and if that authority did not strictly persue the law—they were not under the controul of the securities—and they cannot and ought not to be answerable for any illegality in their proceedings—and the securities being once exonerated by a competent authority never can be made liable on their bond.

In support of the motion it was argued, as every requisite of the law was not complied with, Previous to the oath being administered and Deftd. discharged that the securities and principle are still bound.

TO JOHN COFFEE.¹

HUNTERS HILL, January 7, 1804

Sir, Should you find when you reach the Salines in the Illinoi, that you can make a purchase, upon terms advantageous to us you are hereby authorised to offer my signature to any instrument of writing for securing the payment to the vendors.

I am not capable of judging of their vallue, but suppose them a good purchase at Twenty five thousand dollars, payable in merchandize. If the payment can be stipulated at from three to five years in merchandize you may safely go as high as thirty five thousand dollars. If only three perhaps thirty thousand would be as much as could be safely given. I only give you these ideas for your reflection not to be strictly bound thereby, but forty thousand ought not to be exceeded.

¹ Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS. The writing of the year is doubtful, but another letter on the same day and in the same collection indicates that this letter, written Jan. 7, 1804, was a formal authorization to buy or lease the salt deposit on the Illinois. Coffee was brigadier-general of Tennessee militia.

If a purchase cannot be effected I wish you to lease them for ten years, on such terms as you may think advisable, and this will authorise you to sign my name to an article for securing the payment to the Lessee. I wish at least to have one third of the purchase or lease, or one half if you wish us alone concerned. It will be well if we can meet to have some further conversation on this subject, and I will give you a full power to act in the premises. Health and respect.

WILLIAM DICKSON TO JACKSON.

WASHINGTON, January 8, 1804.

Dear Sir, I recd. yours of last week, and believe no doubt is now entertained but that the communications from the Governor of Tennessee to the Secretary of War will receive just as much attention as they are justly entitled to and no more. I allude to the charges against D. Vandyke.

The Bills for extending our revenue laws to the District of New Orleans and for establishing a temporary government for Louisiana are yet under consideration. No doubt but they would have been disposed of before now had not measures for keeping pure that important branch of our government, the Judiciary been suggested as requiring the attention of Congress. John Pickering District Judge of New Hampshire is impeached of high crimes and misdemeanors, but his impeachment is a mere comic scene compared to certain more hardy offenders.

After several days debate in this house in which much heat and party rancour was exhibited the house have appointed a committee to enquire into the official conduct of Saml. Chase one of associate Justices of the Supreme court and Richard Peters District Judge of Pensylvania. this enquiry has been instituted in consequence of certain allegations made by a member of this house, Mr Smilie relative to their irregular conduct in a trial under the sedition law in which John Fries was condemned to death. tho' justice has long been dormant, she has not intirely given up her reign, and no doubt exists but due enquiry will be made and if those men are innocent of the charges against them which have been made thro the medium of our public prints, to all parts of the Union, in gods name let the suspicion be done away which now incloses their characters and casts an odium and indignity on the Judiciary of the United States, but Sir, I apprehend these charges are founded in a presumption of Guilt too strong to be wiped away.

Accept my respect

TO THOMAS WATSON.¹

HUNTERS HILL, January 25, 1804.

Sir: On the 18th. Instant I wrote you enclosing a Statement of the cotton Creditted on our Books for the years 1802 and 1803, and noticing the difference between the cotton recd. and the amount freighted and requesting you to State to me in writing how it happens, that there is

¹ Watson had been Jackson's partner in the mercantile firm of Jackson, Watson, and Company. This letter seems to show that he left the firm about the end of 1804. Jackson to John Hutchins, Sept. 23, 1803.

the difference between the amount freighted and the amount recd. of five thousand three hundred and Eighty Two pounds of neat cotton. I stated to you that this required explanation—however I remain as yet without an answer, from what cause I cannot conjecture. thro all my transactions with you I have dealt in candeur and in Justice as far as my Knowledge extended, your silence indicates a some thing to me which at present I refrain to express—truth and Justice is never veiled in silence, and rest assured that this and this alone I aim at. I stated to you in candeur that I wished this thing settled without the aid of a court of chancery, but that an explanation must take place. I am willing to submit it to the decission of the Gentlemen to whom we referred a settlement of our partnership as it respected a divission of the goods and apportionment of our debts etc, however I am inclined to believe we could adjust this business ourselves provided you would break silence and give your Ideas on this subject—you will recollect that you wanted me to pay mr Coffee half the cotton due him, after you had told him his cotton was in the Gin and had not been Bailed for the want of Bailing, and this too long since the dissolution of our partnership. I then stated to you, that if more cotton had been freighted than was credited I would conceive myself bound, for one half the amount that had been freighted more than credited on our Books. The account of cotton recd and credited on the Books, being so much more than that freighted, alters the case and requires investigation. I will Barely state that Ryerson has recd. of our Cotton on your order and for your private use upwards of Two thousand lbs. say 2666 lb neat cotton. I expect there has been delivered to Deadrick and Tatam, four hundred and Two pounds more than there due Bills which makes (If my information is correct) 3068 lb. which leaves a ballance to be accounted for of 2314 lb. neat cotton, and one half of the amount delivered to ryerson and Ballance onaccounted for say, 4980 lb. of neat cotton you will be answerable to me for, unless you can explain and shew that this quantity has been appropriated to the use of the firm. It will afford me pleasure to receive your explanation on this subject, and if it is bottomed on plausibility and Justice it will be sufficient for me. I hope you by this time think with me that I have no right to account to Mr Coffee for one half the cotton that you stated to him has been in your gin house all year and is still there. I shall expect an answer to day or I shall conclude that your silence is intended as an invitation into a court of chancery, which shall be accepted off, however I am candid when I state to you that I wish to avoid such a process unless compelled into the measure by your conduct. I am yours etc etc

TO JOHN COFFEE.¹

GALLATIN, February 28, 1804. 5 O'clock, A. M.

Dear Sir. I have just recd your letter of last night at 5 oclock P. M. am truly sorry that I had not the pleasure of meeting you at Colo. Hays, I was detained in the morning and truly lament the cause that compelled

¹ Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.

you to leave Colo. Hays before my arrival, but the last respects due to an affectionate and amiable mother, from a much beloved and only son, required your presence, it was a duty you owed her, you have, and was right to perform it, she is gone to hapier climes than these, you have performed your duty by her, she is happy, you cannot help it (human nature is such) but you ought not to mourn. we will drop this subject and attend to the object of your letter. your company on to Holston would have been a gratefull thing to me. I saw your situation, your business requires your presence, and I forebore to name my wish. I expected Capt. Andersons company; business has prevented him. I fear not the Hellish crew, or any act they can do to me, some there are when I discover their names (if worthy of notice) I will punish. a trusty friend on those occasions is important, but my dear sir whilst I unboosom myself thus, I know your happiness here below depends upon your attention to business to extricate yourself from surrounding difficulties, I therefore know the necessity of your stay in this country, at present. If arrangements can be made I would be happy [if] you could meet me in Knoxville on the 23d of March. I would be still more so if we can make the arrangement, to bring on an assortment that would be advantageous to all, and that you could go on from Knoxville for them. If four hundred and fifty dollars or five hundred could be raised I have the ballance in my reach, but the cash I am able to will not bring on more than will be sufficient barely to assort the goods we have on hand, say \$1000 clear of cash for expence. I will leave this for you and Mr Jno Hutchings to converse on and if arrangements can be made in the cash way it will be gratefull to me if my credit can be servicable to you, and that you become one of our house.

TO JOHN COFFEE.¹

KNOXVILLE, 1804.

My Dear friend, On last evening I reached this place. [have] had an interview with Mr Roulston, on the subject of the author of the "citizen of Knox county" he informs me that Gov'r Sevier handed him the peace for publication, but that he believes some other person will be avowed as such. he has promised me to cause the Governor to avow the author or he will give him to the world as such. I will write you from Jonesborough, and will be under obligations to you if you can be here on the 23d instant, and hope we can arrange matters in such a way as you can go on to Philadelphia. one thousand dollars can be raised. I am on the wing. I expect to see you here at that time above mentioned. I am unfeignedly your friend.

P. S. If you are of opinion that the amount of cash, with my credit will be sufficient to bring on 12,000 dollars worth of goods, I wish you to become a partner, less would not be an object I suppose, let me just say that nothing that I can do to promote your welfare thru life, but it will give me pleasure to do, and if you can go on the full length of my credit shall go with you.

¹ Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.

TO JOHN COFFEE.¹

JONESBOROUGH, March 7, 1804.

Dear Sir: I reached this place to day, after experiencing all the disagreeable sensations; that snow, rain, frost and disagreeable roads. I wrote you from Knoxville hastily requesting you to come on to Knoxville, If you could with convenience against the 23d instant. I have not obtained the author of the peace signed the citizen of Knox county. Sevier handed for publication and requested Mr Roulston to publish it. when your peace reached Mr Roulston, he waited on Sevier, and at that time as Mr Roulston states neither expressed himself that he was not the author but the author would avow himself, when called on, whether old Jack will have to father this child of his own completion I know not. If he does the business must end there, should another be avowed as the author, I will chastise him some how, in that case I may want a friend and if you can come in without making too great a sacrifice, I would be happy to see you there, the 23d instant. If matters could be arranged that you could go on to Philadelphia; it would be a pleasant thing to me, and I hope would be advantageous to all, let me just add on this subject, that anything within my power to advance shall be done to promote your interest. I wish should you come on to Knoxville to bring with you Mr Roulstons letter to you, and also a coopy of Governor Seviers Circular on the subject of his selecting the officers for the Louisiana campaign, a copy you can get from Bradford the original is in his office, by a note to Wm P. Anderson, he will obtain it for me. It is late, I am fatigued and bid you adieu.

P. S. If you cannot come with convenience I do not wish it, for I mean to punish the author myself if he is any other person but John Sevier. If you can with convenience I wish you to come, least I may have use for a friend.

TO JOHN HUTCHINGS.¹

KNOXVILLE, March 17, 1804

Dear Jack. On yesterday I reached this place from Jonesborough and found your letter of the 13th. Instant in the post office inclosing the price current at new orleans of all kind of groceries, from which I am certain

¹ Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.

¹ Jackson's adventures as a merchant began as early as 1795, possibly earlier. But it is known that in 1795 he brought to Tennessee a lot of merchandise which he obtained in Philadelphia by selling lands in Tennessee. He did not give much of his time to his store. For a time Thomas Watson was his partner with the firm name of Jackson, Watson, and Company. Who the "Company" was does not appear, but it may have referred to John Hutchings, son of the Thomas Hutchings who married Mrs. Jackson's sister Catherine. After a while the firm appears as Jackson and Hutchings. In the spring of 1805 John Coffee joined the firm and it became Jackson, Hutchings, and Company. In this year Jackson sold Hunter's Hill and moved to the Hermitage. He moved his store also, placing it at Clover Bottom, the race-course, building a tavern, stables, and outhouses, and otherwise making Clover Bottom a favorite place for the assembling of the people. (Cf. Jackson's receipt to Coffee, Apr. 6, 1804. Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS. See also Jackson to Thomas Watson, Jan. 25, 1804, above.)

that we will find a great advantage and saving in laying in all our Groceries, nails, and steel at that place, and perhaps Nankeens. I wish you to make the arrangement with Mr Davidson, and I think the boat can reach Nashville from Neworleans against the first of July. this plan will enable us always to convert our cash to beneficial purposes in cumberland, and in case the Boat can reach Nashville against the 10th. or 20th of July it will be as early as our goods can reach there from Philadelphia. I therefore think that the better plan to adopt, is to bring our groceries, nails and steele from Neworleans. From the prices of Deer and Bear skins I think it will be well to sell at Neworleans, the small furs in Nashville. Bear skins sells well in Baltimore, but as our object is to get clear of Debt I think it best not to risque much, and to sell at any markt where we can sell to save ourselves.

I am sorry Mr Fisher did not buy the Bear skins, but it may happen that we will receive a better price for them at Neworleans. The iron is delivered at the north fork of Holston, I saw colo. Preston, and also Mr Baker who I had the contract with to carry it to Nashville. he as soon as the iron was delivered declined taking Mr Kings load, in short such was the situation of things I was obliged to agree to receive it, and from Mr Deaderick telling me he would not receive the half I have changed the contract in part, I have agreed to receive five ton of castings in lieu of that much iron, the castings at forty pounds pr ton, this in case the castings reaches the north fork before the water rises. Holston is now rising and I expect the Boat to descend the river in a few days—this expence will have to be met some how. I hope Mr Sewal has returned and has brought some cash and that Capt Campbell has remitted the cash on hand, and that the Debt of Thos Mitchel has been recovered, from this source I hope the amount of the freitage of the iron can be raised which will be \$375. if it cannot write me immediately and I will remit what I can to that use, it must be had, and be there at the arival of the Boat. I have stated to Mr Deaderick that he may still have half, and requested him to say to you whether he will receive it or not, if he does only half the above sum will be [have] to be paid by us. write me on the receipt of this letter and inform me whether the sum can be raised or not there and I will in case it cannot send on my certificates for two hundred dollars, and the Ballance in cash. we can make money out of the iron and castings. we must sell for cash if Possible. you will place the money in the hand of Tatam if you can raise it, to whom I have directed Baker to apply. you will have to give Greer a particular charge about the iron to have it all weighed, and get Major Tatam to notify him on its arival. I shall expect you to send me a statement of the amount of cotton shipped to Neworleans by us—as soon as sold send on the Bills to me in Philadelphia, directed to the care of Meeker Denman and Co. I stated to you in case Mr Coffee went on to enclose them to me at Nashville but from your letter I expect he will not, it would be gratefull to me if he could with advantage to all as it is a long and tedious Journey, but I will encounter it. I am sorry I wrote Mr Coffee to come to this place unless he comes on prepared to go on to Philadelphia The Severeites is all quiet, and the

old rascal has to father the Blackguard peace himself, altho he wishes to lay it on his son in law *Windel* who can scarcely read english. They are too base a set to speak about. My Dear Jack it is the last letter I will (I expect) write you before you set out. let me Just repeat, write me about the cash to pay the freightage of the iron, whether it can be raised or not, whether D[eadricks] and Tatam takes one half. send me the amount of our cotton, and a memorandom of goods to be Bot. and lastly, send on the Bills as soon as Possible to me at Philadelphia directed as before, and if Possible purchase they Groceries at Neworleans. You must state to me your determination on this subject and May heaven Preserve you farewell.

P S Say to Mr Coffee if he is not started that he need not come on unless he intends [to go] on to Philadelphia. Would it not be well to sell as much of the iron at cost, say seven pence pr lb. as would pay the carriage, even at six pence. if Mr Deadricks does not receive half, I think some of the merchants would buy at this price. the ballance we would then have to raise the original cost out of. if cash can not be commanded in hand for it it will sell at one shilling for cotton by retail and we will have to this time twelve months to make the cash out of the produce we receive. if we can have a general assortment of groceries iron salt and so forth we must make money the ensuing season. resolution and industry with oeconomy will remove mountains. will it not be well to get the Boat to deliver the iron at my landing instruct Greer accordingly. I wish a house prepared to receive the goods either the long room of the new building [?] or a house at the lick as you and Mrs Jackson may conclude.

JOHN HUTCHINGS TO JACKSON.

NASHVILLE, March 30, 1804.

Dear Sir: I this evening retched nashvill on my way to Orleans, after undergoing Some feteague. I had the misfortun of Sinking one of the Boates after being about half loaded, the Boate Sprung aleake in the Bow, and all we Could do She would go to Bottom, there was about Twenty or Twenty five Bales that got Wet, I gave them Two days sun before I put them on Board, I also have plased them on Top of the Boates, I was under the necessaty of taking the publick Boate, and was under the necessaty of Taking off Every plank all Round the gunnels.

The amount of Cotton is as follows ¹

Cotton from Hunters Hill.....	25,567
Cotton from Gallatin.....	16 364
—— from Lebanon.....	14,148
	<hr/>
	56 079

¹ This statement seems to mean that Jackson and Hutchings had been conducting stores at Hunter's Hill, Gallatin, and Lebanon before the triple partnership of 1804 was formed.

I Recd your letter by the last mail, I shew the letter to aunt Jackson, which has Served to gave her mi[n]d Greate ease. She has Taken up an Idia that mr. Coffee was going on Dueling Bisness.

I have Seen Majr. Tatum and named to him Respecting the Iron, he States that they will not Receive any part. I am Vary much affraid that it will be Vary hard to sell as the season for selling is past; for my part when every ² Cash is bought in Que[s]tion, I feele feerful and not[h]ing will Command it. I wish you to reeturn and let mr. Coffee go on, for god only knows how the mony is to be Raist for the Carriges for the Iron. for my part I Cant see how this bisness [is] to be Condu[c]ted in boath our absences. I have nothing more at present. I will let you heare from me at Natcez.

Hea[l]th and Respect

TO MRS. JACKSON.¹

KNOXVILLE, April 6, 1804.

My Love: I have this moment recd. your letter of the 24th of March, and what sincere regret it gives me on the one hand to view your distress of mind, and what real pleasure it would afford me on the other to return to your arms dispel those clouds that hover around you and retire to some peacefullgrove to spend our days in solitude and domestic quiet. Mr. Coffee cannot go on, from this place he is obliged to return. Was I to return from this place the question occurs, would it bring contentment to my love, or might it not involve us in all the calamity of poverty, an event that brings every horror to my mind.

The latest news from the city of Washington states that there is a probability of my appointment to the governorship of New Orleans.² Should this take place I will certainly return and Mr. Coffee has promised me on that event he will arange his business and meet me on my return, at this place and proceed to Philadelphia. I hasten him from this place as he cannot go on, as I find from Mr. John Hutchings letter, as well as your own that you are full of apprehension and doubt with respect to my safety. I have wrote you every post since I left you and will continue to do so untill I leave Philadelphia, should I go that far. I am compelled to quit writing. I am sent for to court. I shall write you fully before I leave this place, and may the all ruling power give you health and Peace of Mind untill I am restored to your arms is the sincere supplication of your unalterable

ANDREW JACKSON

TO JOHN COFFEE.¹

KNOXVILLE, April 9, 1804.

Sir: I cannot think of leaving this place, without acknowledging the obligations that your friendship in coming on to Knoxville in the manner

² Whenever.

¹ Collection of Mr. Henry F. De Puy, Easton, Md. In 1925 Mr. De Puy's collection was sold to Mr. Stan. V. Henkels, of Philadelphia.

² On Jackson's candidacy for this office see *Am. Hist. Rev.*, III. 285-287.

¹ Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll.

you did has laid me under, rest assured that I have treasured the act in my bosom, that neither length of time nor change of circumstances can eradicate or efaze, and as long as my boosom beats with life, it will beat high with gratitude on viewing the event. The trouble that the malignant mind of that poltroon has given you, fills me with regret but rest assured that ample punishment will await him for the corrupt deed. Heaven must have some choice curse in store for such rascals.

I have enclosed to Mrs Jackson my certificates for my attendance as Judge at Jonesborough and Knoxville, on which there is two hundred dollars due, I wish you to be good enough to apply to her for them and draw the money for her. If the iron goes on that sum will be ready to advance to Mr Baker in part of the carriages, I give him \$30 per Ton, I have directed him to call on Major Tatom, will thank you to name to the Major to notify you, pr boy, on the arival of the Boat, and state to him that, that sum is ready, I wish you to raise the ballance from the sale of the iron at any price, rather than to disappoint or delay Baker, there is a judgement against Thomas Mitchel for \$150, by pushing that business that sum can be raised, and on the strength of this my letter perhaps you can borrow as much as will make up the ballance, untill you can, raise the sum on the sale of the iron and sell at sixpence pr lb to raise that sum rather than disappoint Baker. I forgot to give you a memorandum of the money I rec'd from you and the intention. I herewith enclose you a memorandum least some fatality should prevent me from returning.

Your exence to this place and back I will beg leave to bear and have just named it, that in case death should meet me on my way that you, will shew this memorandum to Mrs Jackson who will cheerfully pay it and should that happen have to request you will do it. Should I progress to Philadelphia, will write you from there and name a place where I shall expect you will meet me. If I should be appointed to the Government of Neworleans, will return immediately, the rout named, and expect to meet you here or between this and home. I will pass Waltons etc.

I am on the wing my horse ready, as soon as I close this letter I am off. Make my most affectionate respects to my friend Colo. Hays his lady and family, present them to Capt Purdy, and believe me to be with sincere esteem friendship and respect yrs

P. S. I must state, that on yesterday I was walking the street, the secratary happened to be out and at the turn of the street had like to have met me but as soon as he discovered me he wheeled to the left and steep into a house, he *appears very wild*.

TO GEORGE W. CAMPBELL.¹

CAPT CRAIGS, April 13, 1804

Dear Sir: Having a direct opportunity for the conveyance of a letter to Knoxville, I embrace it to adress a few lines to you. the opportunity is extremely gratefull to me, as I had not the pleasure of having that con-

¹ Collection of Mrs. Susan P. Brown, Franklin, Tenn.

versation [*two words erased*] that I wished yesterday when we met on the road. Acts of disinterested friendship always leaves a lasting impression upon my mind and [*word erased*] always remembered with the liveest emotions of gratitude by me. your disinterested friendship towards me on a recent occasion merits and receives all those lively sensations that they ought to inspire in a susceptible breast, and should the choice fall upon me (of which I have not a sanguine hope) my endeavors shall be, that the feelings of those of my friends that recommended me never shall be caroded or their minds filled with regret for the action and let the choice fall on whom it may my gratitude toward my friends will be the same, and as long as my heart beats with life it will beat high with lively sensations for your friendship upon this occasion. I write in haste and in a crowd. I shall write you from the city. Receive assurances of my warmest esteem and respect.

TO JOHN COFFEE.¹

CAPT. CRAIGS NEAR ABINGDON April 13, 1804.

Dear Sir: I reached here last evening and am now waiting for Doctor May who come by Jonesborough and was to have met me last evening at this place, as soon as he comes up we will proceed upon our journey I am fearful that my horse will perform badly he has taken the scratches, and his back is getting sore with the heavy weight. I expect I will be able to get a fresh horse at the head of Holston.

I met Misst'rs Campbell and Dickson yesterday, having company along had verry little conversation with them on the subject, had just a moment with Dickson who informed me, that the President had not made the appointment, that he was authorized to make the appointment in the recess, that it was highly probable that the appointment would be conferred upon me. thus the thing remains in doubt, and should it ultimately fall on me, I will be so far on my journey, that I expect I shall not hear of it before I reach the city should this be the case I think I will progress to Philadelphia if possible and lay in and send on the goods to Pittsburgh, and write you from the city to meet me there and I will proceed on to Nashville from Pittsburgh, this is the only certain mode that at present presents itself to me. Should I meet the information by the next mail I shall deposit my cash and return without delay, so that you can set out upon my arival at home. on this let the matter rest untill you hear from or see me.

I forgot to name to you, or in my last to mention it to you, that Mr John Hutchings under an impression that I had returned home from Knoxville will enclose the bills that he may receive on the sale of our cotton to me at Nashville. I have therefore to request that you will attend every post day at Nashville after you may think that he has had time to reach Neworleans make sales and his letter reach Nashville. this you can easily conjecture taking into view the time he left Nashville. the time that it will take him to reach Neworleans, and then an enquiry

¹ Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll.

of the post master of the time that letters are on their passage to Nashville, the reason that I wish you there to attend is that you may open them see whether they enclose the Bills, if they do to forward them on by the same mail to Philadelphia, address them to me in Philadelphia to the care of Meekre Denman and Co. If they are not forwarded by the same mail it will delay them a week which I wish avoided if possible. I began this letter early this morning, was interrupted by information that my horse was sick, on examining him found he had the appearance of the scratches, and his back very much swelled. I am of opinion it was something worse, and endeavoured to exchange him which I have done, but like all those similarly situated to very great disadvantage, I was compelled to give eighty dollars in exchange, however the horse I have got is a good one, but on the other you know that cash is a necessary thing but it must be parted with on extreme cases.

TO GEORGE W. CAMPBELL.¹

WASHINGTON, April 28, 1804

Dear Sir

The President is at Monticello, he has lost his Daughter Mrs Epps. Not a hint who is to be appointed to the Government of New Orleans.² I did not call to see the President. my reasons I will concisely state and leave you to Judge whether they are or not founded upon just premises. It was not known to me whether he had made the appointment. in case I had waited upon him and the office of Governor of New Orleans not filled it would have been perhaps construed as the call of a courteor, and of all charectors on earth, my feelings despises a man capable of cringing to power for a benefit or office, and such charectors that are capable of bending for the sake of an office is badly calculated for a representative system, where merit alone should lead to preferment—these being my sensations and believing that a call upon him under present existing circumstances might be construed as the act of a courteor I travelled on enjoying my own feelings. and let me declare to you that before I would violate my own ideas of propriety, I would yield up any office in the gov-

¹ Collection of Mrs. Susan P. Brown, Franklin, Tenn. The letter is in Parton's *Jackson*, I, 237.

² W. C. C. Claiborne was appointed governor of Mississippi Territory in 1802. In 1803 he, with Brigadier-General Wilkinson, was appointed a commissioner to receive the transfer of Louisiana, and also to be provisional governor until a permanent government was established. The transfer occurred Dec. 20, 1803. On Mar. 26, 1804, Congress created the Territory of Orleans, later the state of Louisiana, and on October 1 the territory was organized under the permanent plan. Laussat, the French representative, wrote (Apr. 7, 1804), of the two American commissioners, as follows: "It was scarcely possible for the government of the United States to begin worse, and scarcely could it send two men (Messrs. Claiborne as governor and Wilkinson as general) less suited to win their [the people's] hearts. The first, with charming private qualities, has few means and great awkwardness, and is extremely below his place. The second, already known here for a long time under ugly reports, is an illogical fellow, full of queer whims, and often drunk, and who has been guilty of innumerable silly eccentricities." (J. A. Robertson, *Louisiana, under the Rule of Spain, France, and the United States*, II, 53. But it should be remembered that Laussat was deeply chagrined at the sale of Louisiana and not in a pleasant mood toward the Anglo-Americans.

ernment was I in possession of the most honourable and lucrative. Who the chance is to fall on is not known here unless to the Secretary of State, but I have reasons to conclude that Mr Claebourne will not fill that office, I have also reasons to believe that If a suitable charector can be found who is Master of the French Language that he will be preferred. I think that a proper qualification for the Governor of that country to possess provided it is accompanied with other necessary ones. I never had any sanguine expectations of filling the office. If I should it will be more than I expect. But permit me here again to repeat, that the friendly attention of my friends, and those particularly that I am confident acted from motives of pure friendship towards me (among whom I rank you) never shall be forgotten. gratitude is always the concomitant of a boosom susceptible of true friendship, and if I know myself my countenance never says to a man that I am his friend but my heart beats in unison with it. Permit me here with that candur that you will always find me to possess, state that I am truly grateful to find that your constituents are not the only part of the Union that think highly of your Legislative conduct, it extends as far as your speeches have been read and you are known as a member of the representative branch. May you continue to grow in popularity on the basis of your own merit, and as long as you are guided by your own judgt this will continue to be the case. This is in my oppinion the only road to a lasting popularity for the moment a man yields his judgt to popular whim, he may be compared to a ship without its ruder in a gale: he is sure to be dashed against a rock. accept My Dear Sir my warmest wishes for your welfare.

TO JOHN COFFEE.¹

WASHINGTON, April 28, 1804.

Dear Sir, I reached this place last evening, after a detention of four days on my journey with high waters and an inflammation in my legs, which in a great measure has subsided but not clear of pain.

Nothing on the subject of Governor of New orleans, the President at Monticello. under present circumstances my feeling could not consent to pay my respects to him least it might be construed into the conduct of a courteor, and my vissit might have created such sensations in his mind. I therefore passed on without calling. of all ideas to me it is the most humiliating to be thought to cringe to power to obtain a favour or an appointment, feeling calculated to bend to those things, are badly calculated for a representative Government, where merrit alone ought to be road to preferment.

I have just waited on the secretary of war from him I learn that two boats will be wanted for the transportation of troops down the river. you will without delay cause the one that is afloat at the mouth of the spring branch to be re[cover]ed and repaired, and the other raised and repaired if possible. If not possible a new one built which I mean to have done at my own expense. I expect if she cannot be raised perhaps she can be

¹ Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll.

stripped of her plank which will answer some purpose. I wish this done as early as possible the boats may be wanted in six or eight weeks. I would not for the price of three that the publick should be disappointed or delayed. It is the wish of the secretary of war that chains for the Ferry Boats across Tennessee should be provided. I wish you to have them made on as low terms as possible, and forwarded on to the Tennessee by the first safe conveyance. you will be carefull in taking the blacksmiths receipt for his work and an acc^tpt of the weights of the iron that it takes. I cannot close this part of my letter without bringing again to your view the subject of the boats which I hope you will pay immediate attention to.

I shall leave this tomorrow morning for Spuriers to which place I hope my horse will carry me and there I expect his carcas will lie and manure that poor soil. he has been sick for some days with a distemper and looses about 50lbs of flesh pr day, as soon as I reach Philadelphia will write you when and where to meet me and should I hear anything in the course of this evening will inform you thro my letter to Mrs Jackson.

BILL OF LADING.¹

PHILADELPHIA, May 11, 1804.

No	1—1	Case of Saddlery Seth Craig.....	² 3.1.20
"	2—1	Trunk of dry Goods W: H.....	1.0.24
"	3—1	Box of Hats: Js. Darrach.....	0.3.18
"	4—1	Case of Stationary, Conrad.....	1.1.27
"	5 " 1	Box of Glass ware Morrells.....	0.1.14
"	6 " 1	Box King. Carson and King.....	0.1.12
"	8 " ½	bb. of Pepper H Toland.....	0.3.10
"	9 " 1	Keg of Tobacco J. J.....	0.2.12
"	10 " 1	Trunk dry Goods B and R.....	2.1. 9
"	11 " 1	Trunk Do. Do. S. M.....	2.0. 9
"	12 " 1	Do. dry Goods S. C and Co.....	1.2.15
"	13 " ½	bb. Hardware S. C and Co.....	1.2.15
"	14 " 1	bale dry Goods. J. Jackson.....	0.2.16
"	15—1	bale Boggs and Davidson.....	2.0. 9
"	17—1	Trunk dry Goods Wm. Tait.....	1.2. 7
"	18—1	Keg of Segars.....	0.1. 4
"	16—½	bb. of Allspice h Toland jr.....	0.2.20
			<hr/>
			C.....24.3.17
			<hr/>

or 2789

nt.

His
BENJAMIN X HOOVER.
Mark

¹ Separate sheet.² These figures are of hundredweights (long hundreds, of 112 pounds), quarters (of 28 pounds), and pounds, but the addition is not correct.

Recd. Philad'a. May 11th 1804 from Mr. A. Jackson all the above mentioned packages all of which are in good order and condition and which I bind myself to deliver in like good order and condition to the aforesaid A. Jackson, in Pittsburgh in the Space of twenty two days from the date Hereof for Which I am to recieve at the rate of seven dollars per hundred pounds and three dollars in the load the above packages marked Jackson and Hutchins.

attest

HENRY TOLAND JR.²

Recd Philad'a May 11th 1804 from Mr. A. Jackson, Eighty dollars on account of the within mentioned loading.

\$80

attest

HENRY TOLAND JR.

recd. of Andrew Jackson this 30th of May 1804 the sum of one hundred and Eighteen dollars Twenty three cents in full for the within load.

Attest

THO. MARROW

TO JOHN COFFEE.¹

PHILADELPHIA May 13, 1804.

Dear Sir: From some delay your letter of the 23d of April did not reach me before yesterday, and before I rec'd it had compleated my purchases but I flatter myself good assortments will and can be made out of the purchase I have made at the three places. I have not bot' largely of hardware or irish linen, the latter is verry high and the high price of carriage prevented me from buying much of the former. I have paid \$7.25 per Ct I have only laid in 3 crates queensware, shoes I have laid in but from the scarcity of cash and the merchants being compelled to borrow from each other I found it would not be palatable for any of them to indorse a bill for them at 90 days. I bot from Wilson Hunt, and you may expect a per cent for lying out of the money. I started my last waggon last evening and all my goods are on the way except one box of Hats, that I could not get in, and I expect to reach the falls between the 15th and 20th of June, at which place I shall expect you or Mr John Hutchings to meet me. I shall write from Redstone, at which time I can better judge of the time I will reach the falls, but should you not hear from me again you may calculate that I will be at the falls about that time.

before this reaches you I expect Mr John Hutchings will be with you, and you and him can adjust the business between you. If he consents to the arrangement that you and myself has made, It will be as well not

² This note is the earliest known intercourse between Jackson and Henry Toland, of Philadelphia. Thirty years later Toland was one of his most useful supporters in that city.

¹ Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll.

to move the goods untill the new assortment arrives, and carry them with the new goods. I think it will give them a better sale but this for you and Mr Hutchings to arrange.

I stated to you in my last if Mr Hutchings did not consent to our arrange that I had a plan in view that I think will prove advantageous. If Mr Hutchings comes into the measure would it not be well, to try if a stand at the Elenoise would not be profitable and whether a constant supply of salt could not be had for goods. If this could be done, it would sell a great deal of goods bring us in cash and at all times ensure good remittance. I name this to you for your and his reflection and consideration. I have laid in no brown sugar the high price of that article prevented me, nails I have not any. I think it might be well if the iron has reached you to make an exchange of a ton with [illegible] for nails. If you can this will give us a supply of that article. I will conclude by observing that I leave the removal of your goods to your determination and Mr Hutchings, and I shall expect to see one of you at the falls which ever can be best spared, cash is scarcer here than it ever was since my acquaintance and one thing certain we cannot expect longer indulgence than this year. exertions must be made or the times will be bad.

Accept of the good wishes of your Sincere friend

P. S. I have laid in a small supply for the stand on the Tennessee.

ACCOUNT OF EXPENSES.¹

Account of Expençe of goods from Philadelphia

To Nashville Spring 1804 Viz

For wagonage as pr Bills of laden and

Receipts filled Marked No. 1, from Philadelphia

To Pittsburgh\$1089.37

Portarage and loading at 2 dol. pr load.....	10
To Boat and cabal at Pittsburgh.....	80
To 226 lb. Beacon, for hands at 9 d.....	22.25
To 1 barrell whiskey, at 19 62/100½ coffee sugar tin ware etc. for Boat, Biscuit, And bread—\$26—in all.....	45 62.½
Portarage and storage at Pittsburgh with contingent expences at Pitt.	12
My expence at Pitt.....	25.22
expence to falls for Butter milk and chickens.....	8.12.½
Pilottage and steerage over falls.....	3.
for Bread coffee and Beef at falls for Botsmen.....	3.50
my own expence at Do.....	6.25
expence to Mouth of cumberland, for milk and chickens as pr acpt rendered.....	4.
my expence home	3.96
three hands from Pittsburgh to Nashl.....	51.75

¹ This paper is in Jackson's handwriting. It gives interesting information about freighting in Pennsylvania and the Ohio Valley in the early part of the nineteenth century.

To 1 steersman from falls to Nashville, and back to the falls at one dollar pr day.....	24.
To steersman from Nashville to the mouth of cumberland and back 16 days.....	16.
To hire of two Boats 16 days.....	32.
To hire of 13 hands 16 day at 4/6 pr day.....	156.
To 20 gallons whiskey Provisions etc from Nashville to the mouth of cumberland and back.....	75.00
	<hr/> 578.68

C. S. CARSON TO JACKSON.¹

May 26, 1804.

Genl. Jackson will much Oblidge C S. Carson Should Mr. Swicher arrive before he leave Pittsburgh to Apply to Mr Boyle Irwin to Examine Swichers load and bring one small Keg of Cheese which will only be found by having refference to the weigh[t] which is marked on the end 0.2.23, as the Cheese will Spoil by being left for any other Conveyence. Also please pay Hays Erwin six dollars which Mr. McCrery Borrowed of him on the Road. Mr McCrerys trunk is amongst your loading with Erwin which please bring with you. The Balance of Swichers load is for Doct Hanner Except 1 Still Belonging to McKain and one Box of Books belonging to John Overton. Should you want any more bailing these Gent would no doubt, thank you for your attention.

[Indorsement:] Pittsburgh June 4th. 1804.

Recd of Andrew Jackson six Dollars in full for that Sum borrowed by Mr McCreary from me.

HAYES IRWIN

TO JOHN COFFEE.¹

HUNTERS HILL, June 21, 1804.

Dear Sir: I reached home on the night of the 19th instant, was sorry to hear that you had set out to meet me and that I had missed you on the road but I suppose you reached the falls on saturday evening and is now with the boat as I had directed the young man whom I had hired to take charge of her to wait untill sunday morning. I regret that I did not meet with you, upon more accounts than one, but particularly as the drafts are inclosed in a letter to me now in your possession. these drafts ought to have been in Philadelphia ere this. I hope you will take the earliest opportunity to send on to me that letter, that I may forward them immediately to Philadelphia. I am truly sorry to learn that any of our cotton has taken its direction to Liverpool. I fear that the expence will destroy the profits, and what is still worse, the delay of having our money in the hands of our merchants. the cotton shipped in the brig Dean marked with our mark, has sold at 15 *d* sterling, and I am told that notwithstanding this that it will not neat more than 12/100 pr lb. this is too

¹ This letter shows how difficult it was to ship small parcels safely and rapidly before the days of railroads.

¹ Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll.

exorbitant a charge to rest satisfied under, and ought to deter a future shipment to that port—however it is done with 100 bales this spring, and the conduct of my friend Davidson I have *noted*.

Expecting you with the boat I have just to observe that I fear we will not be able to send down more than one Keel, she is large and perhaps will be able to bring up all the goods, if so you will take notice that there are four packages, that is to say 3 hogsheads and 1 Bale Blankets for the united states several packages marked Wm Taitte, and one keg marked King Carson and King these goods are all to be left at Nashville those for the united states to be stored with Peter Johnson. If the boat will receive the whole, it will be well to have those packages placed in such a situation as they can be unloaded at Nashville. If the boat will not receive the whole of the goods you will have those of the united states and Mr Taitte stored in safety and our flat boat in which our goods are now, secured in such a manner as she will answer to carry our peltry from the mouth of the Tennessee etc. My chairs and settee I wish brought up they can be lashed on top the goods, a cord for this purpose you will find in the boat. you will find part of a piece of blanketts open this will answer for covering the goods should there be no tarpolin with the boat. I wish you a safe and speedy passage to Hunters hill. with respect

Memorandum. Viz. All the packages marked Jackson and Hutchings are to be brought in the first boat, and as many of the other packages marked William Taite as she will hold, the goods marked the United States are to be brought up and stored at Mr Johnstons Nashville, one keg King Carson and King is to be left at Nashville.

(Note. the above letter addressed to Mr John Coffee, Mouth of Cumberland)

N. DAVIDSON TO JACKSON.

NEW ORLEANS, July 14, 1804.

Dear Sir, Your letter of 24th. June addressed to B D and Co.¹ has been duly received, and as it expresses sentiments pointed to me, I have taken the liberty to address you in my own name. It becomes incumbent on me to state as near as possible the particulars of this business done for your House, and by which you have conceiv'd yourself so much injured; I cannot but suppose it is from misinformation or sentiments of this kind would never have come from you.

When your Mr Hutchings arrived here with the Cotton, it was seen by him that it was impossible to effect a Sale at any thing like a saving price, the nominal price being only 13\$ french wt. and this he objected to take, several days elapsed before any thing was done.

I did not conceive that I had any direction whatever of the Cotton, either as to its sale or its destination, Mr H. being on the spot, as partner, and owner of the Cotton, could best judge what might be best for your interest. True it is Sir, that in a conversation with you the last time we met, you stated that the Cotton should be sent on to me to this place, and at the same time expressed a pointed objection to Ship to Europe and

¹ Boggs, Davidson, and Co.

requested to sell on the spot. Had the business been left on this footing a sale should have been made here at the best possible price.

But on the 28th. Feby. after you had started from home, and when at Gallatine, I received pr. Mr Anderson your letter wherein you advised me you had concluded to send on Mr Hutchings, *with the Cotton*, "that he had sufficient funds in his hands to discharge all the debts, and that he had proper instructions to dispose and apportion the amount, and requesting I would receive our claim at this place. this I conceived paramount to any directions given to me, and as I have before observed when Mr H. arrived, I did *not* conceive myself in any power to act, except by his direction, other, than giving such advice as in my power to do, he might request.

When Mr. Hutchings asked my advice as to the destination, or what had best be done, I gave him such as at the same time I should have done to any one else, and which I thought best for his interest, and *in* which if any inconvenience was suffered we loose our proportion. At the same time observed in the conversation as to the shipment to Liverpool of a part, that to me you had expressed a disapprobation to a foreign shipment, but observed, that I believed it best for your interest, and at the same time, requested that he would write you; and state that it was advice of mine, and not an act, *this he promised to do.*

When Mr H. had made up his mind to ship it, having put it on board *himself, I can pledge my honor* that no agreement was made or even talk'd of as to advance, other than that expressed in the receipt given him, nor would I have made any other.

I will here remark, that you are under mistaken idias as to advantages accruing to the shipping merchant, from Shipments of this kind made, it is of no kind of interest or benefit to us, and we do it purely to accommodate. and we beg you to take it in this light. We only receive the advances which, we ourselves make, and on which we pay interest from the very day it's made, untill the property is sold, and the Consignee in Cash.

As to interest being stopt on Debts due by the shippee, it is more than ever we know, nor do we believe it is the Case, as it respects ourselves we can in truth say we are not in want of such assistance, for as yet we have been able to meet our engagements abroad without ever a charge of the kind, and were it even the Case, this shipment of yours which you have chose to infer we have used for this object, would be but a sorry assistance to us I assure you.

You are also mistaken as to interest charged on the shipments of the last Year. The Enquiry I recollect you made of me when at Nashville. I stated that the interest on $\frac{2}{3}$ d. should cease on the shipment being made and the other $\frac{1}{3}$ when the sales were received, *and on which we loose*, but which I chose to allow in Stothart and Bell's instance as the quater part was a payment to ourselves.

But Sir to the point. I was totally uninformed as to any agreement being made between Mr Massey and Mr Hutchings. if so, why not Mr H. mention it to me. Mr Massey may have expressed as in his opin-

ion it would neat 17 or 18 Cents. and so did I, or should not have advised a shipment. But does it follow that we should make an advance of price that there is a probability of its neatening, in failure of which we should lie for at least one season independent of our debt under a heavy advance to you. No Sir, at the time it was done I conceived we were doing for you even more than could be expected in making an advance on a price much above the Market here, and which appeared perfectly satisfactory to Mr. Hutchings.

As to giving Bills for the amount of the two thirds. it could make no kind of difference to us, and had Mr Hutchings expressed a preference for them he should have reced them. but as a further shipment was to be made, and we supposed you would be in Philada. when the direction for payment would arrive, I conceived nothing further necessary than to direct Mr Boggs what was to be paid on your accot. and you with them could make the destribution, and *this also appeared to be satisfactory to Mr H.* Mr Boggs was by the first opportunity advised of the shipment with direction to appropriate the Sum as you might order, and which there is no doubt but has been done, if you have left the list with you[r] agent.

As to the business transacted with Mess and Cayes both of which were entire strangers to me as to business. The offer of an advance was made by Mr Massey (through me) it was done by a mistaken calculation of his, and they benefited by it. and will inform you that for him I had a great desire to be off the Contract.

As to an offer made you by Messrs. Clifford when at Nashville, I knew of none, nor would it have had any influence with me, or induced any offer from me. The Only benefit we have or need is a common commission here for transacting the business, and it can be of no more interest to us in shipping to an European Port, than an Atlantic one, and in this branch we shall always strive to give satisfaction here. It surprises me that Mr Hutchings when here should appear perfectly satisfied with every thing done by us for him, that he should receive the receipt, which when I delivered read to him, *and which he confessed to be correct*, and then on his return home to state what you relate respecting our Conduct, is truly to me astonishing. I am convinced you must have given this business no reflection or you would not have formed the conclusion you have expressed in your letter.

I have already by direction of your partner when here and shall again, direct G and W. to Close the Sales immediately. Yours etc

TO THOMAS MASTEN.

HUNTERS HILL July 17 1804

Sir, I am Just informed by Capt Donelson that you have conveyed to Colo. Douglass the tract of land he together with myself and Thos. Hutchings was bound to convey to Capt Gallaspie, and this too after the order from Thomas Hutchings purchaser of that land with other tracts at the sale for the direct Tax had been presented to you by Capt Donelson

directing you to convey to him, and whilst you had that order in Possession and had it filed with other papers in the hands of Genl Daniel Smith. such a transaction is truly novel and well calculated for the investigation of a court of equity, where such conveyances and the fraud attending them will be truly investigated, and if the facts are such as above stated rest assured that the court of Chancery will set them aside at your costs

Law is disagreeable an[d] investigation in a court of chancery expensive and this letter is intended as an admonition, and a friendly one to you. you can Judge for yourself, what course you ought to steer. the papers are deposited in my hands to file a Bill in chancery as soon as I am clear of my office as Judge. as I am a lover of peace where it can be obtained on Just grounds, and the respect I have always had for you induces me to write you, in hopes right will be done—without the coercion of a court of chancery—for rest assured ultimately, that Capt Donelson will prevail and the burthen will fall upon you and those concerned in what I call a fraudulent conveyance, as it was made with full and complete knowledge and notice of his right. I hope you will write me by the bearer your intention, as it is my duty to proceed and the suit instituted by Capt Gallaspie urges Capt Donelson into the thing, and after the suit is commenced an accomodation will be attended with expence consult your friend Genl Smith, in him I am certain you can confide you will find I am your friend in writing this letter, as you are the person in the first instance on whom costs will fall. I will expect an answer by the bearer. I am sir with Esteem your mo. ob. serv.

JACKSON AND HUTCHINGS TO BOGGS AND DAVIDSON.¹

HUNTERS HILL, TENNESSEE, July 31, 1804.

Gentlemen: Your letter of the 23rd of June inclosing the acct. of sales of 130 Bales of cotton shipped in the brigg Maria the 16th June 1803 reached us the 24th Inst. We observe from the receipt of your Mr. Davidson that there was recd. 133 Bales of cotton, one of which was injur'd, repacked with other Cotton and sent to Philadelphia, two therefore remains unaccounted for.

We have with due attention viewed the amt. of expence as stated by Mr. Barber which appears exorbitant, some of the Items we do not understand, and one of which we do conceive cannot be consistent with the custom of Merchants and Justice apply to us, which shall be stated in order. The Items that we do not understand and wish to be explained are first “£1560 injured [insured] at 3½ Guineas, etc. and carried out,

¹The relation between the Tennesseans and the New Orleans factors to whom they sent their produce to be sold was full of controversy; and since correspondence preserved on this subject is all too scant it has been thought advisable to publish as much as possible from Jackson's papers. On the same subject but at an earlier period, see an article by J. S. Bassett on “The Relation between the Virginia Planter and the London Merchant”, *Am. Hist. Assoc. Annual Report*, 1901, I. 551-575. For a later period the subject is treated by the same author in his *Southern Overseer as revealed in his Letters*, the last chapter. Boggs and Davidson were a Philadelphia firm; but they seem, like other such firms, to have had a branch house in New Orleans.

£62.3.7. What this insurance applies to we are at a loss, whether it is the Cotton, or the sum raised on the sales, therefore before we can say any thing on that subject we wish to know the real charge—second “Guarantee commissions on whole amt. 4 Pr. Ct. £:94.5—we cannot well understand, whether this is a commission on sales or whether it is a charge for guaranteeing the payment of the purchase money. If the latter we would be happy to be advised how and by what law usage or custom, this is introduced and established. Just observing if it is an item customary amongst Merchants, and that others are in the habit of paying, we would not if in our power wish to be exonerated from it therefore wish your explanation on this Item.

The charge which we conceive cannot apply to us is the sum of £124.4 Interest on cash advanced: It will be recollected that the custom is well established in Shipments, that the shipper is entitled to draw for $\frac{2}{3}$ of the amt. of the Shipment as soon as the Cotton is on board, last year this was done in every case except ours, and the whole remained in your hands, Messrs. Stothart and Bell advise that they did not draw a cent on that cotton shipped, it follows that we were (or they, which is all one) entitled to receive from you on the shipment $\frac{2}{3}$, therefore the expence paid by you were cash we was entituled to and there would be Justice in requiring interest on the Balance of the $\frac{2}{3}$ in your hands, but cannot be a shaddow of claim upon us for that Interest as we understand the custom established. Your Mr Davidson well understood the advantage resulting to you by all this Cash remaining in your hands, and for this reason (as we suppose) did come into an express agreement and declaration that Stothart and Bell should receive a credit for the neet proceeds which should be entered as of the 16th June 1803, and that no Interest should be calculated on their debt to the Amt. of the Neet proceeds from the above debt being the day of the shipment, these observations will apply to the charge of Interest that you have made in the acct. of Watson and Jackson, which we do not conceive we ought to pay for the reason before stated and expect that the Interest in both cases will be struck out and a credit entered for the nett proceeds to Stothart and Bell as of the 16th. of June 1803, agreeable to the promise of your Mr. Davidson.

There is an item in your acct. against Watson and Jackson for “proportion of Postages and other small charges not included in the acct. of Sales”. this is a small acct. but not being informed of the Justice of the demand, before we can say we are liable to pay, we wish the Justice of it to be explained, and rest assured as soon as we find it a charge that we are bound or ought to pay or allow it will give us pleasure to do it, but it being of date June 12th. 1804, long after the sales were made, and Cash in hand we are at a loss to know how it can apply to us as the Cotton was shipped for and on your acct. but still it may be Just and agreeable to custom if so as soon as it is shewn to us, we will with pleasure admit it.

The statement by your Mr. Davidson of the time the credit should be entered has been the guide for the settlement between Stothart and Bell and us we therefore wish your answer as early as convenient that we may

close those Accts. Some few Posts ago I forwarded to Mr. William Stothart Philadelphia a Bill of Laden of 100 Bales of our cotton shipped in Brig Felicity Capt. Jones, for Liverpool to be presented to you for payment of $\frac{2}{3}$ the amt. shipped. This shipment was contrary to expectation. when our Andrew Jackson went on to Philadelphia his directions were different and did not expect it, some circumstances attending the shipment truly unpleasant. And tend to lessen that confidence in your Mr. Davidson that we flattered ourselves were so well placed. As advised by our Mr. Hutchings when he reached New orleans and found Cotton only at 12/100, he applied to Mr. D. to whom he was referred for advise who advised a shipment to Liverpool and did expressly agree to Invoice the Cotton at 14/100 and draw bills for the Amt. Mr. Massey agent for Green and Wainwright being there and on examination of the Cotton stated that to a certainty it would neet from 17 to 18/100. as soon as the Cotton was on board our Mr. H. applied for the Bill of laden and the Bills. When your Mr. Davidson did refuse to Invoice the Cotton at more than 13/100 and would not draw any bills, but detained Mr. H. until the Mail had left the City and then only gave him the Memorandum which no doubt Mr. Stothart has handed you. This Sir is conduct that is unpleasant indeed, but as we have wrote your Mr. Davidson on the subject expecting him to give directions for the payment of $\frac{2}{3}$ at 14/100 we shall refrain at present from remarking further on the subject; But we must observe that your Mr. David[s]on was well advised that we had been offered by the Mr. Clifford 14/100 for our Cotton to draw immediately for $\frac{2}{3}$ —Credit our acct. with part of the other third, and as soon as sales were effected the balance to be subject to our Order. this we refused to accede to from principals of Justice to our Creditors all of which your Mr Davidson was advised off and did applaud, and I cannot refrain from observing that the treatment to our Mr. Hutchings under the banners of promised friendship and services are such that require an explanation from your Mr. Davidson, and I hope he has ordered you to advance the $\frac{2}{3}$ at 14/100.

Sales are dull, small quantities of Cotton planted, but at present look promising; our A. Jackson has made sale of his possessions, is to receive $\frac{2}{3}$ of the amt. on Christmass day next. this we flatter ourselves will enable us to meet all our debts next spring.²

With sentiments of Esteem and respect we are Gentlemen Your Mo.
Obt. Servts.

² This fixes the sale of Jackson's place, Hunter's Hill, and his removal to the Hermitage tract as in 1804. Just when he removed is not certain. His last letter from Hunter's Hill has date of Aug. 25, 1804, and the first from the Hermitage Apr. 7, 1805. He had however begun to improve the second place many months before he moved there; for we have a receipt, dated Mar. 2, 1803, by which it appears that he paid for 500 apple and 500 peach trees for "the Hermitage orchard". (See MSS. in possession of Albert M. and Andrew Jackson, of Los Angeles, Cal.) The Hermitage, which he bought in 1795, adjoined a tract of 640 acres granted in 1788 by the state of North Carolina to Lewis Robards, Mrs. Jackson's first husband. Robards sold it after he separated from his wife, and in 1796 (March 10), Jackson bought it from James Shannon, of Logan County, Ky. But he sold it July 6, 1804, to Edward Ward. During the prosperous years that followed Jackson bought back the Hunter's Hill property and finally sold it in the embarrassed period of his old age to Mrs. Elizabeth Donelson, widow of John Donelson.

TO "T. J. P. IN STATE".¹

August 3, 1804

Sir, On the 7th. of August 1803, at the request of a number of the citizens of this District, I addressed a note to you, on the subject of Colo Butlers arrest, which as then understood, was for not cutting of his hair agreeable to an order of the General of the 30th of April 1801. your Polite attention to that note was highly gratifying to the citizens who felt interested in the welfare of Colo. Butler, and truly pleasing to myself, and we rested well satisfied, from the information given to you by the secretary of war, and communicated to us by your note of 19th. of September 1803 that, no "stress" would have been laid upon that specification for not cropping the hair, and that the charges for disobedience of orders and neglect of duty "for not going to fort adams when ordered and absence from his command for near twelve months without leave" would have been the objects of enquiry by the court, and on this alone his peers would have pronounced his guilt or innoency

If guilty we knew that the rules and regulations for the government of the army required punishment. But from our personal acquaintance with the Colo. attention to duty whilst within this state we were of opinion that those charges would not be substantiated. The result, has shewn that in this good opp[er]tion of the Colo. we were not mistaken.

Here sir I would stop without making another remark was I not well convinced from evidences that carries conviction to my mind that you are not informed, truly of the sensibility of both officers of the army, and citizens excited on this occassion and that colo. Butler is yet doomd. to persecution by the Genl and if Possible to be made a victim to that order, to satiate the revenge of the Genl, an[d] by his oppression to be driven from the army, and being conscious w[h]ere ever you see the buds of oppression you will lop them off.² From the order of the Genl, of the 1st. of February last, approving the sentence of the court, reprimanding the colo, (in terms as novel as the order) and renewing the order of the 30th of april 1801, there is to say the least of it, sufficient evidence of ill will, and a disposition of oppression displayed. on the receipt of this order, the Colo. addressed a note of the 6th. of June to the Se[c]ratary of War among other things stating the receipt of the order, that the Genl must have been sensible that the first part of it (cutting of the hair) he would not conform to, as it would be a tame surrender of a natural right, over whi[ch] the laws of the country had given him no control, and if it was the intention of the genl to arrest for disobedience of the first part of the order, requesting that he might not be subjected to a vexatious Journey to new orleans, and back to Maryland there to stand a trial etc., etc. This letter has not been answered by the Secretary, But sir you can easily Judge of our astonishment, when we found from the descision of the court, that

¹ Probably means "Thomas Jefferson, President, in State". This draft was submitted to Colonel Butler, who commented on it in his letter to Jackson Aug. 4, 1804, which follows. It is not certain that the letter was sent.

² In the manuscript a pencil line is drawn around that portion of the paragraph which precedes this point; but it is not clear that it was intended to erase it.

the only charge that did authorise a conviction was the disobedience of the order of 30 of april 1801, on which by the sentence of the court he was subjected to a reprimand from the Genl, and this contrary to the information given you by the Secretary of war.

The order and the principles attempted to be established by the trial of Col Butler under it, has agitated the Publick mind. The citizens feelings are roused, and they think they see the buds of Tyranny, arising out of it, that may in a day of trial when the situation of their country calls them into the field, extend its baneful influence to them, hence resulted the pleasure we experienced from the information given by your note that stress would not be laid on this order, and that it would necessarily sink into oblivion. had this been the case, we would have been silent, you would not have been troubled with this note. But Sir this is not the case we see the order renewed in consequence of which we see the Colo. addressing a note to the Secretary of war, of 6th. of June to which we refer and that unanswered, but submitted to the genl for inspection, and recognised by the Genl order of the 9th of July, by the order of the Secretary of war of June 22. and of the Genl 23. all avenue of communications that except thro the genl, whose oppression is complained off, under appearances like these we cannot be silent, facts we wish to reach you [*mutilated*]. we rest assured that Justice will be done.

These facts under existing circumstances, will impress a belief upon the mind that the order of the 22, 23 of June, was intended to fit the Colo. case and shield the Genls conduct from investigation arising from complaints from this quarter. Will not the order of the 22. and 23 of June place it in the power of the genl to oppress any officer under his command Tyrannise over them and keep his conduct shielded from investigation and may it not be construed into a disobedience of these orders, if an officer does attempt to address a complaint to you, upon which the Genl may arrest the officer. from these concise facts, we think an old and valuable officer driven to be the victim to satiate the spleen and revenge of the Genl, subjected to persecution and if Possible, by oppression to be driven out of the army, unless you do interpose, or continually harressed with arrest, for disobedience of orders that infringe his natural rights, which it is well understood he will not obey, and for obedience of which he would meet with the imprecations of every true republican in our country. an idea is taken up that the arrest of Colo. Butler originated in Personal motives—from the avenues of communication to the heads of departments being closed except thro the Genl, ideas will be taken up that the aid of the Government is about to be lent to strengthen the hands of oppression, and to make a meritorious officer a sacrifice to private resentment, an illegal order the instrument, and it matters not whether these ideas are correct or not the effect will be the same. If it is necessary that the Colo. should be arrested again, that the legall[it]y of the order may be tested by a competent authority I hope that this may be done without oppression and without vexatious Journeys, these are the objects of this letter, and we hope that under your administration the avenues of information will always be kept open and that you will not permit indi-

viduals by combination or otherwise to wall themselves around by orders that the injured cannot apply for redress but thro the organ of the oppressor.

It is unpleasant to think that such an order ever had an existance. it is still more so to view how it has excited the Publick mind, and to see this order renewed at the present moment has roused the resentment of the citizens verry much, but in you Sir both citizen and soldier has confidence, and we know, that it is only that you should be informed of facts and Justice will be done. I am Sir with respect

Yr. mo. ob. serv.

THOMAS BUTLER TO JACKSON.¹

FARM, August 4, 1804.

Dr. Genl. Your favor of the 3rd. inst. I received with pleasure, and now return you its inclosure, and sinserely thank you for the sentiments of friendship which it contains. I was sorry to find on my arrival in Town, that you had sprained your knee, I hope it will soon be well.

In your note of the 3rd. you request me to give you such ideas as might have occurred to me on the subject of your letter. I assure you, General, the injuries that I have received, have been so many, and heaped on me with a premeditated intention to injure, that my mind is not in a state to think deliberately on the subject; permit me Just to observe, that you are so competant to Judge of the etiquette, and strength of language in which a subject of that nature may be offered to the chief magistrate that it would be improper in me to offer a sentiment on the occasion.

I have made two small alterations, they are designed to keep clear of the orders of the 22nd. and 23d. of June, and that of the 9th. of July. I would also beg leave to observe, should it meet your ideas, that it would comport with mine; that I should obey the order of the 9th. ulto., by a commencement of my Journey to Orleans, before the communication should be forwarded to the President. this step would shew my perfect obedience to the order, and give the secretary of war time to answer my letter of the 9th. of June, should he be so disposed, and will establish one other point, that he had suffered me to depart under the impression that I complained of, and to prevent which, I had solicited his interposition. of this Sir, you will please exercise your own good Judgement.

I am preparing as fast as possible, not having expected that I should have been so unreasonably ordered to proceed to such a distant post, with no alternative but by land, I shall find my movement difficult, but my pride ever has, and I hope will still support me; my pursuits in life have been Honorable, I may be put to trouble but no man or set of men can ultimately injure me. I shall do myself the honor to wait on you shortly, and must accept of your kind offer of the Horse, as the prospect of another has vanished.

My respects to Mrs. Jackson, I remain

Dr. Genl. your Humbl. Servt.

¹ Colonel Butler was born in 1754.

THOMAS BUTLER TO JACKSON.

FARM, August 23, 1804.

Dr. Genl. Your favor of the day I have received pr. Boy, be assured we regreted much not having had the pleasure of seeing you and Mrs. Jackson, I am obliged to see Mrs. Bell Butler and family before I set off, or I should have rode over to see you this evening, as I assure you, I never wanted your friendly advice more than at this crisis, the General having explained himself, in a note, in a duplicate of his letter of the 9th. of July,¹ which I shew you, the design is manifest, and the subterfuge dishonorable, the or[d]er is in the words following—"you will be pleased to note an error in the letter of which this is a duplicate, and read 1st. of Febry., instead of 4th. of Febry. in the second paragraph".

My Dr. Sir, this is an unhallowed act. I am not able to decide, whether I should address the President, and wait his answer, or proceed, as I have no doubt now but the generals intention is to harass me, and probably when I reach orleans, I may meet an order which is to prevent me from taking command untill that order is complied with, should I proceed that awaits me; and should I not proceed, but wait an answer from the President (unless he interposes) I shall be arrested for disobedience of orders. do pray my Dr. Sir, give me your Ideas, on this trying subject, I shall send my son over on saturday, and if you think I should not move untill I write the President and receive his answer, I will call and see you on monday. should you advise me to proceed, I will immediately; being now prepared. accept my best thanks for the Horse, and be assured that the favor has given me one other proof of your friendship.

Our respects to Mrs. Jackson

I am Dr. Genl, your obed. Servt

TO THOMAS BUTLER.

August 25, 1804

. . . . I never can be brought to believe, that the Genl will arrest you, and if he does, the executive will be bound from his letter to interpose, and should he not, there is no doubt in my mind but the congress of the United States will. I would therefore recommend to you to address the president on the subject—(but not to await his answer) in that address I would state to him the orders recd. the duplicity of the Genl, and your firm determination not to crop the hair, and as soon as you are on your march, I will have a remonstrance signed by all the respectable citizens of this District, forwarded to the president. I recommend to you to march for this reason that should you be arrested it will place thing[s] beyond subterfuge that the specification must be for not cropping the hair and

¹ Aug. 24, 1804, Colonel Butler wrote to General Wilkinson acknowledging the receipt of the latter's order of July 9, and repeating his determination not to conform to that part of Wilkinson's orders relating to the cropping, which he considered "an arbitrary infraction of my natural rights, and a non-compliance on my part not cognizable by the articles of war". But he announced that he intended to set out for New Orleans by land on Aug. 28. The letter is in the War Department files. With it are copies of Wilkinson to Butler, Feb. 4, July 9, Sept. 3, Oct. 10, 1804, and Butler to Wilkinson, Aug. 6, 1804.

should it stand alone on this, I will hazard an opinion that the thing will end in the total disgrace of the Genl. It cannot be Possible that the President would hazard so much, as to countenance such an order, and should he deviate so much from that republican charector, that I think him so Justly entitled to, I have full confidence, that Congress will take it up and consign the order and the Genl to that merited contempt and silent oblivion that the base ought to meat under a Government like ours founded on a written constitution where implication is not tolerated, and where written rules are for our conduct both as citizens and soldiers. Such an order under any Government is unprecedented, and could precedents be found under despotic governments amidst the rage of war where supplies could not be obtained, they could not bear upon this question. The circumstances attending the present order go to prove it a wanton act of Despotism and be viewed as such both by the executive and congress and against such a precedent every welwisher to his country will struggle, from which considerations I think you have nothing ultimately to fear from this order. hence results the necessity, of obedience to every legal order. in case you should be arrested it may stand alone on that specification and if any there should be wearing republican Coats that wishes to favour the Design of the Genl that they may appear in their true coulours, and if any does appear they shall be duly noticed. . . .¹

TO N. DAVIDSON.¹

HUNTERS HILL, August 25, 1804

Sir, Your letter dated New orleans the 14th. of July last, addressed to me came duly to hand, and should have recd. earlier attention had Mr. Hutchings been at home—from the tenor of that letter relative to circumstances that took place at New orleans, made it necessary that I should see Mr. H. before I proceeded to answer. Mr. H. is now with me,

¹ The court martial was held July 1-10, 1805. From the General Orders published at St. Louis, Sept. 20, 1805, the following, signed by James Wilkinson, is taken:

"The prisoner plead not guilty, and the court passd. the following Sentence Viz, 'The Court having maturely weighed and considered what hath appeared before them in evidence during the course of the prosecution, as well as what the Prisoner, Colo. Thomas Butler hath urged in his behalf, are of the opinion, that he is guilty of wilful, obstinate, and continued disobedience of the General Order of the 30th. of April 1801 for regulating the cut of the hair, and also of disobedience of the General Order of the first of February 1804 as set forth in the first charge and specification whereon he has been arraigned. The court also find him Guilty of *Mutinous Conduct*, in appearing publicly in command of the Troops at the City of New Orleans with his hair cued, in direct and open Violation, of the General Orders of the 30th. of April 1801 and 1st. of February 1804, as stated in the second [?] charge, and part of the second specification. And therefore they do in consequence adjudge and sentence him to be suspended from all command, pay, and Emoluments, for the space of twelve Calendar Months, to commence from, and immediately after, the Promulgation of this sentence'.

"The General confirms the General court Martial and the court is dissolved."

This extract is filed in the Jackson MSS. under date of Nov. 2, 1805. Before the sentence was pronounced at St. Louis Colonel Butler had died on Sept. 8, on a friend's plantation, to which he had retired after his trial (see John Williamson to Jackson, Sept. 9, 1805).

¹ This letter shows Jackson's method of carrying on a controversy in his early life. It also contains the clearest available evidence that his trading firm bought and sold negroes. This letter should be read in connection with Jackson and Hutchings to Boggs and Davidson, July 31, 1804.

and his letter herewith inclosed will be a sufficient answer as to any mis-information stated by you that I had recd. from him relative to those facts stated by me in mine of the 24th of June. I must remark, that I never doubted of the correctness of Mr. H. statement to me, I have always found him correct in his statements, but Sir finding in your letter positive denials of your own declarations of your agreement with me relative to the time credit should be entered Stothart and Bell for the neat proceeds of our cotton shipped last year, and a total perversion of my letter wrote you from Gallatine on my way to Philadelphia—these Sir strengthen my belief that Mr. H. is correct in his present statement. I am pleased with the mode you have adopted in addressing me alone, as it will afford an opportunity of closing the difference between us in our own names, without implicating the feelings of your partner, against whom I have no ground of complaint. you will recollect that the ground of Complaint stated in my letter against you, was, your declarations of friendship that you would render Mr. H, when at New orleans, and in your conduct towards him whilst there: a total deviation therefrom, nay worse a breach of contract, and overreaching him under the confidence of promised friendship.

There is nothing contained in your letter that has removed those impressions but has added insult to injury, by telling me I am mistaken in facts which you know to be true, and which I had from your information, which shall be duly notic'd. you state Sir "that I am mistaken as to the advantage accruing to the shipping Merchant from shipments of this kind and so forth" you also state "as to interest being stopped on debts due by the shippers, it is more than ever you knew of" nor do you believe it to be the case and so forth". if Sir I am Mistaken it arises out of information recd. from you, and as you have hazarded a denial of this position in my letter I have thought proper to call on Major Tatom for his recollection of your statement on this point as well as others, as you appear to be in the habit of denying information given by yourself, and denying your agreements, which must have been under the impression, that these things alone rested between us and not susceptible of proof, I inclose his letter to which I refer you to refresh your recollection on this point as well as others hereafter to be touched on, from which you will find that you have erred instead of me; and that from your own statement shippers of cotton derive the benefit stated in my letter, and that he has understood you in the same way I did. You go on to observe, "that if even this was the case, this shipment of ours would be but a sorry assistance." sorry as it might be, it appears, it has had its influence with you, in causing you to deviate from your agreement with Mr. H, and added to this another sorry advantage, has been a sufficient inducement, with all your boasted wealth and independence to make you deviate from truth deny your agreement, and violate your promise of friendship, to procure a sorry advantage that you could not have obtained, unless under the confidence that was reposed in you under your professions of friendship and offered services, but Sir at this time we were not advised, that your proffered friendship was on commission. I have now noted it in your letter and will

hereafter view it in this way, I have said that another sorry advantage has been a sufficient inducement with you to deviate from truth, and deny your agreement. to shew this, it is only necessary, to quote your sentence, read it, it stands thus "that I am also mistaken as to Interest charged on the shipment last year," you say "you recollect the enquiry I made of you when at Nashville, that you stated that interest on $\frac{2}{3}$ should cease on the shipment being made and $\frac{1}{3}$ when the sales were made, *on which you loose*, but choose to allow in Stothart and Bells Instance as the greater part was a payment to yourselves" (you ought to have said the whole of ours was a payment to yourselves) but to the point. I stated in my letter, and repeat again Sir that you did expressly state to me and agree that the proceeds of our cotton shipped by you last year and which was to be applied to the credit of Stothart and Bell should be entered to their credit, on the day the shipment was made and on the mount of the Neat proceeds no interest should be calculated, and I now state on this statement *thus* we made our settlement with Stothart and Bell at that time. this Sir you have denied which shews how regardless you are of truth, when your interest comes in competition with it. this deliniates your charactar and proves that when interest is at stake you will hazard a deniel of truth to avoid a compliance with your word or agreement. I must here Sir refer you to Major Tatoms letter and the inclosed certificate of Mr. Robert Stothart (both men of respectability) to awaken in you a love for truth. what sensations (after you telling me I mistake facts) must the reading of those inspire in a breast susceptible of delicate feelings.

When the amount of the inducement is viewed, what confidence can or will be reposed in a man who boast of fortune and thus violate his word for a mere pittance, *even worse than a sorry* assistance. It is not worth while to trace you farther, your whole letter displays you devoid of that candour that from your standing as a Merchant, I had a right to calculate on. I shall only make a few observations on another part of your letter and leave you for the present, *we shall meet*. you are pleased to observe, that you always understood that our Cotton was to be sent to you untill you recei'd my letter of the 28th of February as I was on my way to Philidelphia, permit me here to ask a few simple questions. did I not state to you at my own house, and at Nashville that Mr. H, would proceed with our Cotton, did you not offer your polite and friendly aid to him when he reached New orleans, did I not consult with you on the subject of bringing groceries from there, and state to you, that Mr. H. would take funds with him to lay out in the way, and did you not offer your friendly aid to him on this point. you also state that in this letter I advised that Mr H, had sufficient funds in his hands, to pay all our debts and so forth and requested you to receive your claim at New orleans and so forth. if it did it stated more than I ever thought, than I ever intended or what the copy says it states, and for this reason I hope you will forward it to me and keep a copy yourself That I may be convinced that my pen has expressed a thing that I had uniformly stated to you would not be the case, that the failure of Cotton crops had put it out of our

power to make full payments. that letter from what appears in substance stated, that Mr. H. would be furnished with a just account of our debts, that he would sell if possible at new orleans, and that I wished you (as I had before stated to you in person) to receive your proportion of your debt at New orleans, that Mr. H. would carry on negroes to exchange for groceries, and wishing you to make a sale of them before he came if you could, that a fellow answering the description you wanted was bought, but I was fearfull he would not suit you as he had once left his master and so forth but as to stating that he had sufficient funds with him to pay all our debts cannot be correct, was not this the reason that I gave you for not acceding to the proposals of Messrs. Clifford because we would not be able to make full payments this season and it would not be doing equal justice to our creditors, but this in your letter you are also pleased to deny, but like the rest *susceptable of proof*. I did Sir often state the offer of Mr. C. to you and my reasons for declining, but Sir I shall leave you for the present, barely stating that I expect you will order credit to be entered for the neat proceeds of our cotton shipped last year, to Stothart and Bell (if it is not done) at the time it was shipped, or I will be compelled from principle of justice to the publick, and to ourselves, to publish your agreement, then your denial, and certificates to prove its existance as stated by me. do this and retract your assertion that I have Mistaken facts mentioned in your letter, and I will try to harbour the charitable opinion, that hereafter you will be carefull in making promises, but when made, stedfast in performing them. I am sorry Sir that I have cause to alter that good opinion I once had of you, but Sir the testimony is strong, and candour has compelled me to state to you the sentiments of a mature reflection on the evidence before me, I have no doubt but we shall have the pleasure of a meeting in the course of the present fall, when we can have a full investigation of all matters and things which has been the subject of this letter. untill then I am Sir
yr. etc., etc.

THOMAS K. HARRIS TO JACKSON.

NASHVILLE, October 10, 1804.

Dear General, Agreeable to your recommendation yesterday, I determined on making application to Capt. Purdie or Mr. Coffee, to be my friend in the business which I communicated to you. I have seen Mr. Coffee who tells me that Capt. Purdie is not at home, and that in consequence of the peculiar situation in which *he* is placed, he could not undertake to serve me at this time.

I am therefore, again urged to call on you for that purpose; and hope you will feel a disposition to oblige me in this case. You will recollect General, that my situation has been such, ever since I have been in this Country, that I have not had an opportunity of making myself *very* intimately acquainted with *any* Gentleman, consequently I feel myself more safe, in applying to those only, whom I know, from public authority, to be Gentlemen of the strictest honor. For this reason Sir I again call on you, since I cannot get neither of those Gentlemen you recommended me to.

You will very much oblige me by coming down as quick as you can make it convenient. I have got a pair of Pistols which I think very good. Capt. Purdie I expect carried yours with him. I am Sir Yours
very respectfully

TO BUCKHAM AND REESE.¹

NEAR NASHVILLE, [1805 ?]

Gentlemen: Messhrs I have Just been favoured with a view of Stothart and Starkeys Letter to mr Thomas Watson of the 23rd. of June last on the subject of a claim against the firm of Jackson Watson and Co. I wrote you a long time since on this subject, stating that if you would send on our note which I am Confident from the payments that have been made and the recpts that Jackson and Hutchings holds for payments made you on behalf of the firm of Jackson Watson and Co. and direct your agent to come to a fair settlement with us, that If there was a ballance, it should be paid in nine hours afterwards—from the letter of Messhrs Stothart and Starkey above alluded to I observe a threat of an attachment against mr Watson unless the ballance which you claim should be immediately paid—after the advice that on a fair adjustment of the acpts of Jackson watson and Co, if any ballance should be due It should be paid immediately. It does not carry with it the appearance of Justness or fairness, to detain our note, threaten that you will attach, and refuse to come to a fair adjustment of the acpts. Whenever you look at the note, and the payments that have been made thereon, you will see that it is over paid, but you claim for cash advanced etc. I would be glad to know at what time you advanced cash you say for carriages etc. I recd. from mr Boggs in Philidelphia spring 1803 \$350—in the same spring in Pittsburgh 29th. of May \$132, from mr William Meeker at Pittsburgh the same time \$518 all of which sums, I think I have fully paid, and if in this I am Mistaken on a fair adjustment with any agent you May think proper to appoint in Nashville I am still willing to pay all and any of any ballance that may be due, and in short, I am fully of the oppinion that the firm of Jackson Watson and Co does not owe a cent in Philidelphia, but on a fair settlement and the production of the note of Jackson watson and Co, should there be a ballance, It shall immediately be paid. Should you prefer persuing a differrent plan by attachment, you can do so, and I will try and defend the suit. But this is a mode of proceeding, that is seldom resorted to by men who wish nothing but Justice. If you have a Just claim against Jackson Watson and Co. why not submit it to the investigation of a settlement, under the inspection of your agent here, and why do you detain the note of Jackson Watson and Co, that long since has been fully paid and which long since I have requested to be forwarded, stating at the same time that on an examination of the transaction between Jackson watson and Co. and you that if any ballance should be due that I would,

¹ Of Philadelphia. The letter was written after 1803, probably within two years. The date used here is purely arbitrary and is selected on the ground that about two years after 1803 the Philadelphia firm would have been pressing for settlement of the claim. The letter is in the Jackson MSS., vol. 118, p. 138.

immediately pay it. I have only to add, that if you are not contented with this honest and fair mode of settling the business you must persue any other that you think, proper. I am bound for the payment of the debt due from Jackson Watson and Co, for the goods Bot. of your house in the spring 1803 and all I ever wished was that it might be adjusted, my note delivered up, the ballance if any that might be due ascertained, and as soon as that was done to close our whole transactions.

But if you are determined to try to draw mony from me that is not Justly due, you will bring suit, and I will defend it. But on the other hand if Justice is alone what you want send on our note to any person in Nashville, with authority to examine the accounts and payments, and if there is a ballance in you[r] favour it shall be paid, immediately.

I am Gentlemen

yr. mo. ob. Serv.

TO JOHN HUTCHINGS.

HERMITAGE, April 7, 1805

Sir, By last mail I wrote you inclosing Doctor Rawlings draft on Major Bradford, which was found in the Desk, some time after you left us which I hope has reached you in due time to present to the Major for payment.

On the third instant, the race between Truxton and ploughboy was run, in the presence of the largest concourse of people I ever saw assembled, unless in an army.¹ Truxton had on Tuesday evening before got a serious hurt in his thigh, which occassioned it to swell verry much, and had it not have been for myself, would have occasioned, the forfeight to have been paid—but this I was determined not to permit. The appearance of Truxton induced his friends not to bet. This was unfortunate, or carthage would have been destroyed. All things prepared, the horses started, and Truxton under every disadvantage beat him with as much ease as the *Queen* beat *Whistlejackett*. But when he came out the last heat, he was lame, in his hind leg and one of his four legs. Upon his well leg the plate had sprung and lay across the frog. under all these difficulties he could have distanced the ploughboy Either heat, he beat the last heat under a hard bearing rain, without whip or spur sixty yards, and run it in 3 m. 59. seconds. by two watches, by another in 3 m 59½, by Blufords pendulum in 4 m. 1 second, by one other in 3 m. 57 seconds. There was about 10,000 dollars won and if it had not been for the accident there would have been at lea[s]t 20,000. Thus ends the fate of ploughboy. Major W. T. Lewis lost considerably—at least 2000\$.²

¹ Another race was arranged between these horses for "the fourth thirsday" in November, 1805, as is shown by a memorandum of a bet between William T. Lewis, betting on Truxton, and William Lytle, betting on Ploughboy. The amount of the bet was \$275. Ploughboy was owned by Capt. Joseph Irvin. It was this second race that led to the duel with Dickinson.

² Racing was a common sport of the English county families in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The settlers in the South naturally reproduced the custom. "Race paths" were laid out in the earliest settlements and succeeded by circular tracks, as the settlements developed. In the Donelson neighborhood, near the junction of Stone

We have had no rain yet, it is now cloudy and cold the river verry low, and this day we mean to try to start our cotton Boat, but I am almost certain she cannot pass. Mr Roberts has not yet returned from the Eli-nois, therefore can give no directions as to the appropriation of the monies arising from the sales of the property gone to markt, more than what I have heretofore given untill I hear from him. Capt Crawly has not got off yet, and Stones River has not eighteen inches water—therefore no hope of our Boats up that river getting out. As soon as you can arrange your business at Neworleans it will be well for you to return. It is verry uncertain when the waters will permit the boats to descend the river. We have wrote on to you on the subject of laying in our supply of goods at Neworleans, from Meeker, Williamson and Patton, we have been advised, that they can furnish us, the memorandom inclosed to you heretofore will aid you in the situation. I have only to say that if any is laid in, we must have a supply of Blanketts.

I have no doubt but you will push forward the Keel Boat as soon as possible. On the day of the race we Took in one hundred pounds cash on the field, and lost a great deal for the want of attendance. This will shew what could be made at that stand with a good supply and attention.

Wishing you a speedy and safe return I am Dr Jack, your sincere friend

P. S. Be sure to make strict enquiry for George,^s should he be gone to sea. By applying at the custom house office you can see the registration of the seamen. your friends will go with you who can make the necessary enquiry.

SAMUEL MEEKER TO JACKSON.

PHILADELPHIA, May 10, 1805.

Sir, I wrote you on 22d October and 25 Decemr. giving you my opinion as to the article of Cotton, and wishing a preference of yours, which I verry much regret to learn, you have sold at home this season; I am informed it is up in Orleans to 19 and 21 Cents, lb.—wch. Is exactly what

River with the Cumberland, is a beautiful meadow, oval in shape, known originally as Buchanan's Old Fields, but later on as Clover Bottom. It was here that Mrs. Jackson's father settled when he arrived on the Cumberland in 1784. The road from Nashville skirts its western side and crosses Stone River, which flows along its northern and eastern side. On the south is a gentle acclivity from which the whole meadow has an excellent view. This place was leased, in Nov. 21, 1804, by William Preston Anderson, with the privilege of buying 300 acres on the south for \$3000. Mar. 15, 1805, he sold two-thirds of his rights in the enterprise to Andrew Jackson and John Hutchings, and Apr. 8, 1806, he sold the remaining third to John Coffee. Jackson, Hutchings, and Coffee formed a partnership and opened a store, a tavern, stables, and booths for hucksters. See statement of Mrs. Elizabeth Craighead about Jackson's marriage, Dec. 2, 1826. Cf. also deeds in Tenn. Hist. Soc., Coffee MSS.

There was a Clover Bottom Jockey Club. Its president, Edward Ward, gave notice in the *Impartial Review*, Apr. 25, 1807, that the Clover Bottom Jockey Club races would begin on the first Thursday in the following May. The first day would be given to four-mile heats, the second to two-mile heats, "free for any horse, mare, or gelding, agreeable to the rules of said club". As to the race finally run, between Truxton and Ploughboy, see the foot-note at the end of Charles Dickinson's card of May 21, 1806, *post*.

^s Probably a slave who had run away.

I expected. Mr. William P Meeker, advised me some time before he left your country that you contemplated me a remittance from the product of your cotton, wh. would be in bills on Waddington and Harwood. But I am sorry to say as yet I am deprived of any such remittance, which appears the more extraordinary, as I understand one of my neighbors has received his remittance from you. I think it proper to state this to you as possibly the remittance intended for me has miscarried. Mr. Watson your former partner is now here, but I have not applied to him for the payment, as I think you stated to me that you was to discharge the claims of Jackson and Watson.

I should have been glad to have recved a share of your orders this season, having made a large importation, well assorted and suited much to your trade. The article of Cotton keeps up here, 24 and 25 Cents. I think McClure and Elder of your country will nett 19 Cents for their's after all Charges are paid. I think the high price this year will encourage the planters, and render the trade of your country better. . . .

Sir Your obedt. Servant

1804 15 May Balance and Settlement 1618.29

Interest.

P. S, there are two [*mut.*] Mails from Nashville now [*mutilated*] I have applyd to Mr. John Jackson for a part of your order which he has thought proper not to hand over, unless for a few peices of linens.

JACKSON'S AGREEMENT WITH JOHN VERELL FOR PURCHASING "TRUXTON".¹

May 11, 1805.

Memorandum of an agreement made this 11th. day of May 1805 between Genl Andrew Jackson of the State of Tennessee, and John Verell of the State of Virginia.

¹The following advertisement in the *Impartial Review*, Mar. 16, 1809, gives the pedigree of Truxton, the most famous Tennessee horse of his day, with other interesting information about him:

"The celebrated high bred running horse TRUXTON NINE years old in May next, 15 hands 8 inches high, and in point of form equal to any horse in America; will stand the present season to commence the 15th of March, and end the last day of July, at my stable 11 miles from Nashville. Terms 30 dollars, payable in merchantable ginned cotton at the Nashville market price, delivered by the first of January next, but may be discharged by the payment of 20 dollars within the season; insurance double the sum: 10 dollars the single leap paid down—one dollar to the groom for each mare—pasturage gratis for all mares sent from a distance, but not answerable for accidents or escape. Notes for the amount of the season of each mare is expected, and cannot be dispensed with.

Feb. 28, 1809.

ANDREW JACKSON

PEDIGREE.

"Truxton is a beautiful bay full of bone and muscle, was got by the old imported horse Diomed, come of a genuine and thorough bred mare Nancy Coleman, the property of maj. John Verrel of Virginia. I certify that I have trained the above mentioned horse Truxton, and with truth can say, that I believe him in point of speed and bottom equal to any distance horse in America.

April 1st, 1806.

SAMUEL PRYOR.

"Truxton, a stud horse raised by me and sold to general Andrew Jackson of the state of Tennessee: I do hereby certify, was got by the imported horse Diomed,

(Viz) The said Verrell; hath sold to Genl. Jackson his Diomed stud horse (Truxton) for the sum of Fifteen hundred Dollars; that is to say Genl Jackson is to step into the said Verrells place and pay off and settle a debt due by said Verrell (on which an attachment is levied) to Humphries assinee of Caldwell; which said debt is now estimated at nine hundred and seventy Dollars and to pay the further sum of two hundred Dollars towards the discharge of a Judgt. against the said Verrell obtained in behalf of Charles J Love on which judgment an Execution is Issued amounting in both sums to Eleven hundred and Seventy Dollars, and the said Jackson hath paid the further sum of one hundred and thirty Dollars in one gelding and doth agree to pay the remaining sum of two hundred Dollars in the ensuing fall in two good hundred dollar geldings. and it is further agreed and understood that the said Jackson is: in case the horse Truxton should win a purse or match in the fall ensuing, to pay the said Verrell the further sum of two hundred dollars in gueldings; in addition to the aforesaid sum of fifteen hundred Dollars. Witness our hands and seals the day and date above the words in the ninth line from the bottom, "the remaining sum of Two hundred dollars" interlined before signed

JN. VERRELL
ANDREW JACKSON

Test

D. SHELBY

TO JOHN JACKSON.¹

HERMITAGE, June 18, 1805

Sir, A Mr Norton Prior of Arch Street Philadelphia holds by marshals sale under a Decree of our court of Equity for west Tennessee 40,000 acres of land, lying on the three forks of Duck river. This land

which said horse is in higher estimation than any horse ever imported into the state of Virginia, and his offspring stand higher on the list of turinags than any other blood in Virginia, and I believe (as the general opinion) in America. Truxton's dam Nancy Coleman, was got by Young Fearnought, her dam (Latonia) by Old Pardner, her grand dam by the imported horse Jolly-Roger, her great grand dam by the imported horse Skim, out of a barb mare. Given under my hand this 10th day of March 1806

J. VERRELL.

"I do hereby certify, that Truxton a bay stud horse badly scarified on the withers by a fitula, and to the best of my recollection, both hind feet white to the footlock, and bred by mr. John Verrell of Dinwiddie county, Virginia, near Petersburg; was got by the imported horse Diomed, when he stood in my stable in the spring 1799, and come out of a mare of said Verrell's known by the name of Nancy Coleman. Given under my hand this 31st March 1806.

Virginia, Chesterfield county.

THOMAS GOODE."

In the season of 1807, from March 15 to July 31, Truxton stood "under the superintendence and management of Mr. John F. Clay" in the suburbs of Nashville, "on the hill adjoining town near the college seat". The advertisement was signed by Jackson. In the affair with Dickinson, in the spring of 1806, Jackson spoke of himself, W. P. Anderson, Verrell, and Samuel Pryor as the owners of the horse. Pryor, it appears from the advertisement, was the man who had trained him for the turf. Truxton was a running horse.

On the later stage of Truxton's existence, see Robert Butler to Jackson, Apr. 20, 1817.

¹ A merchant in Philadelphia. Jackson's hopes with respect to Prior's lands were disappointed. Prior did not sell. See Joseph Anderson to Jackson, Mar. 24, 1806.

I wish Bot. and If you will undertake the agency either as a partner in the purchase, or otherwise you will confer an obligation on me. This is a valuable tract; at present covered by the Indian claim—but this incumbrance, likely will be removed, ere long by treaty—indeed there remains but little doubt, but at the ensuing treaty which is to be held next month the Indian title north of the Tennessee will be extinguished and should this be the case, this will be a valuable property.

you will confer an obligation on me, on the Receipt of this to see Mr Prior, and make him the following proposals from me—first if he will make a general warrentee Deed I will give him fifteen thousand dollars for 40,000 acres, lying on the three forks of Duck all in 5000 acre tracts the first beginning on a stone or rock in the mouth of the war trace fork, marked with a number of letters as named in the patent—in five annual payments, or if more pleasant will make him a payment, on the Execution of the Deeds, this as small as can be stipulated on and not to exceed three thousand Dollars—the Balance in five annual payments, without Interest, But rather than not close the Bargain, to bear Interest from the Date. Should Mr Prior be fearful of the title, and prefer making a special warrenty—from him and his heirs only, in that case I will give him ten thousand Dollars; Two in hand on the Execution of the Titles and the Balance in four annual payments, without Interest. Notwithstanding I think the title a good one I would make one third difference for the risque and I have no doubt he as a prudent man and in great need of money would prefer the latter—his Debt to be well secured. If Either of these proposals suits him you are authorised hereby to close it on my part with him, so far as you can, so as to make the contract binding, on the money being paid and satisfactory security given to his agent here who he may appoint for the purpose of making the titles.

Should neither of these propositions meet his approbation draw from him a proposition in writing, what he will receive for the 40,000 acres as above described—the Bargain conclusive on his part. If I should exceed to it in a certain Period of time, allowing sufficient time for the Passage of the letters by mail—should you incline to be interested in the purchase, you may, as far as one fourth or one third—should you not, will freely allow you a liberal commission, on the contract being closed. Will you on the receipt of this, be good enough to see Mr Prior, and sound him on the subject, and write me immediately on the subject. If he is inclined to sell close with him immediately, if he will exceed to either of the foregoing proposals—get it lower if you can. It is I repeat a valuable property.

Mr. Prior will recollect me, I was well acquainted with him whilst in congress, he often called upon me for information relative to this property, and is well advised of its quality, but I am informed he wishes to sell, should he not as soon as it is liable to taxation it will be sold for the taxes, unless great care and large funds, the tax will amount to from one to Two hundred dollars pr anum.

Our goods are not yet arrived, we expect to hear from them daily. I have not recd. a line from you, since your acknowledging the receipt of the Bills.

I am sorry to find that any of my Phil. friends should be so contracted as to take offence at my intrusting my business to you. I am attached to the name, have full confidence in you, and as long as you will forego the trouble will continue to intrust you with it—their offence notwithstanding. I am a free agent, will do Justice to all as far as exertion and honest endeavour will permit, and their smiles or frowns are equally indifferent to me, except, as a good citizen it is pleasant to have the smiles of all. Will you be good enough to ask Mr Boggs, to state to me whether he has heard anything of our cotton shipd. to Green and Wainright, by their Mr D[avidson] Spring 1804, and if acpt of sales has reached him to forward us a statement of acpt and so forth.

I cannot conclude without calling your attention to the first object of this letter. If Bot. it is a handsome estate, the purchase worth more than I dare name. With best compliments to your lady and sincere wishes for your welfare and happiness believe me to be, your mo. ob. serv.

JOHN M. GARRARD TO JACKSON.

PARIS, KENTUCKY, July 2, 1805.

Dear General: I have not received a single line from you since I left Nashville. I cannot account for it unless in this way the delays are accidents which so frequent happen in Cases of this kind. I am extremely anxious to hear from you what you and Majr. Verrell Concluded with regard to signet and Truxton, wheather you have them in possession or not, you will have Some Gentlemen from this state to Contend with. I shall be pleased in having the pleasure of Beating them. Cap. Pryor got Skiddonia Beatten pat Sanderses for Only One hundred dollars Mile heat.

You may not expect him this fall if you will give me information how matters stand, Where [is ?] Dunwoody, he is the only man I wish to assist me in preparing the horses this next Season. I shall bring a fine Animal with me for Mr. Anderson in Order to git him out of Blufords Hobbey—Partnership loocks extreamly fine, his Race is a good One. This fine animal is been brought to this State by a Gentleman of Lexington to lend to Majr Anderson. I shall bring Mrs. Garrard with me. Give my Compliments to Mrs. Jackson.¹

I have the Honour Dear General to be with Respect your Huml. Servant.

SAMUEL MEEKER TO JACKSON.

PHILADELPHIA, July 27, 1805.

Sir: Your favors of 23d June 2d and 4th. July came duly to hand; my absence from the City prevented an early reply. with regard to the damaged Blankets. they may have received the damage on their way from England, or they may have sustained it on the passage to your country. We did not discover any appearance of damage on the goods when imported or we should have had them examined and sold for account

¹ Garrard evidently was at or near the Hermitage during the following autumn, as is indicated by Jackson to Henry Clay, Oct. 27, 1806.

of the underwriters. I understand Mr. John Jackson is gone to your Country and that this letter may probably reach him there; if so and you can satisfy him of the damage having Occured before they came in your possession or if that fact cannot be ascertained, whatever he thinks is right between us, I will be satisfied with. If he should not adjust it with you the first time you come to this place we can settle it, no doubt without any difficulty. it might be well to get some person who has seen them to affix a Valuation to the bale as to the Amount of the damage—it does not require any Affidavits. With regard to refusing you a Credit, the Contrary was my wish. I told Mr Jackson over and over that I wished to execute any part of the Order in my line and repeatedly Asked him for it. 2 ps Linnen was laid off for you Value \$18. I observed it was not worth while to send them, *alone*, and that *they* were goods usually sold only for ready money, which was all that passed on the subject. I did not know that Bickham and Reese or any other person at that time, nor long after, had refused goods, and I am sure it never entered my head to refuse you a credit or any person in my house. I confess I was a good deal mortified at not hav,g some of the order as I had a much better supply of goods than usual, and on a good deal better terms. being some time out of that line, perhaps part of my goods might not be so cheap as the residue. I mean those Sold in 1804. The Cotton Baging was a heavy article to me, and I done that buisness more for experiment and to endeavor to encourage the trade, than with a view to profit—it like all other Linnens is nearly a cash article. In two payments lately made by Mr John Jackson of [Knox] City, account of *Jackson Watson and Co*, they amount together to Eight hundred dollars for which gave him a recep. and You thanks. it is however always much Most agreeable to have sent to ourselves, what is intended for us, where it is practicable. No Motive of yours however, has ever been called in question on that score, as we supposed you Considered it one and the same thing. And I have only to add, that I have No desire to make any change of the Account, but shall thank you for as early a remittance as may be in your power—that No one more highly respects you or is more sincerely disposed to serve you than your Obedt. Servt.

P. S. the former letter you state to have written relative to the Blankets never Came to hand.

JACKSON, ON THE DUEL BETWEEN THOMAS J. OVERTON AND
JOHN DICKINSON.

July, 1805.¹

On the 25 Instant I was notified by Mr Thos. Overton Junr. that he was called upon by Mr John Dickason, to meet him on the field of honour and render satisfaction, "in the mode which has hitherto been customary among Gentlemen"—and requesting [*sic*] me to attend him,

¹ This letter was evidently written late in July, 1805, since the duel occurred before Aug. 1 and after the "25th Instant". (Cf. Thomas J. Overton to Jackson, Aug. 1, 1805, *post.*) It was Jackson's part in this duel that led N. A. McNairy, on Feb. 15, 1806, to twit Jackson about making "boys fight at six steps distance".

being also advised from the coopy of Mr John Dickasons note to Mr John Childress, of date the 16th. Instant, delivered on the 25th. that Mr J. C. was to be the friend of Mr J. D. agreeable to Mr T. O. request, I immediately repaired to Nashville, to see Mr J. C. on the subject of the note, and reached there on the evening of the 25th. waited upon Mr J. C. and informed him, agreeable to the request of his friend J. D. I as the friend of Mr. T. O. was ready, to enter on arrangements, to give the satisfaction required. After some conversation on the subject, I stated to Mr J. C. that agreeable to custom and usage in these cases, being the friend of the Challenged, I had a right to name the distance. he observed that of this, he was not well advised, and asked me what distance I would name. I named seven feet, stand back to back, at the word prepare dress to the right—at the word fire—fire when they pleased—again stating to Mr. J. C. that I as the friend of the challenged, agreeable to every usage and custom on the subject, had the right to name the distance that this mode would place them upon an equal footing, and the best shot would have no advantage. Mr. J. C. then observed he would see his friend, and give me an answer the ensuing morning. on the morning of the 26th. Mr J. C. met me agreeable to appointment and stated to me, that his friend would not meet at less distance than twenty four feet. I observed to Mr. J. C. that Mr. J. D. had no right to say any thing about distance, that he had called upon us to render satisfaction, in the mode usual and customary for Gentlemen in such cases—that agreeable thereto we had named the distance and mode, which we would not abandon. Mr J. C. replied that his friend had instructed him to state, that his feelings was not wrought up to that Pitch as to throw away his life thus, that he would not meet at any less distance than Twenty four feet.

I was truly astonished to receive such a message from the challenger, and thus replied, If Mr. D. could put up, with the chastisement that he had received, if a Cane had not roused his feelings to meet upon the grounds proposed, which were usual and customary, and from which we had the right to name it was with himself to descide—that If he did not come forward on this ground, he would be disgraced and that Mr T. O. would take the liberty to Kain him for some illiberal and unjustifiable expression in his note to Mr J. C. that Mr J. D. was a young man, we wished to treat him liberally, and notwithstanding we had the right, to retire and expose him, that we would wait for his further determination on this subject and requested Mr J. C. to return to his friend, and say to him—If he did not come forward on these terms he would be exposed to the world and that Mr T. O. would Kain him for the expression used in the note aforesaid. We then Parted to meet at ten Oclock, A. M. of the same day. we met accordingly—when Mr J. C. informed me, that his friend J. D. said Positively he would not meet my friend at less distance than Twenty four feet, let the consequences be what the[y] might. I then stated, twelve feet or fifteen. Mr J. C. stated his instructions were Positive on the subject, and at no other distance would he meet—with astonishment—I observed he the challenger, and would not receive the satisfaction requested, and that too, to prevent him from disgrace or a Kain-

ing. Mr J. C. replied his instructions were Positive. knowing we had a right, then to retire, proceed as we thought right, that we had offered the satisfaction required in the usual mode, but knowing that the wishes of my friend were to fight Mr J. D. even on his own terms, requested Mr J. C. to remain untill I could see my friend who was not far distant—to which he readily agreed. I repaired to my friend, stated to him the answer received. My friend requested me to return, and say to Mr J. C. that, his anxiety was such to fight Mr J. D. that he would meet Mr J. D. on his own Terms, reserving to himself, all benefit from the ground he stood on, to make it known to the world, and seek redress for the language in Mr J. D. note such as he might deem proper. I returned to Mr J. C. communicated the same to him, with the reservations, and that it was not hereafter to be viewed as a precedent, or abandonment of our right to name the distance, but as a mere wish to fight Mr. J. D. reserving to Mr. T. O. the ground he then stood on. We then named the place and the time taking Mr J. D. own distance and Terms, to wheel at the word, and after word fire, to advance or not, and fire when they pleased. at the time we met, all things duly prepared, the word given, with a pause of some time, with cool deliberation, the[y] both fired without advancing and without effect—the Pistols being again charged—the word given—after a pause of some time with deliberation Mr Overton fired missing Mr Dickason. Mr. D. advanced with his Pistol in six or nine Inches of Mr. O. and fired—the Ball passing thro his arm and Breast. Mr Overton received the advance of Mr J. D. with more than usual firmness, of a youth of his age, under such circumstances. after Examining Mr T. O. wound I called upon the Gentlemen to know their wishes. Mr J. D. replied he was satisfied. I replied it was well, but that we were not—that satisfaction remained to be made Mr T. O. for the illiberal and unusual expression in the note of Mr J. D. and that he Mr J. D. must atone for them. Mr J. D. making no reply to me, but observed to Mr. J. C. he would not retract them and Mr. O. communicating to me that he was becoming fainty, I observed to Mr. J. D. that the present situation of my friend, would not permit of a prosecution of the satisfaction then intended, but hereafter satisfaction must be made. Mr J. D. and Mr J. C. then left the ground, and I attended to my wounded friend. I certify that the foregoing is substantially the facts that attended the dispute between Mr J. D. and Mr T. O.

THOMAS J. OVERTON TO JACKSON.

August 1, 1805.

Dr. Genl. I am induced to think the brush I got when you was with me is not likely to produce fatal effects. But I assure you General it would be almost a matter of indifference with me, if it were not for my wish to be with you once more; and oftener if necessary, for it seems as if my enmities as to numbers are something like the army of Xerxes combatting with the Grecians, who had to oppose them. Have confidence my dear friend, all that I ask, is that you may be along side of me in the hour of difficulty, when life ceases to be a blessing unless held on honor-

able terms. I have but one life to lose, and they shall have a chance for that, as long as it lasts; though I trust the God of heaven is just, and with your assistance will enable me, to give some account of the greatest monster of depravity, in the shape of a man, that ever disgraced the animal creation—I mean John Dickinson, the pupil, nay, I might almost say the child of Judge Overton; and of certificate memory. This is the man with whom I cannot live on the same globe and I am sure our souls if he has one at all, are too uncongenial, to be placed by providence in the same state of existance hereafter.

In justice I think he will be obliged to fight me the next time, upon my own terms; and if he does, I pledge myself (*accidents excepted*) that families when discharging the sacred duties of hospitality, shall no longer be affraid of finding a dagger in their breast or the poison of asps, and adders in their bowels, when least suspected. I tell you Genl. I shall get well, you must come and see me if you can. I am too much fatigued to write any more.

I am with sincere sents. of gratitude your friend

TILMON DIXON TO JACKSON.¹

1805

Dear sir: When Mr. John Verrell was in our Country last you gave him an order on me for six Hundred and forty acres of Land which was the Land you won of me and John L Martin. I gave my Bond to Verell for the same and he Verell told me that he had returned all the papers to you but I find to the Contrary. the Bond I gave him has been presented to me this day for payment. I hope you will do something in the Bussiness and not let me Suffer as this is a tru Statemnt of the Case.

Dear General yours etc

BILL OF SALE FOR NEGRO WOMAN FAN, SIGNED BY ANDREW STEEL.

1805[?] [after December 30]

Know all men by these presents, that I Andrew Steel of Wilson County and state of Tennessee, hath Bargan,d and sold unto A. Jackson and Hutchings, both of the County of Davidson and State aforsaid A Negro Woman nand. Fan a bout forty five years of age. Which the sd. Jackson and Hutchings doth aGree to give one Hundred and fifty dollars For the Sd. Negro Woman. the said Steels and sons Account is to be Settled out of the one Hundred and fifty dollars. Twenty five dollars in cash, the Ballance in Dry Goods to be lifted out of sd. Jackson and Hutchings Store at Clover Bottom. the sd. Steel doth warrant and defend her from all Clames or demands from all an[d] every purson and he the Said Steel doth warrant and defend her to be Sound harty Woman.

Test

SAML. HUTCHINGS

¹ See Jackson's agreement with Verell, May 11, 1805, *ante*.

TO ISAAC ROBERTS.¹

Division Orders January 2nd 1806

Sir, You will without delay cause to be made to me a compleat return of the strength and condition of your Brigade. a compliance with this order is required on or before the 5th. instant and a failure must not happen.

The Pressing manner of the order from the war department to our Executive and from him to me require the greatest promptitude in compliance. I have been furnished with the returns of the 4th and 6 Brigades agreeable to my orders of the 17th ultimo and have only been delayed in forwarding my return by this mail from the want of yours. By next mail My return I must make regardless of consequences as it may relate to you, should I not be in possession of your returns agreeable to this and my order of the 17th ultimo.

Health and respect

TO JOHN SEVIER.

HERMITAGE January 6th 1806.

Sir, I have now the Honour to inclose you a return of my divisions agreeable to your order of the 29th of November last made out in conformity with my order of the 17th. ult[imo].

In my note to you of the 2nd instant, I mentioned the cause of the delay, and the measure adopted by me on that occasion. I flatter myself it will have a good effect and prevent the like causes in future.

Should any immergency require a call of the militia from our state, will you permit me to suggest, that I have no doubt but the compleat cota called for can be made up by volunteers. should the contemplated march be distant, this mode will prevent the inconveniences arising that may happen from Drafts. from the time of service pointed out for the militia by law, when they were most wanted in the field of action and at the seat of war their time of service might expire, and the cause suffer much from the event. Should these Ideas meet yours, would it not be well to make it known to the department of war. In my division I have no doubt but from Twenty five hundred to three thousand could be brought into the field of volunteers all active healthy young men in three weeks from marching order received. Should this plan be thought advisable, and orders for the purpose, this volunteer corps could be enrolled and held in compleat and perfect order to march at a minutes warning.

I have the Honour to be with due respect yr. mo. ob. serv.

¹ Nov. 29, 1805, Governor Sevier called on Jackson for a complete return of his division, and directed him to have the militia in a complete state of readiness for service. Jackson received the order on Dec. 16. Next day he called on the brigadier-generals under him to make returns. Dec. 30 he made to the governor "a complete return", made out in accord with his own call of the 17th. His statement in this matter is not consistent with the letter here given, written to Brig.-Gen. Isaac Roberts.

JACKSON'S PLEDGE NOT TO DRINK ARDENT SPIRITS.¹

January 24, 1806

General Andrew Jackson and Major John Verrell covenant each with the other, that the first of them that is known to drink ardent spirits except administered by a physician, is to pay, the other a full and compleat suit of clothes, Taylor's bill inclusive, this 24th day January, 1806.
Test JOHN COFFEE.

LETTERS AND STATEMENTS RELATIVE TO THE DUEL WITH
CHARLES DICKINSON.¹

February 1, 1806.

Statement by Thomas Swann—

To a candid and impartial public, the following statement of facts is submitted, with a view to do away those unfavorable impressions which may have been produced in the minds of those who have only had a superficial and perhaps exparte knowledge of the circumstances which induced this publication.

Every act which malice could invent, or malevolence suggest, has been done to asperse the character, and traduce the reputation of a man, whose innocence or guilt will manifestly appear in the sequel of this narration; and whose only desire is, to obtain the candid and impartial verdict of acquittal or condemnation, from those of his fellow citizens, whose minds are entirely divested of an improper bias in favor, either of the author of this relation, or his opponent: from the stern and rigid rules of despotic justice, I demand a trial.

Having premised these observations, I shall now proceed to detail the origin, progress and result of the dispute in question, with all its appendant circumstances.

Patten Anderson had observed in messrs. Geo. and Robt. Bell's store, in presence of George Bell, Samuel Jackson and myself, that the notes offered by capt. Joseph Erwin at the time of paying the forfeit in the race between Truxton and Ploughboy, were different from those which General Jackson agreed to receive. Mr Samuel Jackson disclosed this remark to mr. Charles Dickinson, who called on me at King, Carson and King's store, for a confirmation of the report: I assured him that the information received from Samuel Jackson was correct. A few days after this I met with gen. Jackson at his own store, and had with him the following conversation: Did capt. Ervin or mr. Dickinson offer to you in payment of the forfeit, different notes from those which you had agreed to receive at the time of making the race? his answer was, that mr. Dickinson's notes were the same; but that capt. Ervin's were differ-

¹ Memorandum found among the papers of General John C. Coffee, Tenn. Hist. Soc.

¹ The *Impartial Review*, the Nashville newspaper of the day, is very rare. A copy is in the Tennessee Historical Society and from it has been taken all that bears on the famous duel with Dickinson. Some of these papers are printed, with considerable revision, in Parton's *Jackson*, I. 270-275. The first installment is a statement by Thomas Swann in which are embodied several letters by and to Jackson. The statement is here given as made.

ent, and assigned this reason, that the notes which Capt. Ervin was to have staked, and which he agreed to receive, were due, and on demand; but when he came forward to pay the forfeit, he offered him notes, not one (as well as I can recollect the expression) of which was due.

Not many days after this, Capt. Ervin and myself were riding from Nashville to Clover Bottom, Ervin asked me whether I had heard Patton Anderson make the statement above spoken of? I informed him, I had; he then asked, did you ever hear General Jackson say any thing about it? I then related to him the conversation betwixt Jackson and myself. Ervin denied the statement made by Jackson to be correct, and said he would prove it by the affidavits of Mr. Dickinson, Mr Carson and Capt. Wright, that they were the same: that he tendered to General Jackson no note, but what he had offered to stake, nor did he retain any from him but one on Robert Thompson, for which he gave his own to the house of King and Carson: I advised Capt. Ervin first to speak with General Jackson on the subject and we parted without further conversation.

On Saturday the 28th day of December Capt. Ervin, Mr Dickinson and General Jackson met in Nashville when a conversation was introduced by Mr Dickinson relative to the identity of the notes offered by himself and Capt. Ervin in payment of the forfeit: Mr Dickinson informed me that General Jackson did, to him and Capt. Ervin acknowledge that the notes offered by them at the time of paying the forfeit were the same which he had agreed to receive, and further asserted that whoever was the author of a report that he (gen. Jackson) had stated them to be different was a damned liar. On the day after rece[iv]ing this information from Mr Dickinson I wrote this note.

NASHVILLE, Jany 3d, 1806.

Gen. Andrew Jackson,

Sir, I was last evening informed by mr. Dickinson, that when called on by capt. Ervin and himself at mr. Winn's tavern, on Saturday last, to say whether the notes offered by them, or either or all of them, at the time the forfeit was paid in the race between Truxton and Ploughboy, were the same received at the time of making the race; you acknowledge they were, and further asserted that whoever was the author of a report, that you had stated them to be different, was a damned liar! The harshness of this expression has deeply wounded my feelings; it is language to which I am a stranger, which no man acquainted with my character would venture to apply to me, and which should the information of mr. Dickinson be correct, I shall be under the necessity of taking proper notice of, I shall probably be at Rutherford court before you will receive this, from whence I shall not return to Nashville before Thursday or Friday, at which time I shall expect an answer.

I am, sir, Your obt. servt.

THOS. SWANN.

To this note General Jackson replied in a letter, couched in the following ambiguous expressions:

HERMITAGE, Jany. 7, 1806.

Thos. Swann, Esq.,

Sir, Late last evening was handed me, amongst my returns from Haysborough, a letter from you of the 3d inst. stating information received from Dickinson, etc, etc, etc. Was it not for the attention due to a stranger, taking into view its tenor and style, I should not notice its receipt. Had the information stated to have been received from mr. Dickinson, stated a direct application of harsh language to you, had you not have known that the statement as stated in your letter was not correct, had it not taken place in the same house where you then were, had not mr. D. been applied to by me to bring you forward, when your name was mentioned, and he declined, had I not the next morning had a conversation with you on the same subject, and lastly, did not your letter hold forth a threat "of proper notice," I should give your letter a direct answer. Let me, sir, observe one thing, that I never wantonly sport with the feelings of innocence; nor am I ever awed into measures. If incautiously I inflict a wound, I always hasten to remove it; if offence is taken when none is offered or intended, it gives me no pain.

If a tale is listened to many days after the discourse should have taken place, when all parties are under the same roof, I always leave the person to judge of the motives, that induced the information, and leave them to draw their own conclusions, and act accordingly. There are certain traits that always accompany the gentleman and man of truth. The moment he hears harsh expressions applied to a friend, he will immediately communicate it, that explanation may take place, *When the base poltroon and cowardly tale-bearer, will always act in the background.* you can apply the latter to mr. Dickinson, and see which best fits him. I write it for his eye, and the latter I emphatically intend for him. But, sir, it is for you to judge for yourself, draw your own conclusions, and when your judgement is matured, act accordingly.

When the conversation dropt between mr. D and myself, I tho't it was at an end. as he wishes to blow the coal, I am ready to light it to a blaze, that it may be consumed at once, and finally extinguished. Mr D. has given you the information, the subject of your letter, in return and in justice to him, I request you to shew him this. I set out this morning for S. W. Point. I will return at a short day, and all times be assured I hold myself answerable for any of my conduct, and should any thing herein contained give mr. Dickinson the spleen, I will furnish him with an anodine as soon as I return.

I am, sir, Your ob't Ser'vt

ANDREW JACKSON.

P. S. Note. There were no notes delivered at the time of making the race as stated in your letter, nor was the meeting between me and mr D. at mr Winn's tavern on that subject; the subject of the notes was introduced by mr. D. as an apology for his conduct, the subject of conversation.

General Jackson states in the Post Script to his letter, that no notes were delivered at the time of making the race. I will admit there was no actual transfer of the property in the notes from Revin [Ervin] to Jackson, nor could any man be so stupid as to deduce such an inference from any expression contained in my letter. It is there asked, whether the notes offered at the time of paying the forfeit, were the same received at the time of making the race; would not this be understood by all who were apprized of the circumstances, that the word received was intended to convey this idea, that the notes offered by Ervin to pay the forfeit should have been the same staked at some time previous to the race; which Jackson admitted to be good, and agreed to receive. He in the same sentence states that the meeting between Dickinson and himself was not on that subject. I do not imagine that it is essential to the truth of Mr Dickinson's information whether the meeting was on that, or any other subject: certain it is, that a conversation did pass relative to the identity of the notes; what the tenor of that conversation was, must be proved by the certificates of those who were present. And what does the certificate of Mr Samuel Jackson go to prove? expressly, that General Jackson denied ever having stated to any person, that the notes offered by Capt. Ervin to him in payment of the forfeit were different from those produced in stake, and further, that Capt. Ervin had acted honorably, nor had he ever accused him of improper conduct. This declaration of the magnanimous general's completely discharges capt. Ervin from the censure of unfairness in the transaction; consequently, it is incumbent on him, who relates to have heard expressions of a different import from the infallible general, to prove, (if evidence of any kind is admissible) that what he has related is true. Mr Nathaniel A. McNairy says, General Jackson told him "that Capt. Ervin produced different notes, at the time he came forward to pay the forfeit from those he had agreed to receive in stake, and he asked Capt Ervin where was the memorandum, Ervin put his hand in his pocket, and observed it was mislaid or lost; however, it was afterwards produced and the forfeit paid with notes different from those, which Ervin had just before offered; and what his motive for so doing was, the world might judge".

But is it possible the immaculate General should have made two statements so widely different? in one to have made an accusation against Capt. Ervin highly censurable; in the other and [an] express and unequivocal denial of the charge. If these two statements be inconsistent, falsehood necessarily attaches itself to one of them; whether the general has made them both, and if he has, what his motive for so doing was, is submitted to THE WORLD TO JUDGE. This much for the evidence to acquit myself of any implication of falsehood on my part.

We will now take a view of the heroic General's conduct subsequent to the diction of his ambiguous letter. "*And be it remembered*", that the Sunday after its reception, he came to town, and after having devoted the greater part of the evening to the pleasures of Bacchus, he desired Mr John Coffee to tell me if I wished to speak to him, to do so immediately, as he was then ready to return home. An interview was accord-

ingly requested in which, contrary to my expectations, abuse was substituted for explanation. I told him I should demand that satisfaction, which, as a gentleman, I was entitled to receive? his reply was, that if I challenged him, he would cane me. I rejoined that his threats I despised, and if he dared to execute them, I would put him instantly to death. He went into the public room at Mr. Winn's tavern, and there in the presence of a number of gentlemen, publicly proclaimed, that if I dared to challenge him, he would cane me, and then give me satisfaction; boasted that he would not wish a better breakfast than to kill fifty such men, and insinuated that it would be presumption in me to challenge a man of his age and standing in society.

In a few days he received from me a note, to which he refused giving a direct answer, saying he must first know me to be a gentleman; he then introduced a conversation relative to the cause which produced the note, stating, that the observations made to Charles Dickinson were not intended to have application to me, and that I could not by any possible fair construction make them apply to myself, but if I thought proper to trim or pare my head to fit the cap, he could not help it, but he did not intend it for me; he concluded by saying he would not answer my note, but would be in town the next day.

From a report of these observations, I was induced to believe that general Jackson's intentions were pacific, and expected on his arrival in town to receive from him overture of accommodation, then judge my surprise, (being thrown entirely off my guard to repel any hostile attack) when, on the next day passing through the public room in the tavern, (not knowing that general Jackson was in town) he, surrounded by his friends, with a large bludgeon and a brace of pistols, assailed me, without giving me a moment's warning to defend myself. The affray being ended, I again demanded that reparation which the day before he had refused to give; and upon the ground, that having shewn a disposition to execute the first part of a threat made a few days before, viz; to cane and then give me satisfaction, he would now comply with the latter part of his promise; but the ingenious general had discovered another pretext to shield himself from the dangers of an equal combat, "he did not know me as a gentleman". Can he produce the testimony of a single witness to prove one solitary act of my life a departure from this character? I defy him to do it. But perhaps, being a stranger, it may be said he did not know whether I was or not? to those who propose this query, I answer, he was told I had letters of introduction, and could procure certificates to prove I was entitled to that character.

But the general is forty five years of age!!! Ergo, the laws of his country exempt him from the performance of military duty; in honor's code no such privileges are found, in a court of honor no such pleasures [pleas?] are offered.

THE DUEL WITH DICKINSON: A CARD BY JACKSON.¹

February 7, 1806.

Mr Eastin, The answer to a piece signed Thomas Swann, which appeared in your last number, is unavoidably postponed until next week, owing to the absence of Major W. P. Anderson, who was obliged to attend Robertson court, whose certificate (with others that are absent) relative to some facts that gave rise to the publication, can be obtained. The public will suspend forming any opinion until they see the answer, with the accompanying vouchers.

A. JACKSON.

THE DUEL WITH DICKINSON: JACKSON'S STATEMENT.¹

February 10, 1806

Mr Eastin, The respect I owe to the world makes it necessary that a publication under the signature of "Thomas Swann" in your *Impartial Review*, of the 1st instant, should be noticed.

To impose upon the public attention, through the medium of your useful paper, is not my wish; but as mr Swann has endeavored to exhibit to the public eye, a statement of his case and character, an impartial public will indulge such supplementary remarks as may be necessary to complete the caricature. In justice to mr. Swann, and least the figure, when finished, may appear the work of different artists, the ground work, and even the various materials of which his drawing is composed, shall be carefully attended to.

Now, however, in the new invented style of support, adopted by his friends, Mr N. A. M'Nairy and Samuel Jackson, one the accredited agent of mr. Swann, and the other invoked in his support, To a perfect understanding of the case of the complainant, let it briefly be premised, that a course race was made between capt. Ervin and myself, for 2000 dollars in cash notes, payable at the day of the race. It was suggested that all capt. Ervin's notes were not payable precisely at the day, an accommodation was proposed, *and a schedule of the notes*, and Charles S. Carson's verbal assumpsit (being present) was offered for 446 dollars, or thereabouts, which was accepted. Mr Ervin was previously informed that I had not any power over one half of the bet, as maj. Verrell and capt. Pryor, who were interested in the other half, were about to leave the country; that one half must be payable at the day of the race, the other, which respected myself and Major W. P. Anderson, was not material.

Mr Charles Dickinson is the son-in-law to capt Ervin, and was interested in the race, as it is understood. This race was afterwards drawn, on account of the indisposition of capt. Ervin's horse, upon an agreement to pay 800 dollars as a forfeit. The payment of this forfeit is the circumstance which gave rise to the conduct of mr. Swann, his publication, the following certificates and subjoined remarks. The fact to be decided by the public, is, whether mr. Swann in his solicitude to "know the true

¹ *Impartial Review*, Feb. 7, 1806. Eastin was editor of that journal.

¹ *Ibid.*, Feb. 15, 1806. See also a card on this duel copied from the *Nashville Republican* in the *National Intelligencer*, July 25, 1827.

statement " tho' unconcerned, has omitted in his assertion to mr. Dickinson and the public, some material fact, or in other words, whether I asserted that which was untrue.

Mr. Hutchings has truly stated the assertion to which I have uniformly adhered, upon which mr. Swann and myself were at issue; that issue has been decided, whether in a moral manner, casuists must determine, upon the following certificates and analysis;

Being called on by gen. A. Jackson, to state a conversation that took place on a certain Saturday in his store, when Thomas Swann was present, with myself and a number of other gentlemen, relative to the payment of the forfeit by capt. Ervin, in the race between Ploughboy and Truxton, in substance as follows: Do certify that the subject was introduced by capt. P. Anderson, who was stating, that on that occasion captain Ervin had produced a different memorandum or schedule of notes, than that which was produced at the time the accommodation of the stake took place in Nashville. gen. Jackson replied, in that you are incorrect, instead of producing a different schedule, he produced none at all, some person in the room, perhaps mr. Swann, stepped towards the general and said he had heard something on this subject, and wished to know the true statement. To which general Jackson observed that when capt Ervin asked him up to captain Hoggatt's to receive the forfeit, he, *capt Ervin, produced to and offered him notes none of which were due and payable at the time, that he, the general, refused to receive them, because one half were not due and payable, his reasons that one half were the property of major Verrell and captain Pryor, who was about to leave the country* immediately, that he, capt. Ervin, said they were part of the same notes exhibited in the schedule at Nashville; he, the general, then asked capt. Ervin for that schedule, that he put his hands in his pockets, and after some search said it was lost or mislaid, but that mr. Dickinson had his notes and memorandum or schedule, that he might be called in, out of which the forfeit could be paid; mr. Dickinson was then called in, produced his notes and memorandum, out of which, with an order on King, Carson and King, the forfeit was paid. When the general had finished his statement, mr. Anderson said, then I have taken up a wrong idea and am mistaken, or words to that import, and the subject ended.

JNO. HUTCHINGS

Feby 5, 1806.

Sworn to before me this 10th day of February, 1806.

ELIE HAMMOND.

10th January, 1806.

Gen. Andrew Jackson,

Sir, Last eveing was shewn me by mr. Thomas Swann, a letter from you, in answer to a letter he had written you respecting a conversation that took place between you and myself at mr. Winn's tavern, etc, etc.

I there informed you of a report Patten Anderson² had given publicity to, that a different list was produced when we were about paying the forfeit, from the one we were to make our stake out of, and that he had it from you, which you denied ever sanctioning; I then informed you *I had another author, who said he did hear you say that a different list was brought by capt. Erwin*, which, as soon as I mentioned, and before I could give my author, you declared the author had told a damned lye, that so far from saying so, you had never intimated such a thing to any one, and immediately asked *who was the author? to which I answered, Thomas Swann*; you wished mr. Swann to be called forward, which I declined, least mr. Swann might think that I wished to throw the burthen off my shoulders on his, and *the business then being entirely between mr. Swann and yourself, mr. Swann asserting that you had told him a different list was produced by capt. Erwin, and you as positively denying it.*

After the report was circulated by Patten Anderson, mr. Swann, (as he informed me) was anxious to know if Patten Anderson was your Herald, and further, as he had been introduced to capt. Erwin as a gentleman, he was desirous of knowing if any improper conduct had been attempted, and after he had mentioned the business to you, you answered concerning the stake and forfeit as stated above.

CHARLES DICKINSON

I do hereby certify, that the above is a true extract, taken from the original, and compared by myself.

THOMAS EASTIN, Pr.

I do hereby certify, that on or about the 12th day of January last, I was in company with gen. Andrew Jackson, at Nashville, in mr. Winn's tavern, when the general mentioned to me, that some communications had come from mr. Thomas Swann to him some days previous to that, in consequence of which, perhaps mr. Swann, from the pompous airs he put on, might wish to say something on the subject; he requested me to say to mr. Swann, who was then in the house, if he had any business with him (gen. Jackson) to make it known immediately, as he was about to leave Nashville. I complied with his request. mr. Swann replied, he was just waiting to speak to the general, and immediately stepped to him, they walked out of the house together, after some minutes general Jackson came into the room (mr. Swann passed by the door) and observed to him, as he passed on, and to the gentlemen in the house, that if mr.

² Patten Anderson was largely responsible for starting this quarrel. Swann in his long defense of Apr. 28 (*Impartial Review*, May 24, 1806), repeated the assertion here made. This declaration brought out from Anderson the following note, dated May 25:

"Mr. Eastin, In a publication in your paper of the 24th inst. under the signature of Thomas Swann, he states that I positively say I never heard general Jackson and himself have any conversation on the subject of some notes paid as a forfeit by capt. Erwin. In answer to which I positively say I never mentioned such a thing to Mr. Swann. Mr. Swann did ask me, some time about the commencement of gen. Jackson's dispute and his, whether or not, I had been present, and at the store when a conversation on the subject of the notes alluded to had taken place between him and the general. I then told him it was not within my recollection; but on reflection, I did recollect the conversation, and again mentioned my knowledge of the same to Mr. Swann. You will oblige me by inserting the above in your next number" (*Impartial Review*, May 31, 1806).

Swann did attempt to support a statement, made in a letter addressed from mr. Swann to gen. Jackson (which letter the general shewed the company) that he would cane him, in as much that the statement was false, that the author could not be a gentleman, and that such would be the treatment he deserved, observed he would probably be in town the next day, or in a few days, as his business would permit, and if mr. Swann put on any airs with him, he would cane him. we then left town.

The general's business prevented him from returning to Nashville for some days, in which time mr. Swann addressed another letter, by his friend, mr. Nathaniel A. M'Nairy, to the general, observing, the statements made were substantially correct, etc. the general then, was under a promise to cane him on sight. the day after the receipt of the last letter mentioned, gen. Jackson and myself went to Nashville together, he, under a determination to make good his promise. we stopped at mr. Winns tavern, had not been in the house but a few minutes when mr. Swann came walking into the room. as soon as the general saw him, he rose from his chair, observing, he was glad to meet with him, drew up his cane and gave him a very severe blow, which appeared to stagger mr. Swann forward, the general gave back, as I supposed, to repeat his blows, came in contact with some chairs that stood behind him and fell backwards over them towards the fire or hearth, but before he was down the gentlemen present caught him, and prevented further blows.

Mr Swann stepped back, put his hand behind him under his coat, as I supposed to draw a pistol, some person forbid his drawing, the general replied to the company, let him draw and defend himself, the general put his hand behind him and drew a pistol, the company all immediately gave back and I supposed that a fire would immediately take place. But when mr. Swann saw the general draw a pistol, he withdrew his hand, observing he had no such intention. the general observed to him, that such was the treatment he deserved, and such he would always give young men, conducting themselves as he had done, that had he acted in a proper manner to him, he would have treated him otherwise. Mr Swann observed he had just learned that he (the general) was come into the house and that he had come down stairs to speak with him to pave the way for accommodation, or words to that purpose. Mr Swann then withdrew from the room.

Some short time after, in the same day, I was called on to hear a conversation, between gen. Jackson and mr. Nathaniel A. M'Nairy, the friend of Mr Swann, as he expressed himself. the general observed to Mr M'Nairy, that he knew not Mr Swann as a gentleman, that he would not degrade himself by accepting his challenge, that he was a stranger to him, that his conduct towards him had been ungentlemanly, consequently he would not have any correspondence with him; but if Mr Swann was dissatisfied with him from the treatment he had received, that he would accommodate him thus far, that he would ride with him any where, on any ground he would name, he would meet him in any sequestered grove he would point out, or he would see him in any way he would suggest, through him Mr M'Nairy; further observed if Mr Swann had any

friend, that was known to be a gentleman, that he would step forward, in his behalf, that he there pledged himself to meet them, on any gentlemanly ground; Mr M'Nairy observed his own knowledge, of Mr Swann, would not justify his supporting him as a gentleman, but urged that a court of honor, should be called, that he would produce such certificates, as he thought would support his friend; gen. Jackson referred him to me for further proceedings on the occasion and withdrew. my reply, to Mr M'Nairy was that I thought that gentleman's honor and feelings, were too delicate, to arbitrate, that under the existing circumstances, I thought the general's proposals, were as far as he ought to go, and that farther satisfaction he might not expect.

He Mr M'Nairy declined accepting the proposition, in the mean time he observed, his only wish was to do justice, that if Mr Swann's papers did not hold him out, to be a gentleman, that he would withdraw himself from the business, he said it was unfortunate, the general had been so rash, as he was fully convinced, had a conversation taken place between the parties, before the general had struck Mr Swann, that the thing would have been easily settled; in as much as he, Mr M'Nairy, and Mr Swann, on mature reflection, had discovered, they had misconstrued the statements made, that was the original cause of dispute, that Mr Swann, on seeing general Jackson ride into town, he came to see him to have an explanation, had this have been done, he said, a reconciliation would in all probability have taken place, but the general's caning him was now the only cause of complaint. some hours after in the same day I called on Mr M'Nairy, to know if they would accede to the proposition made him by general Jackson, assuring him it was the only one he would get. he declined, saying he supposed the thing would end with a publication in Mr Swann's defence.

Some two or three days after, when in Nashville in mr. Winn's tavern, I was called on by general Jackson to hear a conversation between himself and Mr M'Nairy, when general Jackson observed to Mr M'Nairy, that he had learned since he had just come to town, that Mr M'Nairy had reported, and caused to be circulated, that when general Jackson refused to meet Mr Swann as a gentleman, that he, mr. M'Nairy observed if mr. Swann was not known as a gentleman that he was one, and would meet him in behalf of his friend. mr. M'Nairy replied he had never said or wished such an idea to go out, that he had said if general Jackson had a wish to fight him, he would see him; but denied ever offering or wishing to meet him. general Jackson said major Robert Purdy was his author, and he would call on him; he accordingly called on major Purdy, who asserted firmly, that mr. M'Nairy had made such statements to him; mr. M'Nairy observed that major Purdy must have misconstrued his meaning. the [he] replied there could be no misconstruction that the words were plain and construed themselves, mr. M'Nairy observed he never intended to have said such thing, neither did he wish such an idea to go forth. General Jackson observed to mr. M'Nairy that too much had been said on the subject, and for the future, let there be no misunderstanding; I now pledge you my word and my honor, if any gentleman on a standing

with myself will come forward as the friend of mr. Swann, I will at all times meet him on any gentlemanly ground. Thus the thing rested so far as came to my knowledge.

JOHN COFFEE

State of Tennessee, Davidson County.

Personally came J. Coffee, before me, Eli Hammond a Justice of the Peace for the county aforesaid and made oath that the annexed certificate is substantially correct, to the best of his recollection. Sworn this 5th February, 1806.

Test. ELI HAMMOND.

JOHN COFFEE

Being called on by gen. Jackson to state the manner in which I heard mr. Nathl A. M'Nairy mention his conduct and expressions, when he refused to meet mr. Swann as a gentleman; I have only to observe that mr. M'Nairy related the interview in words to the following effect. gen. Jackson, said that although he did not know mr. Swann to be a gentleman, yet if he had a friend who was a gentleman and would take his place, he would meet him. mr. M'Nairy replied that if the observation was intended for him he was ready and willing to come forward. The general answered don't misunderstand my meaning and the conversation on that part of the subject ended.

JOHN BAIRD.

I certify, that on or about the 23d instant a conversation took place between Nathl. A. M'Nairy Esqr. and myself respecting a dispute existing between gen. Andrew Jackson and Thomas Swann Esqr. said M'Nairy stated to me that the general would not fight mr. Swann and give it as a reason that said Swann was not a gentleman, mr. M'Nairy then observed to the general that he could establish mr. Swann's character by certificates (aluding I suppose to letters of introduction which said Swann had) and also by Major Murry and capt. Hobson, and if mr. Swann was not a gentleman, he (M'Nairy) was and the generals answer was, that he did not wish to have any dispute with him.

The next day general Jackson arrived in Nashville, and hearing some reports prejudicial to his character, called on me to relate the conversation that had passed between mr. M'Nairy and myself which request I complied with, the general then called on mr. M'Nairy in my presence to know why he had made such statements and observed no such conversation had ever taken place between mr. M'Nairy and himself, mr. M'Nairy then observed that I must have misunderstood him, I replied that I could not as I give his words, which mr. M'Nairy did not Deny. General Jackson then observed that he would meet mr. Swann in any situation except that of a gentleman, and further, states he would meet any gentleman of equal standing with himself that would espouse mr. Swann's cause and pledged himself to give any satisfaction due a gentleman.

ROBERT PURDY,

January 3d 1806.

I certify, that some time in the month of January last, Mr Samuel Jackson stated to me, that Mr Thomas Swann had (without being asked) proffered him the loan of some cash, and that he would furnish him with as much as 200 dollars, or more if he wished it. Mr S. Jackson replied (after thanking him) that he would perhaps call on him in a few days for a loan which he did on the day or two following, and observed that 100 dollars would answer him; Mr Thomas Swann observed he might have it at any time. The said S. Jackson called on him the day following for it, and the said Swann answered he had loaned it out, and he could not furnish him with any. The said S. Jackson further observed to me, that he had found out Mr Thomas Swann and that he had not acted the gentleman with him; to which I observed if he acted in that manner, he treated you like a rascal, said S. Jackson made answer he did.

ROBERT HAYS

HAYSBOROUGH, Feb. 3d, 1806

HAYSBOROUGH, Feb 3d, 1806.

Gen. Andrew Jackson,

Sir, Agreeable to your request, the following certificate is a correct statement of a conversation that passed from mr. Samuel Jackson in the street at Haysborough in my presence.

I am dear General with due respect and esteem your most ob't serv't

ROBERT BUTLER.

I certify that on or about the 24th day of January 1806, when standing in the street at Haysborough, with two or three gentlemen, that Samuel Jackson Esqr. and Mr Lee rode up to the place where we were standing and the conversation taking a turn to the subject of general Andrew Jackson and Mr Thomas Swann's quarrel, Samuel Jackson Esq. did state in my presence that Mr T. Swann treated him very rascally, and commenced the statement of the circumstances but was interrupted through some cause unknown to me. The day or two following said S. Jackson having returned to Haysborough, and renewing the conversation, stated to me that mr. Thomas Swann had proffered him the loan of some money, without being questioned by said S. Jackson on the subject; his (mr. Samuel Jackson) answer was (after thanking him) if he really stood in need of it he would call on him for 100 dollars, said S. Jackson finding necessity for making the application, did so (on the day following) and was answer[ed] by Mr Thomas Swann that he had loaned his money out.

ROBERT BUTLER.

HAYSBOROUGH, Feb 3d, 1806.

I hereby certify, that on the fifth day of the court of pleas etc for Davidson county, in January 1806, I was in mr. Winn's tavern conversing with general Jackson, when Mr. Swann came into the room: so soon as general Jackson observed him, he rose saying I am glad to see you, and drew a stick which he had in his hand and struck mr. Swann,

and immediately fell in or near the fire; I did not see what caused general Jackson to fall, but supposed that he either stumbled over a chair or tripped himself with his spur and fell over a chair. I did not see Mr Swann either strike the general or aim a blow at him. Desirous of terminating the contest, I stepped to general Jackson and held him by the arm, till some person called, do not draw, to Mr Swann, as I believed. I then observed Mr Swann have his hand behind him, as if in the act of drawing a pistol, gen. Jackson then cried "let him draw", and drew out a pistol which he held in his hand, untill Mr Swann showed his hand without a pistol, when general Jackson put up his pistol. Some further conversation took place between the general and Mr Swann, which at this time I do not recollect. Given under my hand this 1st day of February, 1806.

THOMAS AUGUSTINE CLAIBORNE.

NASHVILLE.

In answer to your polite address of this day, touching the conversation and conduct both of yourself and capt. Ervin, at and before the time he paid to you the forfeit in Truxton's and Ploughboy's race, I can, I will and am happy it is within my recollection, to answer one of the most material points sought after.

Capt. Ervin some short time preceding the day on which the above named horses were to have run, came to me in Nashville, named that you and himself had just been talking over and had concluded upon an accommodation as to the bonds and notes which were to be staken on the occasion; that he had shown to you a list of his notes and bonds, that on his own examination of them, he found there were more undue and not payable for a short time, than he expected, that he had proposed an exchange of paper with the house of King, Carson and King, to which they had acceded, and that if I who was interested, would walk to their store and examine their schedule of debts, see if any were suitable he would thank me. I done so, and when there or very shortly after I met with you, exhibited the list offered by King, Carson and King for capt. Ervin, and on a full examination thereof, it was determined, that paper on which suits would inevitably have to be commenced, was not suitable and could not be received agreeably to the tenor of the articles of the race, and further that major Verrell and capt. Pryor who were about to leave the state, would not agree to any regulation of the kind.

Not then until the day before the race was to have been run, did I ever hear one word more on this subject and then in company with capt. Ervin, I presented to him a 500 dollar note due the 1st of January following, asked him if so short a time as 30 days would make any difference, he answered it would not.

On the morning after this last interview with capt. Ervin, you asked me to ride over to captain Hoggat's with you and receive my proportion of the forfeit, I did so, and during our stay there mr. C. Dickinson was called into the room, you received the sum of 800 dollars in bonds and notes, the one half or thereabouts were due, the balance at a short day. We then parted with those gentlemen, and whilst under way to the Clover

Bottom you named an attempt had been made to pay you in notes none of which were due, and that when you called for the schedule of them such as was shewn at the time of accommodation, it was stated by capt. Ervin to have been mislaid, that you had completely repelled the attempt and that it was a very mistaken idea for any person to suppose that the winner ought not to have the right of choice, where any existed. We agreed in opinion and parted.

I am your friend,
W. P. ANDERSON

February 8th, 1806.

Gen. Andrew Jackson

P. S. I had in haste almost forgot to tell you that capt. Ervin always (and did the last time I saw him viz, at Messrs Bell's and Pryor's race) acknowledged the above circumstance, related to have taken place at captain Hoggat's, to be correct in substance.

Being requested by gen. Jackson to state a conversation that took place between him and capt. Joseph Ervin a few days ago, I do certify that I was present at a conversation between these gentlemen relative to the facts that took place at the time the forfeit was paid in the race Truxton against Ploughboy. it was stated by the general that he capt. Ervin in the first instance had offered notes in the payment all of which were not due, that the general refused to receive them because one half were not due, that he capt. Ervin said they were part of the notes mentioned in the schedule offered and accepted at the time of accommodation, that he general Jackson asked him for the schedule. after putting his hands in his pockets and making some search said it was lost or mislaid but upon a little recollection said that he believ mr. C. Dickinson had it (or his notes and schedule) he could be called. he was called and produced his notes, out of which with an order on King, Carson and King for 99 dols-63¼ cents, the forfeit was paid, to all which capt. Ervin acknowledged saying that he thought he had a right to pay the forfeit out of any notes in stake.

I further certify that I have heard general Jackson make a statement of the facts that took place on that occasion several times and that it was uniformly the same.

CHARLES S. CARSON

NASHVILLE, 10th February 1806.

Some time since Mr Thomas Swann and myself had a conversation respecting Mr Samuel Jackson. Mr Swann asked me if I did not suppose that Mr Jackson was one of the damned rascals on earth, and observed, he Jackson was a damned rascal. some further conversation took place which I cannot recollect.

ROBERT PURDY

February 8th, 1806.

Mr Swann in his letter and publication in your paper of the 1st instant, states, " that the notes offered by capt. Joseph Ervin at the time of paying

the forfeit, etc, were different from those general Jackson [a]greed to receive." What does Dickinson, his informant state? that *the list of notes and notes offered*, were different. The first was produced, when an accommodation was proposed respecting the commutation of notes not payable, for those that were, the second to the payment of the forfeit, a fact which took place some time after the accommodation. By the accommodation one half was payable, when the notes offered, no list was produced.

How does Mr Swann prove the position he has taken, that different notes from the list were offered?

1st. By his own assertion, Mr Hutchings was present, see his affidavit.

2d. Mr Charles Dickinson's information is referred to, see an extract from Mr Dickinson's letter. He states no such thing but refers to a *different list*. Therefore two correctative informants, speak, one of *different notes actually* offered, the other of a *different list of notes*. Happy concordance! These two gentlemen possess the key of consistency.

3d. Mr Samuel Jackson is next referred to. Mr Swann has not been so obliging as to give us any certificate nor even a quotation from Mr Jackson, of whom he was so polite as to say in the presence of major Purdy, that he was a damned rascal (an appropriate witness for Mr Swann). It is to be lamented that he did not, but it is to be hoped that col. Hays and Mr Robert Butler's certificates may ease Mr Swann of the labour of vindicating his friend Samuel from any imputation. No doubt of their having well understood each other. Mr Jackson flatly calls Mr Swann a rascal. that they have confidence in each other, we have no doubt; Mr Jackson in his opinion of Mr Swann has disclosed the ground upon which this good understanding rests. Upon principles of reason and of law, a man cannot discredit his own witness.

4th. Mr Nathaniel A. M'Nairy is quoted by Mr Swann, in support of his assertion of my inconsistency. This young man has industriously acquired such a reputation, as to make it an arduous task to add to it. But as the selected supporter of Mr Swann, in the cause of consistency and bravery, it would be doing injustice to omit him. His certificate which is only marked by a quotation, is introduced with triumph, this without date of [or] signature. This hopeful youth, who forgets to day what he uttered yesterday, thinks himself secure; but read messrs Baird and Purdy's certificates, and Mr Coffee's affidavit, and see what credit can, or ought to be attached to the statement of such a character.

Mr Coffee states in substance that I would cane Mr Swann, if he attempted to support the st[at]ement he had made; that he understood Mr Swann afterwards wrote me, that the statement was substantially correct; that agreeable to promise I did cane him, that Mr Swann said, after this chastisement, that he had wished to pave the way for an explanation; that he was present at a conversation immediately afterwards, between Mr N. A. M'Nairy, the friend of Mr Swann, and myself; when, among other things, Mr M'Nairy proposed a court of honor, saying at the same time that his acquaintance with Mr Swann would not justify his supporting him as a gentleman; and if Mr Swann's papers did not support that

character, he would withdraw himself. Note, Mr Baird and major Purdy state in substance, that this young squire of high renown, told them, he observed to me, that if Swann's character as a gentleman was not known, he would meet me. Mr Coffee further states, that this friend of Mr Swann expressed much concern that the affair had terminated in so rash a manner; that Mr Swann had wished to see me, for the purpose of an explanation; that Mr Swann and himself had misconstrued the statement made, or in other words, found out they were in error. How shameful it is then to persist in it.

But Mr M'Nairy tells Mr Coffee that the caning was the only cause of complaint. Then why bring the points of veracity and consistency into view in the publication? when Mr Coffee called on Mr M'Nairy to know what he thought of my proposition for redress, observing to him, it was all he might expect, he declined taking any further part in the affair, and observed, he supposed it would end in a publication in Mr Swann's defence. The squire had recourse to the same method on a former occasion, and what effect it produced "the world might judge". Mr Coffee further tells us, that he was present when I called on Mr M'Nairy to know if he had made use of the language stated in major Purdy's and Mr Baird's certificates. Here the valiant squire's memory failed him, he denied that he ever said it, nor "did he wish such an idea to go forth". Major Purdy being convenient was called on. He told the squire what he had asserted, to which he answered, that major Purdy must have misunderstood him. Modest youth! but the major tells him he could not, for he gave his own words. MISUNDERSTOOD, how did Mr Baird misunderstand him also! This young man has either a vicious habit of deviating from the truth, or a natural weakness of memory, either of which is equally pernicious to society, and renders him a fit compeer for his friend.

It is difficult to find an appropriate epithet for a character who descends to state falsehoods, in a situation where the honor of a man is at stake; where truth and justice ought to be the order of the day, with a person chosen to accompany another on the field of honor; and, in many cases, where integrity is the only shield of innocence. However, the squire's conduct is in perfect unison with a recent act on the field of honor; he fired before the word; it was declared to be an accident, and this prevarication, or whatever you may please to call it, I suppose he will declare to be another. Combine these two acts with the whole military feats of this young squire and with his deviations from the path of candour and truth in civil life, he is in my opinion, (and I think the world will agree with me) deprived of that privilege in society, which the gentleman and man of honor ought, in all cases in justice to obtain.

Thus, reader, I have endeavored to finish the picture. The ground work only, appear to be conceived by the author of the publication. The materials existing in the statements of my witnesses, may with propriety be said to have been selected by the author. They are, however, the natural result of those chosen by himself. And application of such as were offered have only been made. It is true that the drapery sometimes exhibits black instead of white, but this the reader will excuse, when he

considers that consistently with the plan I adopted, no other material could be had. A little more indulgence whilst a few other parts of the publication is noticed.

Mr Swann states in substance, he was attacked in a defenceless situation, and off his guard; read the certificates of messrs Coffee and Claiborne. Judge for yourselves. His own declaration shews that he came into the room knowing I was there for the purpose (to make use of his own words) "*to pave the way for an accommodation*". These gentlemen state that Mr Swann was about drawing a pistol. Why did he not do it? Any man can answer that question. Recollect, reader, his boast of a *certain death in case I attempted to cane him.*" He had previously every assurance that I would not treat him like the gentleman, but that a caning would be given him in return for a challenge.

Here then the hero steps forward with all the ostensible bravery of a duellist; the faithful promise was executed. And notwithstanding his gasconading expressions "*that no power terrestrial should prevent the settled purpose of his soul*", he shrunk at the sight [of] a pistol, and [d]ropped his hands for quarter, although one of them was placed on and in the act of drawing his own. Is this like the man of courage who said "*that instant death should be the consequence*". Or is it like the coward when his *settled purpose fail him*. When true bravery is assailed or attacked in any way, it will shew to the world its genuineness, yes, as much bravery is necessary in the act of self defence in all cases, as in the act of duelling. see Mr Coffee's affidavit and Mr Claiborne's certificate.

Mr Swann on this occasion has impertine[n]tly and inconsistently obtruded himself, he has acted the puppet and lying valet for a worthless, drunken, blackguard scoundrel, who now is at war and flatly contradicts and gives Mr Swann the lye. Here the reader can compare the extract from Charles Dickinson's letter with Mr Swann's publication.

Mr Swann states his desire to obtain satisfaction^s but "an ingenious evasion has been discovered". How does this agree with the evidence of Mr Coffee and major Purdy? He is told he can have satisfaction in any manner, in any way or si[t]uation but that I will not degrade myself by the acceptance of a challenge from a stranger whose acts and conduct had been inconsistent with that of a gentleman, from a man who was capable of acting and writing to me in the manner Mr Swann had done in his letters of the 3d and 12th of January, the former of which has been pub-

^s In the *Impartial Review*, Mar. 1, 1806, Thomas Swann published the following card, dated Feb. 28, 1806:

"The publick will be so good as to suspend their opinion in the difference between Andrew Jackson and myself. In consequence of the interference of the civil authorities of the state it is out of my power to reply to the piece in the *Impartial Review* signed Andrew Jackson this week, but I flatter myself I can to a candid public shew my innocence and his guilt."

The *Impartial Review*, May 24, 1806, contained Swann's long reply to Jackson's assertion that Swann was not a gentleman. It renewed its author's charges against Jackson of boasting, falsifying, and cowardice, and offered a number of certificates supporting Mr. Thomas Swann's character as a gentleman, signed by prominent Virginians, among them James Cocke, of Powhatan Co., William Claiborne, of Buckingham Co., Randolph Harrison, Cumberland Co., and Edward Carrington, William Moseley, and Edward Randolph, of Richmond.

lished and the latter (*which is inserted* for the edification, as well as information of the public) reads as follows.

Gen. Andrew Jackson,

Think not that I am to be intimidated by your threats. No power terrestrial shall prevent the settled purpose of my soul. The statement I have made in respect to the notes is substantially correct. The torrent of abusive language with which you have assailed me is such, as every gentleman should blush to hear; your menaces I set at defiance, and now demand of you that reparation which one gentleman is entitled to receive of another. My friend the bearer of this is authorised to make complete arrangements in the field of honor.

THOMAS SWANN

NASHVILLE, January 12th, 1806.

But Mr Swann complains I would not recognize him a gentleman, and calls for proof of the contrary. If therefore, I have not shown sufficiently that he has no just claim to the appellation of a gentleman let him bring forth his letters introductory or certificates so much talked of. I was badly advised the day I chastised Mr Swann, if those vouchers were not given by men in virginia of known immoral and disreputable character.

It is worth while before I take my everlasting farewell of this group, to notice the last falsehood asserted by Mr Swann in his publication. The fact is I am only thirty nine years of age, and if God should permit me to live thirty nine years more, I will never again be caught before the public in competition with Mr Swann or any of his auxiliaries.

THE DUEL WITH DICKINSON: JOHN ERWIN'S CARD.¹

February 13, 1806.

In consequence of gen. Jackson having made some animadversions in a late paper on the conduct and character of Mr Charles Dickinson, and of his publishing only an extract of the letter, written in reply to some strictures contained in one addressed by the general to Mr Swann, I have taken the liberty of presenting the whole of it to the public, and to request that a conclusive opinion may not be formed until Mr D. returns from New Orleans, when he will doubtless satisfy every dispassionate person, that he has acted as became a man of honor and a gentleman.

[Repeats the affidavit of Charles Dickinson, printed on pp. 128-129, ante.]

Your letter is so replete with equivocation that it is impossible for me to understand you; But in one part of your letter you say "had you not have known that the statement of Mr D. was not correct" which is denying that you contradicted what Mr Swann had asserted. should that be your meaning, I can prove it not only by the assertions, but on oaths of Mr Samuel Jackson and captain Ervin, whom I shall have sworn that the world may know who can prove himself the gentleman and man of truth. Why should you have wished to have Mr Swann called, had you not denied what he had asserted? and do you pretend to call a man a tale bearer for telling that which is truth and can be proven?

¹ *Impartial Review*, Feb. 22, 1806.

Mr Swann after he understood an interview was to take place between you and myself, gave me liberty to make use of his name, and on our meeting, which was a few days after, he asked me if I had made use of his name and what you had said, an impartial statement of which I detailed to him. As to the word coward, I think it is as applicable to yourself as any one I know, and I shall be very glad when an opportunity serves to know in what manner you give your anodynes, and hope you will take in payment, one of my most moderate Cathartick.²

Yours at Command,

CHARLES DICKINSON

MEEKER, WILLIAMSON, AND PATTON¹ TO JACKSON AND HUTCHINGS.

NEW ORLEANS, February 27, 1806.

Gentlemen: By last mail we received your favor (without date). The Contents noted. We trust your Cotton and Staves will be here soon. you may expect a good account of them, Cotton of the missippi Territory is

² This card was no doubt intended as much to irritate Jackson as to prevent the public from forming a hostile opinion of Dickinson. Another thing that no doubt caused Jackson's blood to boil was the following letter from Nathaniel A. McNairy, dated Feb. 15, 1806, and published in the same issue of the *Impartial Review*:

"Mr Eastin, I would presume from a view of the famous general's answer to Mr. Swann's publication in your last number that part of the verdict to be expected from the public would be that the brave general is much more pleased in *shedding bushels of ink* than one ounce of blood, provided there is an equal chance that, the one ounce should be extracted from *his own dear carcase*. But give him an advantage and he is as brave as Julius Caesar; such as this; give him a large brace of rifle barreled pistols and he will [assail(?)] a superannuated Governor on the road as he travels: or he will meet Mr Swann in some sequestered spot, that the alert general may obtain some dishonorable advantage when no eye can see him; or let him have a pistol and he will shoot at a man that *has none, and drive him off to Kentucky*, God knows for what offence the General knows too.

"Fie, fie upon it General come out, you can make boys fight at six steps distance, risque yourself for once on equal terms, at least at ten yards; the risque is not great when you consider that your opponent will be under the impression that he has come in contact with the *brave, magnanimous, invincible and honorable Major General Andrew Jackson* of Tennessee, but *not commander of the navies*; . . . this further as a relish for the gentleman General until I shall have time to answer the charges exhibited by this *braggadocio General*; especially as it regards his honorable certifier Mr. Coffee who was under the necessity of being sworn because he is not only honorable but religious. The *sagacious General* would fain turn the public eye from the case of Mr. Swann and himself. Mr. Swann has a right to reply; after that the *pure General* and myself will join issue, or I rather expect the General will demur; for all he has got to do is to say a man is no gentleman, perhaps he is right, the community cannot well spare such men. In due time the public shall have all the documents in my power to afford, and I wish them, if they please to suspend an opinion as regards the statements made in his publication against me. It is none but the cowardly who are always the cause of such disputes coming before the public; they ought to be transacted in conclave but the General knows the more noise there is made, the less danger there is of his *sacred person*.

NATHANIEL A. MCNAIRY

"NASHVILLE, Feb 15th 1806.

"N.B. The people of the western country may think who are gentlemen, and who are not, but it is reserved for the *well born General* to decide that point. N. A. M'N."

¹ This firm seems to have been formed by William Meeker, who in 1803 was in Natchez, representing his brother's firm in Philadelphia. After the purchase of Louisiana he seems to have organized this firm in New Orleans to get the up-river trade. The boat journey up the river was slow but it could be made by tacking. It was not until 1812 that a steamboat was placed on the Mississippi.

at 24½ Cents. Staves are rather lower than our last quotations from [the] quantity expected at market, but we believed you may assure yourselves of 35 Drs. P [M] for pipe Staves. We shall be able to execute your orders for Groceries, without delay and upon terms which will give you Satisfaction. Rum, Brandy, Claret, and Coffee are lower. The Sugar of this Country very fine, but higher, however will be better for your Sales. We have purchased a Crop for the purpose of Supplying our friends and we warrant that none better will go up the River. We Shall attend Strictly to your interest and have hopes that our dry good market may be found at least as low as in Philada. We have imported a considerable Quantity from England, and in the City a tolerable assortment may be had. We shall give Mr. C. all the assistance in our power, as well as our interest in your favor.

We are Gentn.

JOHN HUTCHINGS TO JACKSON.

NEW ORLEANS, April 16, 1806.

Deare Genl I reached this City on the 12 of april and do not look for our Boats untill about the twentieth if then, the River is at last on the rise. I hope it will be of greate survice to them. Cotton has fallen from 24 to 22 \$ pr. Hundred, but from the quantity of large ships that is now in this port weighten for freight it will Command that som if not Higher. staves s[t]ill Command their former prices and are in demand. I expect they will be down by thousands in few weakes. But ours will be down first and will Command a price.

I named to you in my former letter about that old villian Grimsly who by his neglect lost one of his Boats, and when he reached this place would not assist to unlode her and let her sink at the side of the vessell. Meeker Williamson and Patten paid him fifteen Dollars. I only name this sum so that we may know what we have paid him. I have also Re'd mr. Coffees Memorandum of dry goods. I find Callicoos may be had here on good terms and the most of such things as we want dil [*mutilated*] ware vary low and Coffee on the extreem 3½ Cents, Sugar B. 11 Ct, loafe 28; lump 22 Cents.

I am D Sir

P. S. Sir gave my Complaments aunt Jackson and all inquiring friends. I have purchd. 1000 lbs logwood and you may Contract with the Hatter [?] in Nashvill neerly that amt, sold at \$65 pr tun here.

JOHN HUTCHINGS TO JACKSON.

NEW ORLEANS, April 24, 1806.

Deare Sir, I this evening by mail receved your letter dated the 7th of Apriel, and feele more gratified to here the success of Truxton Wining his race under all his difficulties, then I ever Can in similar Curcomstances. I am truly sorry that mr. Dickerson and Capt Wright left here before this pleasing nuse reached me, so I might of had the pleasur of seeing them in their aggonery.

I am sorry to say that our flats has not yet reach,d this port. Falkners Brage [Barge] only yesterday morning landed here and, Catlett states that he past them neer the Buffts. he set out from Nashvill on the same day I set out. By this I flatter my self they will be here in the Course of this weak. I have laid in our groceries, and packed up some dry goods, which think are laid in on good terms. I have nothing to do on the arival of our flate Boates but unload, and starte the Barge Back. Cotton has fallen down to 20 Centes and some merchants say 18 Cents. But I am determind not sell at either prices, here is in this port about 60 large ships now weighting for freight and the expence of those Vessells to the owners amount about Sixty Dollars pr day. this will mak[e] them purchase Cotton. they are only weighting thinking that the market will be glutted with Cotton, here is a number of merchants offered to engage Cotton at 20 Cents, I will not tak[e] it untill the last Hour. Staves still retain their former prices and in demand, I have been making all possable enquiery about gorge but Cant get the least inteligance about him. I had the pleasure of meeting with our worthy friend Doctor Crare, who makes all possable enquiery about him, and appears as much interested about him as you are. I shall wright you by the next mail, I hope when I shall be able to leave the City, and the saf ariveal of our boats.

I am D Sir

THE DUEL WITH DICKINSON: THE CARD THAT PROVOKED THE CHALLENGE.¹

NASHVILLE, May 21, 1806.

Mr Eastin, In looking over the tenth number of your *Impartial Review*, I discover, that *a certain Andrew Jackson* has endeavored to induce the public to believe, that some inconsistency has been attempted by me, relative to his dispute with Mr Thomas Swann. My letter to *Andrew Jackson*, published by Mr John Erwin, is (I consider) a sufficient answer, with any impartial person.

I should never have condescended to have taken any notice of Andrew Jackson, or his scurrilous publication, had it not been promised by Mr John Erwin, when he published my letter at length, which Mr Jackson, for some cause, unknow but to *himself*, had not the generosity to have published but in part.

I shall take notice, but of those parts of his publication which are intended for myself. The first is, in his publication of the 8th of February, which reads thus; "Mr Charles Dickinson's information is referred to, see Mr Dickinson's letter", "he states no such thing, but refers to a different list. These two correctative informants speak, one of different notes actually offered, the other of a different list of notes. Happy concordance! these two gentlemen possess the key of consistency."

¹ This letter appeared in the *Impartial Review*, May 24, 1806. Dickinson had just returned from a trip down the Mississippi River. He was called the best rifle shot in the Mississippi Valley. During his absence he is said to have practised daily with his pistol. There is little doubt that he expected to kill Jackson when he sent the challenge.

I have no such accommodating disposition as to compare what I intend to offer to the public, with that of any witness whatever, and if it should differ, to correct it in such manner as to correspond. What any person offers for publication, if called on, I think it is his duty to swear to. Andrew Jackson has had several disputes, which have appeared in different prints of this state, and if his mode of publishing his thoughts on his different quarrels, is such, as to alter his publications, to make them answer with those of his witnesses, I can only exclaim O! tempora, O! mores.

Another part of his publication of the same date, is as follows. "He (alluding to Mr Swann) has acted the puppet and lying valit, for a worthless, drunken, blackguard, scoundrel", etc etc. Should Andrew Jackson have intended these epithets for me, I declare him (notwithstanding he is a major general of the militia of Mero District) to be a worthless scoundrel "a poltroon and a coward", A man who, by frivolous and evasive pretexts, avoided giving the satisfaction, which was due to a gentleman whom he had injured. This had prevented me from calling on him in the manner I should other wise have done; for I am well convinced, that he is too great a coward to administer any of those anodynes he promised me in his letter to Mr Swann. His excuse I anticipate, that his anodynes have been in such demand, since I left Tennessee, that he is out of the necessary ingredients to mix them. I expect to leave Nashville the first of next week for Maryland.

Yours etc

CHARLES DICKINSON ²

21st May, 1806.

THE DUEL WITH DICKINSON: THE CHALLENGE ACCEPTED.¹

May 23, 1806

Charles Dickinson,

Sir, Your conduct and expressions, relative to me of late, have been of such a nature and so insulting, that it requires and shall have my notice. Insults may be given by men, and of such a kind that they must be noticed and treated with the respect due a gentleman, altho (as in the present instance) you do not merit it.

You have, to disturb my quiet, industriously excited Tho's Swann to quarrel with me, which involved the peace and harmony of society for

² Although the progress of this quarrel aroused the greatest interest in the community, it did not prevent a race between the two horses concerned. In the *Impartial Review* of Mar. 15, 1806, appeared this announcement: "On Thursday the 3d. of April next, will be run, the greatest and most interesting match race ever run in the Western Country, between General Jackson's horse Truxton, 6 years old, carrying 124 lbs. and Captain Joseph Erwin's horse Ploughboy 8 years old, carrying 130 lbs. These horses run the two mile heats for the sum of 3000 dollars. No stud horses can be admitted within the gates, but such as contend on the Turf; and all persons are requested not to bring their dogs to the field, as they will be shot without respect to the owners." A race run by these two famous horses, each of whom had his partizans, at a time when the air was charged with the bitterest feeling, was likely to arouse a great amount of betting and to draw a vast crowd of spectators.

¹ *Impartial Review*, June 14, 1806, and Parton's *Jackson*, I. 292.

a while. You on the 10th of January wrote me a very insulting letter, left this country, caused this letter to be delivered after you had been gone some days and viewing yourself in safety from the contempt I held you in, have now in the press a piece more replete with blackguard abuse than any of your other productions. You are pleased to state that you would have noticed me in a different way, but my cowardice would have found a pretext to evade that satisfaction if it had been called for etc etc.

I hope, sir, your courage will be an ample security to me that I will obtain speedily that satisfaction due me for the insults offered, and in the way my friend who hands you this will point out. he waits upon you for that purpose, and with your friend will enter into immediate arrangements for this purpose.

I am etc

ANDREW JACKSON

May 23, 1806.

May 23d, 1806.

Gen Andrew Jackson,

Sir, Your note of this morning is received, and your request shall be granted. My friend who hands you this will make the necessary arrangements. I am etc.

CHARLES DICKINSON

Sir, The affair of honor to be settled between my friend Gen. Jackson and Charles Dickinson esq. is wished not to be postponed until the 30th inst. (say Friday) agreeable to your time appointed, if it can be done sooner.

In order that no inconvenience on your part may accrue, if you cannot obtain pistols, we pledge ourselves to give you choice of ours; let me hear from you immediately.

Yours,

THOMAS OVERTON,

May 23d, 1806.

May 24th, 1806.

Sir, I prest you in favor of my friend Gen. Jackson for immediate satisfaction, that his feelings had received from a publication of Charles Dickinson, you replied that it might not be in your power to obtain Pistols. In my note yesterday, in order to remove any obstacle as it respected pistols I agreed to give you choice of ours, the other we pledge ourselves to make use of. for God's sake let this business be brought to an issue immediately, as I cannot see after the publication why Mr Dickinson should wish to put it off till Friday.

Yours

THOMAS OVERTON.

Doct' Hanson Catlet, Present.

May 24th, 1806.

Sir. I have received your notes of yesterday and this date, and can only answer that it will not now be convenient to alter the day from that already agreed upon.

HANSON CATLET

Gen. Thomas Overton, Present.

On Friday the 30th inst. we agree to meet at Harrison's Mills on Red-river, in Logan county, state of Kentucky, for the purpose of settling an affair of honor, between General Andrew Jackson and Charles Dickinson esq., further arrangements to be made. It is understood that the meeting will be at the hour of seven in the morning.

HANSON CATLET
THOMAS OVERTON

NASHVILLE, May 23d, 1806.

It is agreed the distance shall be 24 feet, the parties to stand facing each other, with their pistols down perpendicularly. When they are ready the single word fire to be given at which they are to fire as soon as they please. Should either fire before the word is given, we pledge ourselves to shoot him down instantly.²

The person to give the word to be determined by lot, as also the choice of position. We mutually agree that the above regulations shall be observed in the affair of honor depending between Gen. Andrew Jackson and Charles Dickinson esq.

THOMAS OVERTON
HANSON CATLET

NASHVILLE, May 24th, 1806.

JOHN HUTCHINGS TO JACKSON.

NEW ORLEANS, May 23, 1806.

Deare Sir, by the last mail I had the pleasure of receving a letter from you, dated Apriel 29th. I am sorry to heare that Capt Smith has disapp[ointed] us in the payment of his debt, by this has been an unfailing rule with us, to Weight as long as our patiance and surcomstances Would admit off, and then keepe us out of the money to the fag end of the Law. I am here weighting the ariv[al] [of the] other Cotton boate, which mr. Coffee says set out about the tenth of apriel, Conducted by mr. Green. he does not name the quantity of Cotton or the quantity of staves, at this I am some what supprised, knowing the ancities I have to heare what Colletions of Cotton we should make.

Mr. W. Jackson boates arived here a few days ago, [one] of them a few miles above here sunk by a vary Vialent storm that lasted several day, and Cotton and staves boates reached here on the fifth day of this

² A tradition survives that the two faced the same direction and wheeled facing one another, and also, that when his pistol did not discharge when he first pulled the trigger Jackson showed it to the seconds, who agreed that it had stopped at half-cock and that he was entitled to another fire.

month after the loss of two of them on the way, one which Joshua Barnes had in Charge the other the one Isral Smith), this our Bad mangement trusting property in the hands of such D. rasculs, that has nothing at stake but the pittance of forty or fifty Dollears, but I feele glad we have been so fortunate to get to a bad market four out of seven. Our Cotton I have sold at 20 Cents pr. lb., and have started the barge back on the eight, which I hope will be at home by [the] tenth of July. I have paid \$1500 Kenner and Henderson on the Accompt of Beckham and Reese, also Meeker W and Pattan \$1800 on the accompt Saml Meeker and meeker Demmon and Co, that is say \$900 each which is neerly all the money in my hands at present. the staves that has reached here only amounted to about \$1950.

I set out from here to-morrow for home and then I shall be able to shew the amt of sales both of Cotton and staves, all bad enough. I have nothing more at prest.

I am sir yr. most obdt and Humb Svt

WASHINGTON JACKSON¹ TO JACKSON.

NEW ORLEANS, June 19, 1806.

Dear Sir, Allow me to congratulate you, on your safety from the field of honor, without broken bones and hope ere this reaches you, you may be perfectly recover'd of the Wound you received in your breast, I could have been happy this affair could have been settled amicably and honorable otherwise, but presume it had gone too great lengths to be settled otherwise,

my dear Sir it's now well known to the World you are a man of true courage and honor, and therefore hope you'll not endanger yourself in affairs of this nature, particularly with young men. pardon me, perhaps its presumption in addressing you thus on this subject, but such are the sentiments of my heart. I must regret the loss of your antagonist, could have wished his Wound had not been fatal.

I have call'd on Meeker Williamson and Patton respecting your produce, several times, I cannot get any satisfactory answer, they say they write you respecting it, therefore having no authority over it, I can't do as would wish. had I any I should take it out of their hands and place it Gray and Taylors, or some other good House, as I requested of Mr. Hutchings when here, but he would not do it. I would not mention my Brothers House to him least he should think I was partial, but I must allow this I am very much prejudiced against the House of M. W. and Patton, probable they may serve you better than I expect.

Mr. Thursby has been making of me some enquiry respecting the proceeds of your Cargoe, to which I replied you had given instructions to remit the proceeds to you in Nashville, in Bills Drawn in favor of John Jackson Phila., and that you apportion the amt. to your Creditors, to which he made no answer.

¹ Washington Jackson was a brother of James Jackson, a leading merchant in Nashville. He was living in Natchez in 1813, when Jackson's detachment arrived there.

I embarked for L'pool on the 13th. and after having got 6 Mile down the River discoverd our Vessel so Crank, that thought prudent to return for Ballast, which we have now got and expect to Sail in less than an hour. If you be good enough to honor me with a letter in a short time hence, directed to the care of Mrs. D. Bond, Bridge St. Dublin, I shall consider it as a very particular Favour. make my Best Respects to Mrs. Jackson and am Yours

with sentiments of Respect and Esteem

THE DUEL WITH DICKINSON: CAPTAIN ERWIN'S STATEMENT.¹

June 1806

Mr Eastin, An impartial and dispassionate enquiry into the origin, progress and result of the dispute between Mr Charles Dickinson deceased and General Andrew Jackson, is the design of this address (through the medium of your paper) to the public.

Misrepresentations and false insinuations may, where the character of Mr Dickinson was not known, have a tendency to make improper impressions; to repel the one and remove the other by a fair and candid statement of facts, is the object of my present purpose.

General Jackson in his letter of the 23d of May, has exhibited a number of charges against Mr Dickinson, which are entirely without foundation; he has attempted to shew Mr Dickinson the aggressor, when, in fact, he had made a wanton and unprovoked attack upon the character and feelings of Mr Dickinson. he accuses Mr Dickinson, first, of having industriously excited Thomas Swann to quarrel with him etc, secondly, of having wrote an insulting letter on the 10th of January, left the country, and caused the letter to be delivered some days after he had gone, and thirdly of having in the press a piece more replete with bl[a]ckguard abuse than any of his former productions; to the whole of those charges I conceive the certificate of Mr Swann is a sufficient answer, which is in the words following:

NASHVILLE, June 16th, 1806.

Capt. Joseph Erwin,

Sir, In compliance with your request I commit to paper an accurate detail of all the circumstances relative to the quarrel between Charles Dickinson esq. and Gen. Andrew Jackson, so far as at present consists with my recollection. I do certify that having met Mr Dickinson in Nashville some few days after he and yourself had a conversation with Jackson on the subject of the payment of the forfeit in the race between Ploughboy and Truxton, Mr Dickinson informed me (I think at my request, for I had before heard from Samuel Jackson, that Andrew Jackson denied the statement made by me to be correct :) that Andrew Jackson did deny what I had stated to be true, and further asserted that whoever was the author of a report that he had stated the notes offered by you in payment of the forfeit to be different from those which he had

¹ *Impartial Review*, June 21, 1806. The statement is undated but it was written between June 16 and 21.

agreed to receive, was a damned liar; Previous to Jackson's having made this declaration my name had not been mentioned: but he then asked Mr Dickinson who was his informant, he told him I was, bring him forward said Jackson, but Mr Dickinson declined doing it. I asked Mr Dickinson why he had not called on me immediately, his reply was because there was a dispute between Jackson and himself, and it would have appeared as if he wished to shift the quarrel from him to me, to have called on me at that time. I then observed that if General Jackson had applied those epithets to me, or had denied the statement made by me, he was himself a damned liar; and I would call him to an account for his conduct; Mr Dickinson and myself then parted without any further conversation on the subject; and on the next day (January 3d) I wrote a letter to general Jackson (demanding an explanation) which he received on the 6th. And on the day following returned an answer, not an explicit avowal or disavowal of the declaration ascribed to him by Mr Dickinson; or, a confession, or denial of the statement I had made, but fraught with invective and scurrility against the conduct and character of Mr Dickinson, and at the conclusion mentions that he shall set out that morning for S. W. Point; On the 10th the third day after having received general Jackson's letter, Mr Dickinson replied to it, and on the 11th having given his answer to Mr Lee for conveyance when Jackson returned from the Point (to which place he was supposed to have gone) Mr Dickinson's business called him down the river to Orleans; during his absence general Jackson's publication made its appearance, and on its [his] return he replied to it. they are both before the public and by the public it will be decided which is most "replete with blackguard abuse". I do aver that neither Mr Dickinson nor any other person did urge me forward to quarrel with Jackson, and should any have attempted it I would have convinced them that I was not to be influenced (where my reputation had been aspersed) by any man, or made the tool of any party.

I am, sir, yours respectfully,

THOMAS SWANN.

Thus having summed up evidence in the dispute between Mr Dickinson and general Jackson, I now leave the public to decide who was the aggressor. Whether Mr Dickinson was not entirely innocent of offering an unprovoked insult or of wounding the feelings of general Jackson, until driven to it by the egregious and insufferable insults offered to himself; and whether, if he injured the general at all, the injury was of such nature that the implacable resentment of his antagonist should pursue him beyond the grave, and insult the memory of the deceased, by endeavoring to prevent that tribute of respect due to his merit, which his friends and acquaintances were about to confer.²

It may not be improper before this subject is dismissed to enquire, whether the proceedings on the field were strictly proper? and whether

² One sheet of the issue of the *Impartial Review* is missing, dated June 7, 1806. On the margin has been written in pencil: "The portion of this paper torn off contained a request by many citizens that the editor . . . the paper in mourning, and General Jackson's call on the editor for the names of the persons."

general Jackson had a right, according to the laws of duelling, to re-cock his pistol after having snapped it? It is said it was agreed that a snap should not be considered a fire; granted, but was it not also agreed that nothing which was not committed to writing should be considered as binding or having effect? a snap not to be considered as a fire was not committed to writing, consequently, it was not one of the stipulations in the agreement,⁸ neither was it warranted by the usual practice; yet such was the cruel fate of the unfortunate Dickinson, he gallantly maintained his ground, and fell a victim to this unguarded, illiberal and unjust advantage. Peace be to his manes, respect to his memory, which will be ever dear to his friend

JOSEPH ERWIN.

To ———.¹

HERMITAGE, September 25, 1806

Col. Burr is with me; he arrived last night. I would be happy if you would call and see the Colonel before you return. Say to Gen. O, that I shall expect to see him here tomorrow with you. Would it not be well for us to do something as a mark of attention to the Colonel—he has always [been], and is still, a true and trusty friend of Tennessee. If Gen. Robertson is with you when you receive this, be good enough to say to him that Col. Burr is in the country. I know the General; he will be happy in joining in any thing that will shew a mark of respect to this worthy visitant. With due esteem.

TO A FRIEND IN NASHVILLE.¹

September [25], 1806

. . . . Colonel Burr is with me; he arrived last night. I would be happy if you would call and see the Colonel before you return. Say to General O[verton] that I shall expect to see him here on tomorrow with you. Would it not be well for us to do something as a mark of attention

⁸ In a letter to the *Impartial Review*, July 5, 1806, Corbin Lee, who seems to have had in charge Captain Erwin's horse Ploughboy, and was, therefore, not biassed toward Jackson, declared that "Jackson had fought agreeably to the stipulations, and that having done so, instead of being aspersed he deserved to be honored". Corbin Lee was present at the duel.

¹ This letter and that which follows, without date, were published by Andrew Erwin in 1828, in the *Democratic Press*, Philadelphia, and republished in the *National Intelligencer*, Aug. 25, 1828. The editor has not seen the originals, but Erwin certified that they were written by Jackson. He did not reveal the name of the person to whom the second was written.

¹ This letter is in Parton's *Jackson*, I. 315. It was written just after the beginning of Burr's third visit to Nashville. He stayed several days, and went to Kentucky to prepare his expedition down the river. A memento of his second visit is in a letter to Jackson from John Conrad and Company, Sept. 9, 1805, acknowledging the receipt of a draft from Jackson and Hutchings on William M. Biddle, "which has been accepted and is at your credit". It was probably for money advanced to Burr on his arrival at Nashville from New Orleans, and may well have been for money to pay travelling expenses. In Parton's *Jackson* (I. 313) is a letter from Burr to Jackson, Mar. 24, 1806, containing innuendos calculated to arouse discontent with the government, and asking Jackson to make out for Burr a list of officers for one or two regiments who might be called on to serve against Spain.

to the Colonel? He has always [been] and is a true and trusty friend to Tennessee. If General Robertson is with you when you receive this, be good enough to say to him, that Colonel Burr is in the country. I know that General R. will be happy in joining in anything that will tend to show a mark of respect to this worthy visitant."

TO THE GENERALS COMMANDING WITHIN THE SECOND DIVISION OF
TENNESSEE MILITIA.¹

NASHVILLE, October 4, 1806

The late conduct of the Spanish government, added to the hostile appearance and menacing attitude of their armed forces already encamped within the limits of our government, make it necessary that the militia under my command, should be in complete order and at a moment's warning ready to march.

This armed force under the sanction of their government, have imprisoned and transported five of the good citizens of the United States, to the dominion of Spain. They have cut down and carried off the flag of the United States, which was erected in the Cado nation of Indians and within the limits of the United States. They have compelled by force men in the employ of the government, when exploring the Red river, to desist and come home, and they have taken an unjustifiable and insulting position east of the river Sabine and within the Territory of New Orleans!!!

Acts thus daring as well as degrading to our national character and constituted rights, demand prompt satisfaction and cannot fail to excite that resentment so becoming, so natural on the occasion. In the first instance, Gentlemen, let it be recollected that our *Good materials, our best of men*, must be properly disciplined and in this way the preparation cannot be too great to meet the wishes of the general and the exigencies of our country, inspired with the laudable ambition of avenging our country's wrongs, and impelled by the most cogent necessity of defending our national dignity and liberties, it is calculated that but one voice will be heard among us and that that will be, for *preparation and discipline*.

You are therefore, without delay, ordered to place your brigade on the most respectable footing, and be in readiness to furnish the quota required of you at the shortest notice. All volunteer companies well Equipped will be accepted of. If the full quota can be raised by voluntary enlistment, it will answer government a better purpose than by pressing them from their families by draft; but if it be discovered that this cannot be done, you will direct that the effective men be classed, and that the law in this respect be particularly attended to, and when the government and constituted authorities of our country require it, they must be in readiness to march.

¹ These orders are from the *Impartial Review*, Oct. 4, 1806. In the same issue is the following "Communication": "Col. Aaron Burr the steady and firm friend, of the state of Tennessee, arrived at this place on Friday 28th. ult. and on the next day a dinner was given him at Talbot's Hotel at which were convened many of the most respectable citizens of Nashville and its vicinity. There appeared an union of sentiment on this occasion. Many appropriate toasts were drank, and a few of the most suitable songs given, when the company retired quite gratified."

Two regiments, it is expected, from my division (in the event of a call) will be required and no doubt if more are in readiness to march, a tender of their services will be accepted. You will, gentlemen, take the most ready method of obtaining correct information, of the number that can be raised by voluntary enlistment within your respective brigades, thro' your colonels or in such other manner as may to you be most regular and proper, after this information shall have been acquired, forward the same to the general by mail.

TO HENRY CLAY.¹

NASHVILLE October 27, 1806

Sir: By advice Just recd from Mr. I. W. Hunt, we are informed that you are attorney for us in the suit Jackson and Hutchings vs. John M. Gerrard. Mr Hunt also advises, that Mr. Gerrard has put in a plea relative to the Justness of our claim against him and concludes, "We had better confer with you upon the subject," we therefore take the liberty, altho unacquainted, to write you, And beg leave to observe, that the claim on which Mr. Gerrard is Sued, originated, in Merchandize sold to him, in cash loaned, and in orders drew on and accepted by us, in the fall 1805. in 1806 (we believe in May) a final Settlement took place, between us, and he closed his acct. by his Note with assurances that the Money should be paid before he left this country. but contrary to our expectations and the good opinion we had entertained of him, he went off without taking up his Note, altho he carried with him at least one thousand dollars in cash—and on the day of Settlement he drew an order on Major Verrell, in part of the debt due us which Verrell did not accept. This is over and above the amount of his Note and for which he stands Justly indebted. We have no doubt, from the conduct of John M. Gerrard he is capable of doing any thing, or sugesting any thing that is either dishonest or dishonourable but it is strange to us, that such sugestions should way any thing, in a court of Justice against his own Note which was given in a final Settlement since which No kind of intercourse or dealings has taken place between us. you will therefore be good enough to advise us, the state and [*illegible*] of that suit—the Nature of the plea he has put in and what Kind of (if any) proof May be necessary for us to forward you and send on commissions for that purpose. and be good enough to draw on us for your fee, which shall be honoured on Sight.

Your attention to this will much oblige yr Hble Servts

JACKSON AND HUTCHINGS²

BILL OF SALE TO JACKSON AND HUTCHINGS.

October 28, 1806.

For and in Consideration of the Sum of four hundred and fifty Dollars to me in hand paid this day by Jackson and Hutchings I have Bargained

¹ Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.

² The handwriting is Jackson's. See also John M. Garrard to Jackson, July 2, 1805, *ante*. This suit was still in court two years later. See Stockley D. Donelson to Jackson, Nov. 6, 1808.

Sold and delivered to them a Negro man Slave by the name of Steven, to have, and to hold, the said negro, to them and their Heirs forever, for which, I bind my Self my heirs etc. to make a good and Lawfull right and Title to the said Jackson and Hutchings for Said negro man Slave, against the Claim, or Claims, of all, and every Person, or Persons, whatsoever, witness my hand and Seal this 28th. day Octr. 1806.

JAS. STEWART.

Teste

EDWD. ROBERTS

To —.

[HERMITAGE, November 10 (?). 1806.]¹

Dear Friend: I send you \$500: it appears to me I said I would send you \$1000, but when I come to myself, I found there were appropriations made that I knew nothing of: this I learnt at the store, and two journeys to perform, expenses to be borne, that my recollection did not serve me with at the moment. Tomorrow, when you come up, arrangements shall be made so as to accommodate as far as I can. My Dear Sir, do not fail to come up tomorrow, at 10 o'clock. I will meet you at my own house. I have to see General Smith in the morning at his house. The boats, I think you said five in number, and some pork you would furnish. These must be done against the 20th December next, but more of this tomorrow. You must set out in a very few days. *I will furnish the needful.* The cash now sent is in part for the boats; the balance on delivery, either in bank bills, or drafts on New Orleans. The \$3000 being all the cash that can be furnished, this must be appropriated to the best possible advantage, and to the last shilling will be put in your way, if you can furnish the boats and pork, except so much as will meet the engagements already entered into. I send you twenty \$20 bills, and ten \$10 bills, which I wish safe to hand, and beg of you not to fail coming up tomorrow. I wish to start a messenger on Monday next. Health and respect.²

TO WILLIAM C. C. CLAIBORNE.¹

HERMITAGE, November 12 1806

Sir, Altho' it is a long time since I sat down to write you, still that friendship that once existed remains bright on my part; and altho' since I had the pleasure of seeing you, I have waded through difficult and disagreeable scenes, still I have all that fondness for my old and former friends that I ever had, and their memory has been more endeared to me by the treachery I have experienced since I saw you, by some newly ac-

¹ See Jackson to —, Sept. 25, 1806, note 1, *ante*. The letter was written between Nov. 3, when Jackson got Burr's order for boats, and Nov. 12, when he decided that Burr should be denounced.

² This letter, signed by Jackson, was published by Andrew Erwin in the campaign of 1828, to show that Jackson had some connection with Burr. Erwin did not reveal the name of the man to whom it was written but certified that it was a genuine Jackson letter.

¹ Governor of Louisiana Territory. This letter is in Parton's *Jackson*, I. 319, in the *U. S. Telegraph*, May 30, 1828, and in other periodicals of that year.

quired one. Indeed I fear Treachery has become the order of the day. This induces me to write you. Put your Town in a state of defence. Organize your militia, and defend your City as well against internal Enemies as external. My knowledge does not extend so far as to authorize me to go into detail, but I fear you will meet with an attack from quarters you do not at present expect. Be upon the alert, keep a watchful eye on our Genl., and beware of an attack as well from your own Country as from Spain. I fear there is something rotten in the State of Denmark. You have enemies within your own City that may try to subvert your Government and try to separate it from the Union. You know I never hazard ideas without good grounds. You will keep these hints to yourself, but I say again be upon the alert—your government I fear is in danger. I fear there are plans on foot inimical to the union. Whether they will be attempted to be carried into effect or not, I cannot say, but rest assured they are in operation or I calculate badly. Beware of the month of December. I love my Country and government. I hate the Dons. I would delight to see Mexico reduced, but I will die in the last Ditch before I would yield a foot to the Dons or see the Union disunited. This I write for your own eye and for your own safety—profit by it—and the Ides of March remember.

With sincere respect I am as usual, your sincere friend

TO DANIEL SMITH.¹

HERMITAGE, November 12, 1806

Dear Genl. Impressed with a belief, that there are plans in operation in the west, inimical to our country and government induces me to write you, and whilst I write I would wish you to keep in view, that a mans mind may be perfectly convinced that a thing is so, and still not be in possession of Testimony that would authorise names to be used or expressed. When great and sensible men form plans of operation, with deep design, the[y] always keep out of view their real object, untill it is ripe for execution and unfold it to no one, unless the[y] are certain that the person to whom the[y] unboosom themselves will go all lengths into their measures. Men may hold out ideas of a patriotic nature which might flow from a love of country as the ostensible object, whilst they have in view some designs against that country that the[y] profess to serve, others may hold out ideas of large purchases and settling new countries, when their designs may be by a conspiracy with a foreign foe, to make a stroke at their own government with those that they know love the government. under present circumst[ances] [*mutilated*] Spain the[y] may hold out ideas of an attack on Mexico on the event of a failure of an accomodation with that nation of our differences,² either under the auspices of government, or under circumstances that government would wink at, and add Mexico either to the union, or by an alliance, with the

¹ U. S. senator from Tennessee 1798-1799, 1805-1809.

² For two letters from Burr to Jackson which may be classed with the kind of appeal Jackson refers to here, see Parton's *Jackson*, I. 313, 315.

government that might be there created add to the growing greatness of america, give liberty and commerce to millions, and thereby snatch that country from the rapacious hands of Bonaparte who might be a troublesome neighbour to the united states, when their plans might be, in common concert with Spain to seize on Neworleans, and Louisiana, and attempt to divide the union. That some such plan is on foot, I have no doubt, and from a conversation with an entire stranger who came introduced to me by letter I have no doubt but there is a plan on foot and that plan is to take possession of Neworleans, the expression drop[t] from him incautiously, and as soon as he discovered that I had taken it up, he attempted to take [me in] to explain etc., etc., but from circumstances I was in Possession off, it flashed upon my mind that plans had been named of settling new countries, of Punishing the Dons, and adding Mexico to the united states etc., etc., [that] were only mere coverings to the real designs. Altho the expressions that fell taking them abstractedly from every thing else would not be sufficient to raise alarm, or connectedly amount to absolute proof, still sir the[y] are strong enough to make me believe that a plan is in operation inimical to the united states, that the Marq[u]is de Yrujo, is in the plan (if it does exist,) and that the army of the united states, as is hinted is to cooperate. Let us suppose a case, that a plan for seperating the Union is actually on foot, how is it to be effected. Permit me to bring to your view how it might be jeopardize[d], and taking into view the attachment of the western people collectively to the government, no other plan presents itself to my view, that could furnish hope of success. First a difference exist[s] between our government and Spain, their minister at open war with our executive, a designing man, forms an intrigue with him to regain the purchased Territory. This designing man intrigues with the general of your army, and he is fully into the measure. The Spanish forces under pretext of defending their frontier (where there has been no encroachment) marches a formidable force, within two hundred miles of New orleans, your Governor of New orleans organises the militia [to] help to defend your territory, but your general orders him home at the verry moment that he is advancing to take possession of a position on the right bank of the Sabine. The two armies are near enough to make arangements and to form plans of cooperation. at this moment a decent is made from the ohio and uper Louisiana on New orleans, which is in a defenceless situation, two thirds of its inhabitants into the plan. The Town falls an easy pray to its assailants and the two armies protect the conquerers, with the aid of Spain shut the Port against the exportation of the west, and hold out alurements to all the western world to Join and they shall enjoy free trade and profitable commerce. Will not the precedent set, in the case of Colo. B^s insure perfect obedience to the general orders, and do you not think the above plan all things ripe would jeopardize the union, and be the most likely to insure success. it may be asked how the things could be carried into effect without coming to the ears of the government, before the men could be assembled and reach New orleans. The answer, suppose the contra[c]tor

³ Col. Thomas Butler.

for carrying the mail from the city to Neworleans [enters] into the measure with one of your Post masters, the dispatches could be taken out, or a better plan, all things ripe your mail could be stopt, untill the plan was caried into effect. I hope I may be mistaken, but I as much believe that such a plan is in operation as I believe there is a god, and if I am not mistaken, there are in the plan many high charectors from New york to Neworleans [*mutilated*] [i]f the plan does exist the commander of the army is much injured if he is not to be second in grade, and your own body is not clear of having some members within its walls, that are countenancing, and knowing to the thing—that is to say They are concerned in the plan of purchases and settlements which I believe is only a cover to the true object as expressed to me by the person aluded to, who attempted to [*mutilated*] for the expressions. I must state I have no proof that would criminate any person in having designs against the government, but from what I do know of certain things my mind is convinced, that such things do exist and I am impressed with a full belief, that the approach of the Spanish troops is to aid in the project, and you may say to the president, that I am impressed with a firm belief, that the[y] have no time to loose, that the[y] ought to keep out a good watch over their general, be carefull that their mail is not stopd, (this will be the plan to insure secrecy) and give orders for the defence of Neworleans. I have written to the governor to be on the alert, be silent, and their plans may be discovered. you will see the necessity of keeping this thing from all but the Executive. his wisdom will point out the best measures for the safety of the west, that can be adopted, he will find, that I have kept pace with my jealousies. I have kept the militia in expectation of a call. he has my letter by last post—unless interrupted.

I endeavoured to see Doctor Dixson this morning before he started, when I got to Captain Wards being detained in Nashville last night, he was gone. from some circumstances that was brought to my view today, I determined to send a servant after him with this letter, fearfull that it might not go safe by the mail. The servant and myself started, but finding that he intended [to reach] the caeney Fork tonight, and I knew my servant could not over take him, I therefore intrust it to the mail and wish it safe to hand—and let me impress strongly on your mind, that altho I am not in possession of positive proof, still my mind, is as clearly convinced of the fact as tho I had. your own suspicions will immediately bring to your view, the person I suspect to be at the head. I leave to your Judgt. and Doctor Dixsons how far it would be prudent to let my name as your informant be known to any person unless to the President, or those in his compleat confidence—for you are to understand, that you may even in the departments, (*I do not mean the heads*) not be entirely in safety. This I only name as a caution for only a slight shade of suspicion rest there. I wish you to write me on the receipt of this, and by every mail I will write you by which you may Judge whether, any interference is in the mail untill christmas. I inclose, to Doctor Dixson, Judge Lewis letter, that you may see the situation of that country.

Health and respect,

TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.¹

HERMITAGE, November 12, 1806(?)

Sir: In the event of insult or aggression made on our government and country FROM ANY QUARTER I am well convinced that the public sentiment and feeling of the citizens within this State, and particularly within my division, are of such a nature and such a kind that I take the liberty of tendering their services, that is, under my command; and at one moment's warning, after your signification that this tender is acceptable, my orders shall be given conformably.

I beg to offer to your view the enclosed orders some short time ago issued by me, since which time I have not been furnished with complete returns of the volunteer companies; but from the information I possess, I have no doubt that three regiments of volunteers (to be commanded by their own officers, and such as may be recommended by their General) can be brought into the field, ready to march, in twenty days from the receipt of orders.

Accept assurances of my high consideration and respect, etc

TO DANIEL SMITH.¹

HERMITAGE, November 17, 1806.

Dear Sir; By the last mail I wrote you lengthily upon a subject on which I have heard nothing since. My mind is still as firmly fixed in the belief as it possibly can be in a thing of which it has not positive proof, however, circumstances may arise that may bury the project in oblivion.

I have nothing new since I wrote you last. Report says Col. Burr has been arrested in Frankfort, Kentucky, on a charge for raising men to invade Mexico; whether this is the fact I cannot say, but from the channel though which the report come, I believe it true that he has been arrested. . . .

W. C. C. CLAIBORNE TO JACKSON.¹

NEW ORLEANS, December 5, 1806.

My Dear friend, I have this moment received your Letter of the 12th Ultimo. I am prepared to lay down my life for my Country. I recognize in your communication, the sentiments of Patriotism, Honor, Virtue, and friendship, and such sentiments will always insure you my warmest esteem. With all the means in my power, I will defend my Country, her Government and Laws.

Present me affectionately to Mrs Jackson. May God bless you.

Your faithful friend

DANIEL SMITH TO JACKSON.

WASHINGTON, December 19, 1806.

Sir, I beg leave to introduce to your notice and attention the bearer hereof Mr. Seth Pease.

¹ This letter is from the copy in Parton's *Jackson*, I. 319.

¹ *U. S. Telegraph, Extra*, Oct. 11, 1828.

¹ Copy. War Dept. files.

He is a confidential agent of the Government, and goes out not only to examine into the mode and punctuality of the carriage of the mail, but to enquire into the validity of reports existing here, with respect to a plan said or supposed to be carrying on, on the Ohio much to the injury and against the peace of the United States. Any information you can give him in aid of the above stated objects will be doing service to your country, and will confer a favour on your obedt. Serv.

I scarcely need remark to you
this is written in confidence

DANIEL SMITH TO JACKSON.

WASHINGTON, December 29, 1806.

Dear Sir, The machinations of Col. Burr have excited more uneasiness in the mind of the executive than any other matter has of late, but they now consider the danger as nearly passed over. By the energetic conduct of Governor Tiffen of the State of Ohio, ten of his provision boats are arrested, two of his associates Blannerhassett and Comfort Tyler are fled. many young men who were on their march to join them have returned.

The intelligence respecting these matters you probably get before we do, being nearer the scene of action. The mails from the southward and westward arrive very irregularly if at all, especially from Orleans. That which is expected this evening (the stated time of its arrival) goes out so quickly there will be no time to answer any letter which may be conveyed to me by it.

There is a rumor here that a foreign power is to make an attack on Orleans by sea, I scarcely believe it. General Wilkinson is there, his army following him by the last accounts. The President confides in his fidelity. . . .

TO THOMAS STUART.¹

HERMITAGE January 2, 1807

Sir: Inclosed I send you a letter from the Secretary of War; of date the 19th ult. for your perusal, and wish your opinion on the following points;

1st. whether, without proof, I would be authorized under the proclamation of the President and the enclosed letter, to order out a sufficient number of troops to search the Ohio for armed boats and men, and if found to detain them until an investigation could be had of their intentions, and destination.

2nd. Whether I would not be authorized under existing circumstances to hire an express to go to the mouth of Cumberland and Tennessee to bring the necessary information with respect to the assemblage of armed forces and boats on the Ohio. 3rd If such a force is assembled and has proceeded on to Natchez or New Orleans, would the enclosed, taken into view with the Presidents proclamation, authorize me to march

¹The original was found in the possession of the late Mrs. Rachel J. Lawrence, daughter of Jackson's adopted son. Thomas Stuart was the federal attorney for the district of West Tenn.

such force as is in a state of preparation through by land to intercept them. Health and respect.

ANDREW JACKSON

TO JAMES WINCHESTER.¹

Division orders.

HERMITAGE, January 2, 1807

Sir, From circumstances made known to me, by letter from the Secretary at War dated the 19th. Ulto. handed to me last evening by express as well as from circumstances numerated in the proclamation of the President of the United States of the 1st. Ulto; make it necessary that the militia that I have the honor to command should be in complete readiness to march all volunteer companies of mounted infantry in your brigade at a moments warning after the rect. of my orders for that purpose. You will also have in readiness your full companies of Mounted Infantry to march On the fifth instant with provisions for 20 days and 15 rounds of powder and ball. All volunteer companies will be held in readiness to march whenever the emergency of our country require it, and my orders are given to that effect. You will make known to me without delay the exact number of volunteer companies ready to march in yr brigade, and if these should not be yr. sufficient quota of volunteers you will immediately make up such deficiency by draft and hold them in readiness to march at a moments warning. You will also make known to me the precise situation and state of the brigade under yr. command the soonest possible.

I am with considerations of the highest respect and Esteem yr friend

TO DANIEL BISSELL.¹

January 2, 1807.

Sir. Sundry reports which has reach'd me, state that there are a number of arm'd men with Boats loaded with arms and amunition; assembled on the Ohio at or near the mouth of Cumberland, with intentions hostile to the peace and interest of the United States. I have no doubt but you have received the Presidents proclamation, and orders from the Secretary of War, to interrupt and bring to Justice all men engag'd in any enterprise contrary [to] the Laws or orders of our Government. If these you have not received, should it come to your knowledge, that there is an assemblage of men and Boats, who have illegal enterprises in view, It is expected that you will exhort your force to take and bring to Justice all such. You will also be good enough to give me information of and concerning such assemblage of armed men and Boats, loaded with warlike stores, their number an[d] point of rendezvouz And dispatch the bearer back without delay, which [i. e., with] such information as you may have in your power to communicate.

With due regard I am Yr. Mo. ob. serv

¹ At the time brigadier-general of Tennessee Militia.

¹ Copy. War Dept. files. Inclosed in Jackson to Secretary Dearborn, Jan. 4, 1807, A copy is in Parton's *Jackson*, I. 323. Captain Bissell commanded at Fort Massac at the mouth of the Cumberland River.

TO JOHN MORRELL.

HERMITAGE, January 2, 1807

you will proceed without delay to the mouth of Cumberland, by the route of Springfield, at Springfield deliver the letter addressed to Genl Thomas Johnston to Colo. Cheaton, with a request, that he without delay hand it to the Genl. Then proceed on to the mouth of Cumberland, If there are an assemblage of Boats there, make your observations, with respect to the number of men how armed, and if any, what quantity of military stores on board, and as you make the observations commit them to writing. Should there be no Boats, at the mouth, proceed on to Fort Massac, and if there are an assemblage of Boats there make the same observations as above. If Boats have been there, and have departed deliver the letter to Capt Bissle, receive his answer and information and return without delay, and report your observations to me. Despatch is necessary and it is expected, you will with all possible speed return after performing the duty. I am Sir with due respect

DANIEL SMITH TO JACKSON.

WASHINGTON, January 3, 1807.

Dear Sir, By your letter of the 1st of last month it appears your mind is in suspense with respect to Mr. Burr's objects and intentions. No doubt is entertained here that his designs are hostile to the peace of the United States. But in general this is to be inferred from a number of facts and circumstances all pointing that way rather than any positive and direct testimony.

He wrote to Mr. Clay his Attorney in the Court of Kentucky where he was indicted. Mr. Clay is now a Senator at this place in the room of Mr. Adair. I have seen this letter. In it he says he does not own a single boat musket or bayonette and that the executive of the U. S. are acquainted with his object and view it with complaisance. The executive say they never were made acquainted with his object. Of course no reliance is to be placed in his protestations, and of course you ought not to let your first faith be shaken.

I am Dear Sir Your obedt. Servt.

TO HENRY DEARBORN.¹

HERMITAGE, January 4, 1807

Dear Sir. This will be handed you by Mr Hopkins, who is the bearer of Dispatches from Governor Claiborne, to the Secretary of State, in order to expedite his Journey I have furnished him, with a horse.

Mr Hopkins was the bearer of a letter from Governor Claiborne to me in answer to my letter to him mentioned to you in my last, and I am happy to find, that it has had with the governor the effects intended by it. I hope a full disclosure of the traitorous designs against our government will be fully developed. I dispatched a messenger on the 2nd. to the mouth

¹ War Dept. files. Dearborn was Secretary of War Mar. 5, 1801–Mar. 7, 1809.

of cumberland and to Massac. from some hints I am fearfull that the influence of the Genl has extended itself to that Post, and no aid to the government is to be expected there—this is merely a hint, as I hold it sacred to the reputation of every man that he never ought to be censured without proof but still hints under existing circumstances is sufficient to put people on their guard, and my instructions to the messenger is to be guarded—as soon as I am advised of the situation and strenth I shall be in motion. From looking into your letter of the 19th I am sorry to find that the orders are not more explicit. I am sorry to find that the individuals are not named. the proof within your hands as stated to me, and which I was advised of by Doctor Dixon letter of the 15th. would certainly have authorised it. Should they be moved on from the mouth of cumberland, there is a doubt whether I am authorised to persue both by water and land to prevent the project.

I have given orders to have the militia ready. 12 companies will be ready to act the 8th. if circumstances should require it, and should the real numbers be as stated, viz. at 1,000 I shall conclude from your letter, and the situation of the country below that your meaning and intention was that I should with my force immediately proceed, to the spot where a certain check can be put to the enterprise. I have men but where is the supplies, where the magazine store or the Bayonets to storm a fortress, and It is doubfull from your letter whether I am authorised, to have the necessary means laid in for the use of the men necessary to carry into effect your order and wishes, however rest assured that nothing on my part shall be wanting to promote the interest of the government, and quell the conspiracy, resting confident that government will sanction my conduct and discharge all necessary expence. as soon as the messenger returns I will be ready to act, in case they are in the ohio—four Bo[ats] belonging to merchants I have conditionally [seiz]ed in case of emergency—amunition is verry scarce here, and I expect the lead at the mines near illinoise is secured by the conspirators. I shall await with impatience for your orders and instructions how these supplies is to be furnished, and what number of men is expected for me to march and to what point unless as before stated I should find from the report of the messenger that they are in force superior to our strength below, in that case I shall send on a sufficient force to check them if the necessary supplies can be had. Mr Hopkins waits for this letter I have neither time to correct or to coopy it. Health and respect.

TO PATTEN ANDERSON.¹

HERMITAGE, January 4, 1807

[*Dear sir:*] I received your note: its contents duly observed. The receipts as directed I have retained. The negro girl named, if likely, at a fair price, I will receive.

I have received some communications from the President and the Secretary of War; and your presence is required at my house tomorrow

¹ Parton's *Jackson*, I. 328.

evening, or early Monday morning, to consult on means and measures, and to determine the latitude of the authority. It is the merest old-woman letter from the Secretary that you ever saw. Your presence on Sunday evening will be expected, and your presence on Monday morning at nine o'clock can not be dispensed with; you must attend. I have sent an express to the mouth of the Cumberland and to Massac to see and hear and make observations. I have wrote to Captain Bissle; but from information received at the moment the messenger was starting gives me reason to believe that Bissle is the host of Aaron Burr.

Wilkinson has denounced Burr as a traitor, after he found that he was implicated. This is deep policy. He has obtained thereby the command of New Orleans, the gun boats armed; and his plan can now be executed without resistance. But we must be there in due time, before fortifications can be erected and restore to our government New Orleans and the western commerce. You must attend. Give to those officers that you see assurances that all volunteer companies will be gratefully accepted of. We must have thirty, thirty-five or forty companies into the field in fifteen or twenty days; ten or twelve in four. I have it from the President, I have it from Dixon, that all volunteers will be gratefully accepted. Tomorrow night Winchester will be with me; I wish you there. The Secretary of War is not fit for a granny. I fear John Randolph's ideas were too correct; but dubious as he has wrote, there are sufficient authority to act. Act I will, and by the next mail I will give him a letter that will instruct him in his duty, and convince him that I know mine.² If convenient, bring the girl with you; and health and respect.

[P. S.] Compliments to Mrs. Anderson. I must tell you that Bonaparte has destroyed the Prussian army. We ought to have a little of the emperor's energy.

TO THE OFFICERS OF THE SECOND DIVISION.¹

HERMITAGE, January 5, 1807

you are required, to have the men directed to be furnished by my order of 2nd instant Rendezvous and mustered into service, on the 8. 9th. and 10 Instant—Those from the 4th Brigade at Gallatine those from the 5th. Brigade at Nashville and those from the 6th. at Springfield, and in case marching orders are not Issued, as soon as they men are mustered, you will direct them to retire to their respective homes, to be ready to march at a moments warning. I have appointed Capt James Deshea muster master, and command all officers and soldiers to respect and obey him as such.

² This sentence evidently refers to Dearborn, secretary of war, to whom Jackson wrote on the same day he wrote this letter. In that letter he expressed himself with restraint. It was in a letter written Mar. 17, 1807 (*post*), that he spoke his personal opinion of the secretary.

¹ The second militia division in all of what was then known as West Tennessee. Jackson was in command with the rank of major-general.

DANIEL BISSELL TO JACKSON.¹

FORT MASSAC, January 5, 1807

Dear sir: This day, January 5th, per express, I had the honor to receive your very interesting letter of the 2d inst., and shall pay due respect to its contents; as yet, I have not received the President's proclamation alluded to, nor have I received any orders from the Department of War relative to the subject-matter of your letter. There has not, to my knowledge, been any assembling of men or boats at this, or any other place unauthorized by law or presidency, but should any thing of the kind make its appearance which carries with it the least mark of suspicion as having illegal enterprises or projects in view hostile to the peace and good order of the government, I shall, with as much ardor and energy as the case will admit, endeavor to bring to justice all such offenders. For more than two weeks past I have made it a point to make myself acquainted with the loading and situation of all boats descending the river; as yet, there has nothing the least alarming appeared. On or about the 31st ult., Colonel Burr, late Vice President of the United States, passed this with about ten boats, of different descriptions, navigated with about six men each, having nothing on board that would even suffer a conjecture more than a man bound to a market; he has descended the rivers towards Orleans. Should any thing to my knowledge transpire interesting to the government I will give the most early notice in my power. . . .

JAMES WINCHESTER TO JACKSON

CRAGFONT, January 6, 1807.

Dear Genl. Mr. James Cage has just arrived from the mouth of Cumberland. He was there yesterday was a week past, and made particular enquiry concerning Col. Burr etc. Was informed that he left that place the day before with Eleven Boats and between 110 and 120 men, this information Mr. Cage got from a Mr. Wood a Gentleman of observation and information of that place. Thus 100 Boats is reduced to Eleven. I shall notwithstanding go on to raise the Volunteers as orderd. Because if Wilkison is a Trator they will still be wanting at Orleans.

Yesterday evening at Gallatin I found Mr. Hopkins the courier of the Orleans dispatches. I sent for him and in Strong terms reprobated his delay. He replied he was waiting for a Servant he was about to hire, that he thought it necessary to protect him etc. I spurnd the Idea of an express delaying for a Servant etc. He seemd hurt and said he would Start this morning before day, but did not relinquish the Idea of a Servant. I thought he was a little intoxicated but I might be mistaken. I wish,d to bring him home with me but cannot prevail on him to come.

Health and fraternity.

¹ From Parton's *Jackson*, I. 323.

TO HENRY DEARBORN.¹

HERMITAGE, January 8, 1807.

Sir. I advised you on the 4th inst by the express from Neworleans, that on the 2nd. I had dispatched, a confidential messenger to the mouth of Cumberland with special direction to make the observations contained in my order. If an assemblage of Boats had been there and passed down the river, to proceed to Massac, deliver my letter to Capt Bissle, make the necessary enquiries, receive Capt Bissles answer and return without delay. From my instruction to Mr Morrell, the messenger, my letter to Capt Bissle, the messengers report, and Capt Bissles answer to me copies of which are herewith enclosed and marked No. 1, 2, 3, and 4, you will discover how this duty has been performed—from the information recd have ordered the Volunteer companies that were ordered and ready to march on this service, to return home, and hold themselves ready to march at a minutes warning. I was induced to Issue this order, from information derived from Neworleans, from Mr Hopkins, express from Governor Claiborne, under an idea that they might be wanted at a short day, and if not wanted, it would keep up a spirit of discipline much wanted amongst our militia. I shall draw on you for the expense occasioned by the express to Massac, and have no doubt but it will be paid.

The first duty of a soldier or good citizen is to attend to the safety and interest of his country, The next to attend to his own feelings wherever they are rudely or wantonly assailed. The Tenor of your letter is such and the insinuations so grating—The ideas and tenor so unmilitary, stories alluded to, and intimations, of a conduct, to stoop, from the character of a general to a smiling *assassin* (*These hereafter*) I will sir inclose you, the copy of a letter from Govr. Claiborne, that will shew you I never depart, from a true sense of duty to my country, wherever I am even suspicious of its injury.

Health and respect.

TO W. C. C. CLAIBORNE.

NASHVILLE, January 8, 1807

Dear friend, On Sunday last I recd, your friendly letter by Mr Hopkins, bearer of Dispatches to the Secretary of State, of the United States, of date the 5th of December last acknowledging the receipt of mine of the 12th. of November—and from the denunciation made by Genl Wilkeson of Colo. Burr as published in the Orleans Gazette of Decbr. 11th. I find that my suspicions and friendly warning, was in due time and not without foundation. Mr. Hopkins produced to me your passport, stating him to be the bearer of dispatches to the Secretary of State, and named to me he wanted a horse, which I immediately furnished on the faith of your passport, and the idea of the exigency of the case, and he progressed immediately, but from information of his conduct, recd. before he reached me and of his conduct after he left me, I have strong suspicions, that he is tainted; as to his conduct after he left me, I refer you to Genl J. Winchester letter a copy of which is inclosed marked No 1.

¹ Copy. War Dept. files. A copy is in the Jackson MSS.

We have been in a bustle here for some days owing to information recd. from the war department,¹ and his letter to me of the 19th, ult I cannot call it an order. It is of a doubtfull hue, a milk and cider thing, displays a want of firmness that renders him unfit, for the office he holds or even first scullion in a cook shop, but I knew my duty, and the appearance of our country required action. I ordered out 12 companies of the militia, Despatched a messenger to fort Massac, to be informed, of the truth of a report, that was currently circulated, that colo Burr, was assembled at the mouth of Cumberland with 100 Boats and 1000 armed men. the express has just returned, and for the result of the enquiry I refer you to a copy of Capt Bissle letter to me and Mr Morrell report, who was the mes-

¹ The feeling towards Burr is shown in the following letters to Gen. Daniel Smith. Gen. James Robertson wrote, Feb. 2, 1807, from Nashville: "We are all quiet at present, but there was an uncommon bustle for several weekes after the Presidents proclimation appeared here, and if it had reached this place before Burrs departure he would have been arrested, notwithstanding his acquital in Kentuckey. You know before the exposition of his [schemes] he was held in high esteem by the citizens of this place, on account of the exertions he made in the Senate of the United States at the time of our admission as an independant State into the union. But when the proclimation appeared the general cry was let us to a man go in a mass to surress such base projects, and bring Burr and his adherents to the bar of justice, and I believe it would not have been difficult to have raised a thousand volunteers to have gone to Natchez, or New Orleans from west Tennessee. Burr as I understand, at his leaving Nashville with two boats still insisted that his intention was to settle in lower Louisanna, and that he was taking provisions to furnish his son in law, and thre that would go with him from South Carolina. We are informed that Burr is now in custody at Natchez; I am lead to believe that if there was a plan to divide our government or do any other thing inimical to the United States, that it will be of service in future, as the project is so timely detected. I think it may more thourily sement every part of the union, and keep it out of the power of any person or persons to effect such attempts again. I have been in a number of assemblies since the plan seemes to be understood; and the general voice is *death* to him or them that shall attempt to disunite the best government [in the world]. I have no doubt and I think I may venture to say, are as much attached to the constitution and government of the United States as any in it, and I believe would go as fare to protect its laws. I am Sir with sentiments of esteem"

Jan. 16, 1807, William Martin wrote from Belle View:

"With us, it is all noise and bussle. the Huincry, is raised after Col Burr, and party. which now presents a more serious aspect than heretofore. He Burr, left the mouth of Cumberland, twenty days ago. Accounts vary as risp's his strength, the highest of which is 160 men with 12 or 15 boats of different discriptions—the object of his enterprise (I presume) you are better acquainted with, than we can be here. the understanding here is, that they are to act against Neworleans, where he is to be Joined by Wilkason, and the federal troops there, together, with a detachment from New-York, which is to act by water. with those Auxiliaries, no devination is required to predict the fate of that place, from whence in concert with some of the Spanish Chiefs, an attempt is to be made on New Mexico, and form a Grand empire of that and the U. States. Is this not a hint of Miranda's Chain. the public mind here is much agitated on this Occasion, we have 100 Volunteers, in the Neighborhood of Dixons Spring, which are now waiting for marching orders, beside a Great many more in other parts of the County—why Government did not take earlier measures to counteract this abominable Conspiracy, is what I cant account for. We have been lying on our arms, in a state of perpetual alarm, for a considerable length of time past, waiting for the word go, without knowing what we shall have to do. I am much alarmed on account of those delays. If Burr is not arrested on the Mississippi, which I think is not probable he will be able to put his project into full operation, before we could be brought to act against him. for my own part I expect that this is a deep laid, and far fetched plan, and in which there are many concerned, of whom we have as yet had no suspicions. I hear that many of our watchmen have deserted their posts. If so, the more vigilance is requ[i]red of the rest. . . . I wish you health and happiness

"PS Much has been said in the public prints, resping Burrs influence in the Western Country but if he has any adherents here, they dare not let it be known."

senger, on which I have ordered that the militia return to their respective homes, and be ready to march at a minutes warning. Colo. Burr left Nashville on the 22nd. with two Boats, six horses and a cow and two families consisting of one man and three woman, with Eight oarsmen, six of which returned from the mouth of cumberland.

From the information, on which my letter to you was written, altho it was asked by me whether Colo Burr was knowing to the plans and answered in the negative, still my suspicions were such that I first wrote to him on the subject and obtained an express pledge of honour that he never had any ideas hostile to the union or its interest, and that he had the authority of the united States, for any thing or project he had in view, after the grand Jury had not only acquitted him in the District of Kentucky, but passed an encomium on his views, he returned here, and thus shielded from suspicion still was entitled to respect, under these circumstances, he obtained Stockely Hays to accompany him with the consent of the Colo, under great promises of friendship, and solemn pledges of no intentions hostile or inimical to the united States. My letter by Stockly, you will receive, and I must confess, I was not clear or free from suspicion, and directed Stockly when he reached Orleans, to be subject to your advice and if he saw any act or things that wore hostility to our government and laws, to burst the chains of friendship and flee to the standard of his country. This he has pledged himself to do. Since he left me from Doctor Dixsons letter I have reasons to believe that Testimony was filed before the 15th. December, of his hostile designs against our government. Still the Secretary at wars nerves is so weak or his attachment so strong to his friend the Genl, that his modesty is such he cannot give names, but wishes to throw the responsibility off his Shoulders on those of Other individuals. O my friend you have a right to know my attachment to Republicanism, to the present administration, but as to the war department, I am obliged to exclaim *o Tempora, o moris*. you I believe do know My attachment to my country, but still I fear we want nerve, to purge the body politic of Treason and conspiracy. I shall write you more fully when I have leisure, should Stockly reach you keep him with you untill he can return, to his country and friends. I wish you to write me relative to Mr Hopkins, he stated to me, that he was bearer of the Political death warrent of the Genls. military existan[ce].

you my Dear Sir must be on the lookout, you must have confidence but in few, but apparent confidence in all. There is Genl Adair that is gone to your country, on some business, whether of a public or private nature I know not but one thing is generally believed that Wilkeson with several others, will feel themselves in desperate situations and make use of Desperate means, to procure a country and a home, and I am clearly of opinion that a seperation of the union is the first object. If in this thing they should be disappointed, I know not neither can I conjecture what the[y] will attempt.

But my friend the patriotism of my Division has amply displayed, itself. figure to yourself, Genl Robertson at the head of a volunteer company, composed of old patriots over fifty, such as Genl Overton Major Howel

Tatom, Major Clem Hall, George Ridley etc., etc., etc., rendering their services to their Genl and country—what sensations must this inspire is more easily conjectured than expressed. Should danger threaten you, write me, and under your notification, on the wings of patriotism I will hasten to the point of danger, to support the union of our country the prop of freedom, with the arm of vengeance that shall burst on treason and on treasons head if it be found, and on Spanish insolence and pride, should the constituted Authority order it. Excuse the haste in which this letter is written and accept assurances of a continuation of friendship.

JOHN MORRELL TO JACKSON.¹

NASHVILLE, January 8, 1807.

Sir, I received your instructions dated the 2d inst. and agreeably thereto, I delivered your letter addressed to gen. Thomas Johnston, to col. Cheatham, and it was forwarded to him immediately. I arrived at Centerville on the 4th instant heard a report that col. Burr had gone down the river with one thousand armed men. I arrived at the mouth of Cumberland river that evening, and made enquiry concerning col. Burr, and was informed that he had left that place on the 28th of December 1806, with ten boats of different descriptions, had sixty men on board, but no appearance of arms. I left there the 9th instant and arrived at Fort Massac that evening, delivered your letter to captain Bissell, and received his answer, made some enquiry of him, and was informed that col. Burr had left that place on the 30th December, with ten boats. He likewise informed me, that he had been on the boats, and seen no appearance of arms or ammunition. On my return to the mouth of Cumberland, I was informed that three boats had been stopped at Louisville, with a quantity of ammunition. there is about fifty men stationed at the mouth of Cumberland, under the command of col. Ramsey.

I remain with the highest esteem,

Yours very truly, etc.

TO DANIEL BISSELL.

NASHVILLE January 9th 1807

Sir, On last evening pr return of the express, I recd. your very interesting letter in answer to mine of the 2nd. and for your promptness, in the fulfilment of my request, receive my thanks.

The publick mind has been much excited from numerous reports, in circulation, that I am happy to find are without foundation. These have reached the ear of government, and has induced a belief, that the western country is not attached to the union. This is a slander without foundation, and I have no doubt circulated by designing charectors, but I can say with truth we are firmly attached to our government and the union, there is but one voice—*united we stand, divided we fall*. This will be handed to you by Doctors Claiborne and Bedford on their way to Neworleans,

¹ *Impartial Review*, Jan. 17, 1807.

Gentlemen of responsibility and information and to whom I refer you for the current news. Will you altho' unacquainted permit me to recommend those Gentlemen to your polite attention.

I am Sir with due respect yr mo. ob. serv.

TO GEORGE W. CAMPBELL.¹

January 15, 1807.

(Confidential)

The late denunciation of Aron Burr as a traitor has excited great surprise and general indignation against Burr. still from the opinion possessed of the accuser many there are who wait for the proof, before they will pronounce him guilty of the charge, one thing is generally believed, that if Burr is guilty, Wilkeson has participated in the treason. The public mind has been much agitated from various reports, of Burr having been met at the mouth of Cumberland River with 100, boats and 1,000 armed men, and it was toled as a fact that the Capt. at Massac and all the men were going with him, subsequent reports stated they had gone, an express which I started on the receipt of the S. of Wars letter of the [19th ult.]² has returned, and state that Burr left Massac on 30th ulto, in company ten boats, six men on board of each, without arms or any thing that can afford suspicion, and that Capt Bissel has been doing his duty as a vigilant officer.

I had ordered out 12 companies of vollunteers on the receipt of the S. W, letter to check the adventurers which on return of express I dismissed. I shall send you on a coopy of the S. W. letter to me by next mail with the remarks I intend making on it. It is couched in such offensive terms, that shews he is unfit to discharge the duties of his station, and that he is devoid of all knowledge on perilous occasions that ought compose the genl or commander. I hope I know my duty as a soldier and the first duty of a good citizen, when danger threatens to attend to the safety of his country. This being done I will pay my respects to the Secratary of War and duly note his letter, which I will inclose you by next mail and which I hope as a brother and a friend you will give that publicity to that I may direct.

¹ In 1828 Jackson's political opponents charged him with complicity with Burr. In defending him his friends published this letter in *U. S. Telegraph, Extra*, Oct. 11, 1828, with the following note by Campbell, then a member of Congress. "It is hereby certified that the original letter here referred to, was submitted to Mr. Jefferson, then President of the United States, immediately after it was received, from which, after perusing it, he desired permission to copy such parts as related to the affair of Burr, being the same contained in the foregoing extracts, which was freely given, and when the letter was returned to the undersigned, he understood from Mr. Jefferson he had taken a copy as he proposed doing; and those parts of which the foregoing is a copy, being all that related to said affair, were underscored while in his possession. April 23, 1828".

Campbell, in preparing the letter for the press, omitted much of it as irrelevant, and altered some of the expressions, probably because they seemed too harsh. The original is in the Susan P. Brown collection, and a copy has been furnished to the editor by Dr. Lucius P. Brown, of Franklin, Tenn. Parton, who reproduced the letter from the original (*Jackson*, I. 330), made some unaccountable textual changes. The letter was reprinted from the *Telegraph* in 1829 in various newspapers.

² Mutilated.

Will you permit me to bring to your view a subject that has been made known to me as a brother.³ I mean the dispute that is likely to arise between you and Genl Robertson respecting a peace of land. This dispute I would advise to be left to two or three Brothers to decide. Should it get into court, it will be expensive, create passions that never ought to exist between brothers, and I have no doubt, the dispute can be as well ended, and Justice be as much attained, by the verdict of three brethern as any other way. The land to Genl Robertson is a great thing, he has sold it, and made a general warrentee, and this he states I think before he knew of your claim. he also states that Genl Armstrong is willing to return you your money with interest on your relinquishing to Genl Robertson your claim to this tract; and there is five thousand acres on Elk that can be had to satisfy the ballance of the Judgt. I hope Sir you will view these observations as from the heart of a friend who wishes you both equally well, and who does not wish to see you in law, unless when the rules laid down by which we are united, cannot attain that Justice that each individual is entitled to. I have never heard from others how the right has been derived, neither do I know how Justice will decide but as the thing is between two brothers, and two that I highly esteem, and who I do know highly esteemed each other, I would be truly sorry to see any thing arise that would create a bitterness, and if you go to law I know it will have this effect, and have others also that would be painfull to me as a friend of both to see. The Genl appears much hurt at you making the purchase, after you knew that he had purchased, from which, I am fearfull unless it is settled by two brothers or three, that it will lead to statements that may do neither of you any benefit. for these reason I have told him, as I now tell you, the proper way will be to leave it to three brethern, such you can find legal charactors. This he states he is willing to do—and I hope it will meet your wishes.

I have no doubt but from the pains that have been taken to circulate reports, it will be rumored, that I am on full march to unite with Burr. This I know you never will believe untill you hear it from myself, or from such a source that you know cannot eer. should you ever hear that I am embarked in a cause inimical to my country believe it not. should you hear, that treasonable intentions have come to my knowledge, and that I have been silent, believe them not—or that I would not put any man out of existence, that would name such a thing to me, without on the ground of discovering it to the proper authorities, believe them not—and if Burr has any treasonable intentions in view he is the bases of all human beings. I will tell you why. he always held out the idea of settling Washita unless a war with Spain. in that event, he held out the idea, that from his intimacy with the S. of War, he would obtain an appointment, and if he did he would revolutionise Mexico. About the 10th of Novbr. Capt Fort called at my house and after a stay of a night and part of a day introduced the subject of the adventurers, and in part stated, that there intention was to divide the union. I sternly asked how they would effect it. he replied by seizing (New Orleans) and the bank, shutting the

³ Jackson and Campbell were Masons.

port, conquering Mexico, and uniting the western part of the union to the conquered country. I perhaps with warmth asked him how this was to be effected, he replied by the aid of the Federal troops, and the Genl at their head. I asked, if he had this from the Genl, he said he had not. I asked him if Col. Burr was in the scheme he answered he did not know nor was he informed that he was, that he barely knew Col. Burr, but never had had any conversation. I asked him how he knew this and from whence he got his information he said from Col. Swartwout⁴ in New York. knowing that Co. Burr was well acquainted with Swartwout it rushed into my mind like lightning that Burr was at the head, and from the coulourings he had held out to me Genl Robertson and Overton, and the hospitality I had shown him, I viewed it as base conduct to us all and lightened the baseness of his intended crimes if he really was about to become a traitor. I sat down I wrote to Genl Smith and Doctor Dixson. I wrote to Gov. Claiborne to put his citidal in a state of defense, without naming names except Genl Wilkeson. when this was done I wrote Col. Burr in strong tones my suspicions of him, and untill the were cleared from my mind no further intimacy was to exist between us. I made my suspicions known to Genl Robertson and Tatum with some others. not long I recd his answer, with the most sacred pledges, that he had not nor never had any views inimical or hostile to the united States, and whenever he was charged with the intention of seperating the union, the idea of insanity must be ascribed to him. after his acquittal in Kentuckey he returned to this country, and to all that named the subject made the same pledges, and said that he had no objects in view but was sanctioned by legal authority, and still said that, when necessary he would produce the Secretary of Wars orders, that he wanted but young men of *habits* to go with him. with such he wanted to make his settlement and it would have a tendency to draw to it wealth and charector. Wealth and charector. for these reasons—from the pledges made, if he is a traitor he is the basest that ever did commit treason—and being tore to pieces and scattered with the four winds of heaven would be too good for him but we will leave him for time and evidence, to verify his hue. I have given you the outlines, and a few weeks will give the proof.

I have no doubt tired your patience, but I must tresspass a little farther—and request your attention to a little private business—some posts ago I wrote to Judge Anderson to send me on a Deed for 640 acres land and inclosed the courses. by same mail I wrote Doctor Dixson and inclosed him also a coopy of the courses, I am fearfull these letters have not went to hand, for which reason I take the liberty of sending you the courses, and request that you will obtain a Deed from Judge Anderson and send it on to me. I have sold the land and the Deed was to have been made the first of this month, thus I wrote the Judge, and I know if he had recd the letter he hastens it on, and it has been lost on the way. My Dr. Sr your attention to this business will confer a lasting obligation. present my complements to Macon Blount and any others that may enquire after

⁴ Swartwout. This name and that of "Capt. Fort," above, have been crossed out in the original, probably by Campbell when he prepared the letter for printing in 1828. Nothing more has been learned about "Capt. Fort."

me, with friendly wishes for your welfare and happiness believe me to be with high esteem yrs

P. S. this letter for your own eye.

GEORGE W. CAMPBELL TO JACKSON.

WASHINGTON, February 6, 1807.

Dear Sir, Your very much esteemed favour of the 15th. Ult. was recd. by last mail. Its contents have been perused and particularly attended to. The development from time to time of Burr's treasonable project, excited much agitation in the public mind here, since the commencement of the Session. But many of those who knew Burr, were not so much surprised at the *turpitude* or *blackness*, of heart, evidenced by the treasonable project, as they were at the extravagance of it, and the extreme improbability of its being attended with any success. Many persons, (of whom I was one) believed B. capable of committing any crime, however *base* and *detestable*, that can be conceived of by human nature, to aggrandize himself, they believed his heart a composition of *base turpitude*, without a single *atom* of virtue or principle, except personal ambition, and this imbittered by chagrine and disappointment, but they thought he possessed some talents that would have prevented him from making himself the *scoff* and *ridicule* of mankind, by attempting a *mad, extravagant project*, without the probable means of carrying it into effect. This it was that induced a number of the best informed to doubt for some time the reality of that part of his scheme, that contemplated a separation of the western States from the Union. But his views are now ascertained beyond a reasonable doubt. You have seen a developement of them before this time, inclosed in my last to you, which will satisfy your mind on this subject. With regard to the suspicions you notice of your joining Burr etc. being in circulation here. It is true such suspicions were rumoured, for a short time, but the belief of them was confined to such only as did not know you, and who did not inquire of those who did know you in order to be informed on this subject. Shortly after my arrival at the City and previous to my first letter to you, I conversed with the President on the subject, he had heard of the suspicions alluded to, he declared his intire disbelief in them and his unshaken and unlimited [c]onfidence in your integrity, and on his mentioning the matter to me, my answer was, that I would as soon suspect myself to be guilty of taking such a part, as I would you, that the thing was incredible, impossible. I saw him, and conversed with him frequently on the subject, since, and his declarations of confidence were uniformly the same, and his convictions of your integrity appeared as strong as mine, or, even *your own* could be. We were at the same time apprehensive that Burr would find means, to lull you into security until you should receive the dispatches from Government, and that he had probably found means to corrupt some post-officer, which might prevent the dispatches being recd. by you in time. For these reasons with others which shall be stated I am strongly induced to believe, and indeed I may say, I am convinced, you have understood the orders of the Secty of war, differently from what he intended you should understand

them, or that you gave a meaning to the latter observations, he made in them, which he did not intend to communicate. Since receiving your last (of the 15, ulto.) I called on the President, the conversation turned on the affair of Burr, and he mentioned that he understood, (I presume from the s. of war) that you had taken offence at, or felt yourself injured, by, the manner in which the orders of the S. were written. The Pr. said he had seen the letter, that he could not discover in it, any cause of offence, that the orders were written in direct and posi[ti]ve language, but that this was the usual and formal mode of issuing orders by the Secy. but he added that it was impossible that any improper insinuation or suspicion could have been intended by the S. because he (the P.) had the highest confidence in you which was known to the S., and that on this acct. as well as for the sake of dispatch etc. the orders were directed immediately to you without being transmitted through the executive of the State, who recd. dispatches at the same time. I immediately called on the Se.ty of war, and he mentioned the subject to me himself, stating his surprise at some expressions in one of your letters, which shewed that you were dissatisfied at the terms of his orders. He then stated in substance the words of his orders, and added the observations he subjoined thereto, relative to the report of your intention to join Burr etc. and that if such suspicion was *afloat*, (not if there was any ground for such suspicion) you might be inabled to strike a more effectual blow, *or words to that effect*. He declared unequivocally, that you must have intirely mistaken his meaning. That so far from entertaining any doubt of your integrity, or any suspicion respecting it, his entire confidence in you induced him to send you, (to use his own words,) a *Blank sheet*, or genl. orders and powers to take such measures as you tho't best to check the conspirators, instead of specifying particular duties for you to perform, and that he added the observation respecting the report of your joining Burr on the same ground of entire confidence, and as he thought as a candid man he ought to do, that you might have the whole case, as report stated it here, before you, and act according to circumstances, not as you intimated to him, that you were to act the *smiling assassin*. no such idea was intended, because it was not believed that you had given any ground for the report of your being concerned with Burr, but that if such report was *afloat*, the conspirators might on that acct. be less on their guard, and thereby inable you to seiz or detect them, and certainly there could be no impropriety in this. You certainly were not bound to give them notice that you were about to arrest them. This statement in substance the S. of war made to me and authorised me to inform you thereof in case I wrote to you, which I promised him I would do. From the whole of this business that has come to my knowledge, I cannot believe the Sec.ty meant any thing in his orders different from what is above stated, but whatever may have been his meaning, his explanations of his own *orders* or *letter*, I presume, in such a case as this, ought to be taken as compleatly satisfactory on that point. Hence I conclude at present you appear to have reasonable grounds to be satisfied, and perhaps in reality the S. of war, may have some reason to consider himself the most injured of the two. This, however, I presum will satisfy you until I see you. . . .

SAMUEL JACKSON TO JACKSON.

[n. p.] February 13, 1807.

Sir. I received your note and have to observe that I am willing to deliver the Negro Woman at the five hundred dollrs and will settle your Accot deduction first fifty dollrs which I do not own, but if I dont pay, Jas and Washington Jackson the fifty dollrs, then I will pay the Amot of your Accot out of the Negro Woman, and you Can have his when ever your Boat is ready. I would like to keep her as long as it was in your power to do without her, as we have but little help.¹ I am ready to deliver great part of the Cotton note to Colo Hays and am Sir

Yours respectfully

TO HENRY DEARBORN.

March 17, 1807

Sir, Since the mighty sound of internal war, and conspiracy has completely subsided, since I have made use of every measure in my power as a "*Genl of the militia to counter act and render abortive*" any plans hostile to the interest of the Union or to the peace and harmony of our country, and since then I have done these things from principle, from duty and from motives quite different from such as you were pleased to insinuate, (in your letter of the 19th. of December last¹) me capable of, I cannot longer smother the indignation excited, on the Occasion. It is a subject that shall have further explanation, and in the mean time, it is my determination that this correspondence be handed out to the world.

I will, in the first instance, take the liberty Sir of asking you, whether you did or did not, from this *Story in circulation*, believe me concerned, with any citizens of the U, States, in a *criminal attempt contrary to law, to carry on, a military expedition against the Government of Spain?* And if you did, was it your belief at the time you honored me with your address of the 19th. Dmr., that you could, by inviting me to the commission of a treacherous act utter such views and effect the purposes intended?

You say Sir that it is undustirously reported amongst the adventurers that they are to be joined at the mouth of cumberland by two regiments under the command of Gnl. Jackson. Such a *Story* might afford him an opportunity of giving an effectual check to the enterprise, if not too late. After I have given, the most deliber[ate] consideration to your expressions, then, in a degree, ambiguously made, I cannot draw from them any other conclution than this: that you believed me concerned in the con[s]piracy, that I was an fit subject to act the traitor of traitors, as others have done, and that it was only necessary for the Secretary at war of the United States, to buy me up without honour, money or price. Under these ideas and impressions of this subject, I shall view it and treat it, *for the present*, in my own stile and in such way as I am confident the

¹ This sentence seems to mean that the negro woman was to go on the boat.

¹ It is regrettable that this letter from Dearborn has not been preserved. No trace of it exists in the Jackson MSS., and no copy is found in the files of the War Department.

world will approbate. If Sir *stories* are to be attended to, recd. and acknowledged as evidence of a mans' innocence or guilt, you stand, convicted at the bar of justice, of the most notorious and criminal acts, of dishonor, dishonesty, want of candour and justice. Aside with *stories* and I am well satisfied in my own mind, that you are (altho yr. guilt is not so publickly known) more unprincipled and worthy of punishment, than the nine tenths of those who have suffered under Robespierre, Marat and Wilkinsons despotism. The late Colo. Thos. Butler of the U. States army, who had spent more years in the service of his country, than did the ever memorable Washington, under the combined influence and villanous treatment of yr. self and yr. much loved Genl. Win[1]kinson, died the death of persicution. But it was necessary, it was indispensably so, that Colo. Butler should by fair or foul means, be driven out of the army. He was a man of worth, of honest princeple and incorruptable hart, and consequently always in the way and in collision with his Superior officer, and so was Genl. Wayne equally obstructive. By committing murder on the object who would dare to be thus presumptive, there remained little or no difficulty to encounter. *Spanish associations*, conspiricies and treasonable purposes might then have their freeest exercise. Under the sanction and auspices of the government the Secretary at War and Genl. Wilkinson might from *stories or suspicion* arrest any citizen in it, make all civil authority subserviant to the military, suppress the liberty of the press, transport at pleasure, to Washington or Botney bay, every suspicious charecter in it and let such part of the constitution of the United States, as secures the benefit of the writ of *Habe. Corpus* pass for a mere blank. It is a well known fact that you have been uniformly the intimate friend and Supporter of Genl. Wilkinson, that you were partial and hypocritically mean to him in the Case of Colo. Butler, and in consequence of the part which I took in favor of the Colo. your spleen your hatred to me became settled and fixed. In the present instance, the first opportunity of gratifying yourself, was afforded and under the garb of official security and importance, you have sought yr. revenge. It has been not only *storied* in this part of the western country, but has been reported on the most respectable authority, that Colo. Burr and his adventures held your order as Secretary at War, purporting a furtherence and governmental support of the enterprise. A worthy and respectable member of congress wrote me on the 15th. of Dmr. last that complete and formal proof was then lodged against Colo. Burr in your office.² Why then Sir were you so modest on the 19th. day of the same month as to talk about *stories* as it respected myself, and others, whom you stiled *disappointed unprincipled, ambitious or misguided individuals*, and whose names you had not the manly firmness to give up? This kind of duplicity and temerity calculated alone to throw the responsibility that a government of Laws ought to take upon its own shoulders, upon those of an individual, is an additional proof of your original knowledge and privity of those unlawful designs. Those orders to me founded upon *stories* and purporting your

² No such letter is in the Jackson MSS.

wish, that I should descend from the command of my division and act the part of an deceptive assassin, as did all the rest of yr. orders (if they may be called) reach here immediately after Colo. Burrs departure. In this the design of fatality [?] was evidently marked. But let it be granted that such orders (pretty ones indeed for a military man to write) had been recd. before Colo. Burr descended the river, let me ask the world, if there was anything in them, that would have authorised his arrest? I presume they will readily say there was not. This then goes still further to prove your good wishes in the enterprise.

In as much as I have enemies as well as friends to encounter in this charge of conspiracy, I shall in justice to myself and my friends, whilst on this subject close it with a few general remarks.

It is Sir only *base* minds that are capable of recommending the commission of a base act. The government must indeed be tottering with its own imbecility when the principal supportors of it, shall be thus insulted, thus assailed by an officer of government, devoid of talents, integrity and altogether ignorant of the duties attached to his elevated station. The nominal dignity that the Secretary at war acquires at the first entrance upon the duties of his office, will always give to his assertions a degree of credit. I know what he has done is unworthy the character of a genl. or a man of honor. I care not, where, when nor how, he shall be met on this emergency. I am equally regardless of this [his (?)] own defence to the world. I know it cannot be predated on principles either tenable or true. I have no idea, that power shall or ought to secure any man, from the resentment, the punishment proper and such as the injury merits.

Colo Burr when in Tennessee was from time to time at my house, say about 12 days, in the course of said period nor at no other, did he ever utter to me one, single syllable of treasonable matter. He on the contrary stated in strong terms his love of country, and after his arrest in the State of Kentucky discounted³ largely on his uniform obedien[c]e to the Laws of his country and of his intention to continue such obedience. He was an old acquaintan[c]e and a gentleman that I highly respected and was by me treated as such. He purchased two boats from me and could have had ten more on the same terms and under the same impressions which I then entertained of him.⁴

It betrays great ignorance in the character of any man, who may suppose that two men can be found in the western country willing to form a seperation of the western from the atlantick States. The influence of no man or set of men in the united States at this time or any other previously, could ever have effected anything like this. I have Sir transmitted a copy of this letter to the president of the U. States, and the primary object in

³ Meaning descanted.

⁴ Jackson also indorsed for Burr as is shown by the notice of protest from John Wilkes, of New York, dated Jan. 29, 1807:

"Sir, I am desired to inform you, That a bill drawn by A. Burr on Jas. M. Ogden and accepted by him for Five hundred Dollars—endorsed by You was protested Yesterday, Evening, for non-payment, and that the Holder looks to you for payment of it."

so doing, is to ascertain through him whether yr. orders of the 19th. of Dmr. last was givn, with his knowledge or with his approbation.


I am yr etc.

TO HENRY DEARBORN.¹

HERMITAGE, [March 17, 1807 (?)]

Sir. Having from a love of country and Principles of duty smothered the indignation excited by your letter of the 19th. ultimo untill I could, bring into effect "every exertion in (my) power as a general of the militia to counteract, and render abortive," any plans in operation hostile to the interest of the union or the peace and harmony of our common country. This I have and ever will do, but not in the yankee stile of base duplicity, by smiling in the face of an enemy and plunging a dagger to his [heart] not by decending from the charector of a general and acting in the capacity of a base spy and disimulator, as recommended by you, which might well comport with the charector of a captain of a smuggling Boat, but ill comports with that dignified sentiments, that ought to pre-vade the mind of a Secretary of War, to a great and rising republick, whose principle pillers, is virtue candeur and truth. you say "it is industriou[s]ly reported amongst the adventurers, that they are to be joined at the mouth of cumberland by two regiments under the command of Genl Jackson. Such a story migh[t] afford (me) an opportunity of giving an effectual check to the enterprise if not too late." Such a sentence uttered by an officer of government, that he is not possessed of talents and abilities to fullfill the duties of his station, and if deliberately expressed, shews that he is too devoid of principle to be a prop to a rising republick, what Sir, to recommend a genl to descend from his command of a Division to that of a spie and deceitfull assasin. These are well noted by me, and laid up, in due time for your explanation, and account, but as you have stated reports of the adventurers you will permit me to name another that you in your official capacity is to aid the thing by giving orders as Secretary of War to march troops etc. etc. I have said by the adventurers, supposing that Aron Burr, and Genl Wilkison are amongst that number. from such a story as this Sir you if you had attended to your duty from the information, which is stated by Doctor Dixson (to me) to have been filed in your office on or before the 15th. ultimo had you named the adventurers and given authority to seize and apprehend them with their adherents might have put an effectual check to the plan. But in doing this you might have underwent the unpleasant sensations of denouncing your friend Wilkison, who you so effectual aided by your duplicity and cunning to send Colo. Butler out of the army and out of existance to open the channel for free and uncontrolled conspiracy and treason in the army, and to set a precedent, whenever your Genl became base enough to exercise the power that he might at the head

¹ This draft exists partly in Jackson's handwriting and partly in the handwriting of a clerk, probably Thomas Searcy. It has many alterations. It may be a rough draft for the letter, dated Mar. 17, 1807. It is reproduced here because it contains some statements not found in the other draft.

of his army endanger the existance of our government. for it was well known that the virtue and firmness of Butler was such that no conspiracy against our country ever could take place in the army whilst he remained second in command. but I see the bitter dregs of private spleen against me in your letter. I see that mean duplicity and yanky cunning, that always accompanies base minds. It is understood here that you were whilst Wilkison was at the city a mere satalight to him, it is also reported, that whilst Colo. Burr was at the city you and him were intimate and friendly. This might have been the case without any criminal views or intentions or even knowledge of criminal views, and if reports are to be attended to, you yourself if Colo. Burr is to be believed, if he is a man of truth, and honor, and engaged in any hostile views against the union or its peace and harmony, he has stated that your orders would always be produced, to authorise his movements. this I have from the mouth of a respectable citizens. my own ears can Testify, the same, and this too when charged with my suspicions, of being engaged in the enterprise of seperating the union and your beloved genl, at the head of the army to carry this into effect. You as a military charector stand bound to me, either to explain or give satisfaction. this you must calculate on. No Robes of power shall screen an individual from that Just resentment and punishment that such insults merit. I wonder not, that your Government is falling to peaces, when every supporter of republican principle, the laws of the country and the peace of the union is thus insulted, and assailed. who is [it] Sir that has saved Neworleans from destruction and devastation, if it is saved. read Governor claiborns letter a coopy of which is enclosed will mature your Judgt. You cannot ascribe it to any exertion of Government, when you had the proofs on the 15th. and was afraid to announce on the 19th. the names of the adventurers, but wished to throw the responsibility that government ought to have taken upon their own shoulders upon that of an individual. you knew if you knew anything, that I was prepared to act and that eficiently, that my letter to the member of congress had disclosed my suspicions, and that even those suspicions reached your department, but notwithstanding the reports, the[y] were not sufficient to convince a virtuous mind, without further proof that you were a traitor. I therefore spared the heads of departments from my suspicions.  I enclose a coopy of this letter to the president to be informed, whether such a letter as yours of the 19th. ult, was written by his knowledge, and to be informed whether those that are exerting all their abilities in favour of the government, are by a side glance and yanky trick, denounced as suspicious of being aiding in the treason and that too under the sacred robe of official office. but your god James Wilkison is suspected. my letter to governor Claiborne may have lead to a discovery of the treason, and this is sufficient for his satilite, to attempt to wound the feelings of a patriot who is above suspicion. but I possess virtue enough to do my duty, and never to abandon my country for the side wind blasts of a satilite of base and corrupt men who I have been instrumental in detecting.

[*Supplement to above letter.*]

I also find from a Knoxville print of January the third, that you have communicated, to the Governor that "it has been represented at Pittsburgh, by those supposed to be engaged in the enterprise, that two regiments of Tennessee citizens would join the expedition at the mouth of Cumberland river." *How informed* and do you Sir take the information of men that you call, "*disappointed, unprincipled, ambitious or misguided individuals,*" for testimony to slander a community and insult individuals. What, Suppose I was to take this basis, for Testimony against yourself—is Colo. Burr to be believed, if he is, then he says, he has your orders for any enterprise, he has in view. This is susceptible of proof, from respectable authority, but still Sir, I spared you from my suspicions, untill I have seen your letter, been advised, of the time formal proof was lodged against Colo. Burr in your office, and your modesty on the 19th. of Decbr. could not, tho' your country was in danger, induce you to name him, but you can name mine Sir on a mere story. What does this prove that you must be acquainted with his plans or views, or that he is united with your intimate friend the Genl, who you so eminently aided, in putting Colo. Thomas Butler out of service and out of existence, to open a door to conspiracy, and that the Genl might act without control, for you well knew from the virtue and firmness of the Colo, that Wilkison if so minded never could renew his former Spanish conspiracy so long as the Colo. was second in command. Yes Genl, it was the part I took in behalf [of] the virtuous and persicuted, Butler that has raised your enmity against me, and you wish to seek revenge in the cold, Base stile of insinuation, of stories under your official robes, that may be taken hold of by my enemies to create suspicion that I am enemy to my country, this will not do, my country does know I never see it in danger but I am ready to step forward in its behalf, I never am suspicious of its being in danger, but I notify the proper organs thereof and put them on their guard, not through you, for your duplicity, in the case of Colo. Butler was sufficient evidence that your were not to be trusted, your expressions to a member of Congress relative to me, and behind my back brought me to a determination to have no intercourse with you unless my duty as a military man required, and now only, such corrispondence, as the insinuations in your letter, and this my answer may lead to. you are a military man and can take a hint, and as it appears that hostilities may be the Issue I will meet you at any point, to receive your instructions. Colo. B. received at my house all that hospitality that a banished patriot, from his home was entitled to. I then thought him a patriot in exile for a cause that every man of honour must regret, the violence with which he was persued all his language to me carried with it a love of country, and obedience to the laws and your orders. under these declarations and after [acquittal] by a respectable grand Jury of Kentuckey, my suspicions of him vanished, and I did furnish him with two boats, and had he wanted ten more on the same terms and under the same impres-

sions I then had he should have had them. You are but little acquainted with the people of Tennessee or myself (tho you ought from the patriotic tender I had made) if you think, that Colo. Burr or even yourself could influence two men to unite in endeavouring a separation of the union. But Sir what is this conduct of your[s] calculated to inspire in the mind, of those, who has been uniformly in the support of the present administration and republican principles—that you to aid some secret plan, wishes to fill them with disgust, under which, they may abandon their country, but we possess too much virtue and patriotism ever to abandon our constitution. But Sir when prooff shews him to be a triator, I would cut his throat, with as much pleasure as I would cut yours on equal testimony.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO JACKSON.

WASHINGTON, March 21, 1807.

Sir, In my letter of Dec. 3. answering yours, which offered the service of a Corps of Volunteers, I informed you that the Legislature had then under consideration in what way they would authorize the Executive to accept those Patriotic tenders. They accordingly passed the act of which I now inclose you a copy.

Altho the present state of things on the western side of the Missisipi does not threaten any immediate collision with our Neighbors in that quarter and it is our wish they should remain undisturbed until an amicable adjustment may take place; yet as this does not depend on ourselves alone, it is prudent to be prepared to meet any movements which may occur. The law of a former session of congress for keeping a Body of 100,000 militia in readiness for service at a moments warning, is still in force; but by the Act now inclosed the service of Volunteers may be accepted which will of course render a resort to the former act unnecessary. In consequence there fore, of the patriotic zeal which prompted your former offer, I now solicit your best endeavors towards carrying this Act into execution. The persons who shall engage, will not be called from their homes until some Aggression committed or intended, shall render it necessary. When called into Action, it will not be for a lounging, but for an Active and perhaps distant service. I know the effect of this consideration in kindling that ardor which prevails for this service, and I count on it for filling up the numbers requisite without delay. To yourself I am sure it must be as desirable as it is to me, to transfer this service from the great mass of the militia under your charge to that portion of them to whose habits and enterprize active and distant service is most congenial.

With respect to the organizing and Officering those who shall be engaged within your state, the Act itself will be your guide: And as it is desirable we should be kept informed of the progress of this business, I must pray you to report the same from time to time to the Secretary at War who will correspond with you on all the details arising out of it. Accept my salutations and assurances of great esteem and respect

W. C. C. CLAIBORNE TO JACKSON.

NEW ORLEANS, March 27, 1807.

Confidential

My Dear Sir, I inclose you a paper, containing addresses from a number of respectable Citizens approbatory of the Conduct of General Wilkinson and myself.¹ I will not undertake to say, how far the political character of the General may be justly subjected to exceptions; but I do verily believe that he opposed Burr from principle, and that his late acts here, were done with the best intentions.

I must again pray you not to credit all the Reports and publications which reach you from this quarter; Believe me many are erroneous. You may perhaps see a Copy of a Memorial to Congress which was reported by a Committee of the Legislature, and which has been rejected by a great majority in the House of Representatives. The Committee was greatly imposed upon, and have given the sanction of their names to many misrepresentations; The conduct of the public agents is not justly stated; The embargo was resorted to on the unanimous recommendation of the Merchants, and the measure was not previously advised either by the General or myself. I did not declare (as is stated in the Memorial) the letter to which I alluded to be "Anonymous." I did (it is true) avoid naming the writer, but stated it to be from a highly esteemed friend of mine; a Gentleman of the greatest respectability in Tennessee, and who held, and deservedly so, a great share of public confidence; I added "that there was no deception; the letter was from my friend, for I knew his hand writing." In the discharge of my duty I lately communicated in confidence (among other Letters) to the Legislature, a Copy of your friendly and patriotic communication to me, and in this way they became acquainted with the name of the writer. I have been thus particular, in order that the perusal of the Memorial may make no unjust impressions upon your mind. I shall write you fully on the return of my Brother. You will have seen Workman's letters and Oath; this man is not worthy of public confidence; he was justly suspected to be concerned with Burr; My Conduct has been correct. It is approved by my judgment and will I am persuaded be satisfactory to the President.

My Situation has been embarrassing; but I acted with deliberation and with the best intentions; I consulted also from time to time the opinions of Men in whom both the Government and myself could confide; These Men were the Members of the Legislative Council Messrs. Poydras, Mather, Bellchasse, Macarty and Fauchet, and I have the satisfaction to add, that by them, my general conduct during the late interesting Crisis was approved; These Gentlemen knew of Workman's Communication to me, and deprecated the Idea of my introducing a Civil War by arraying the Militia against the regular Troops. May God bless you!

your friend sincerely

P. S. the paper containing the addresses is not printed and as the mail is about closing, I am obliged to close my letter

¹ Governor Claiborne was suspected of complicity with Burr, and this letter goes far to support the charge.

JACKSON AND HUTCHINGS TO MEEKER, WILLIAMSON, AND PATTON.

NASHVILLE April 29 1807

Gentlemen, The frequent requests that we have made to you by letter for a statement of the amou[n]t of sales of our cotton and staves consigned to you last year, and which you advised us you had sold, without effect is truly painfull to us. It is the first instance except with your house, that ever commission merchants, attempted to withhold from their consignors, a detailed acct, when required.

But it appears you have done more. we are Just in receipt of a letter from Messhrs. Duncan and Jackson, whom we had (after waiting many mo[n]ths after we were advised by you that the cotton etc. was sold, at 60 days, after waiting still many months longer after the money became due, and we ought to have been in the receipt of it, for your acct of sales etc., etc) appointed and authorised to have a settlement on our part with you, which they state, that they had your promise in the week they wrote you would have the acpts aranged for settlement. they say "they are sorry to add, that you have not yet got the accounts ready." They observe in their Postscript "This moment we have sent to the counting house of Messhr. M. W. and Patton Mr Williamson sent us the inclosed statement, with his compliments to know if (they) held any of (our) property in their hands" The statement stands in figures

11102

thus $8678.5\frac{1}{2}$ —2423 "ballance due Meeker. W. and Patton without interest," you have no doubt made a true statement of the amount of the sales of our cotton and staves but it rest yet for you to shew how we became indebted to you to the amount you have stated. We can venture to say with truth that all our purchases ever made in Neworleans does not amount to the sum stated—including groceries for all which we paid the cash—and how does it happen that you have any account against us, except for your commissions. do you not hold a note given by our Mr Hutchings in full of the ballance for Dry goods purchased from you, do we owe you a single sue for goods bot. but what is included in that note. and does not the ballance you have stated amount nearly to the sum due on that note or at least within \$77 dollars thereof, and how have you applied the $8678.5\frac{1}{2}$ bot, you acknowledge to have recd of our cash, this requires a speedy and an explicit account, or your conduct shall appear in every Publick Print from Boston to Neworleans, and a strict inquiry how far you ought to be trusted as commission merchants—and the insulting inquiry made "if we had any property in the hands of Messhrs, Duncan and Jackson," truly investigated, you will know we have your invoices that we have your calculations, your memorandum of the amount of our note, which closed our accounts, and efficient testimony to check any improper acct, if an attempt should be made to exhibit one. We have no wish to do any person an injury not even those whose conduct towards us has put it in our power, and who merit exposure, all we wish is Justice, that we claim that we will have, Justice entitles us long before this to have had a statement of our acpts of sales

from you and the ballance due us to have been sent us or placed in the hands of those we authorised to receive it. This is all we have asked this is what we now ask, and which we hope for your own sake, you will furnish, or your feelings will be no longer spared—we find you are not sparing of ours—and the delay in furnishing the acct, has the appearance “that there is something *rotten* in the *state* of *Denmark*.” we are gentlemen yr mo. ob. serv.

W. P. ANDERSON TO JACKSON.

FEDERAL BOTTOM, May 10, 1807.

Nothing but a combination of the most untoward circumstances, could prevent me from an obedience of the *supra*¹ issued by the S. court of the U. States in the case of Colo. Burr. Without enumerating these circumstances, it will be with you I know sufficient to say, that from them, it is impossible for me to visit Richmond at this time or at any time before the 1st. monday in august next. Besides my family cannot be left alone at this period. It would be to me not only a party of pleasure; but it would be perfectly agreeable to my inclination, to proceed on and attend this trial, if the same was within the compass of my power.

Your correspondence with Colo. B. shews completely his objects at that period. You are certainly a material witness and so would I be. I could swear this among other things of no great consequence, as coming from the Colo. I told him that you would not cooperate in the enterprize unless you had the order of government before you. He replied that he had or would have the G. orders and until they were produced he did not expect your assistance and that war was inevitable etc.

Situated as you and myself are you particularly (who by the rascally world that you care nothing about, has been termed one of his Colo. Burrs friends) it would seem more than requisit to obey the summons. The testimony given in would be published and after that nothing dare to be said even indulgent of suspicion. You can do as you plea[se] but, if you could attend, as it strikes me at present, I think it would be right and proper to do so. Yr real friend

TO W. P. ANDERSON.¹

RICHMOND, VA., June 16, 1807.

Sir: I am still detained here, and at what time I will be able to leave, it is uncertain. Gen. Wilkinson, after detaining the court 20 days, has at length arrived, and the bills against Burr are sent up to the grand jury. Whether the testimony will be sufficient to convince the minds of the grand jury that guilt exists either as to treason or misdemeanor is problematical: I am more convinced than ever that treason never was intended by Burr; but if ever it was you know my wishes that he may be hung.

¹ Subpoena.

¹ This letter was published in 1828 in Col. A. Erwin's letter in reply to the statement of the Nashville committee seeking to vindicate Jackson from the charge of complicity in Burr's conspiracy. It is taken from a copy in the *National Intelligencer*, Oct. 20, 1828. It may be found also in Parton's *Jackson*, I. 334.

I am still more convinced that whatever may have been the projects of Burr, James Wilkinson has went hand in hand with him; but, *Eaton*-like, when he found that such was the integrity and virtue of Western citizens, that a sufficient force could not be obtained, he become the patriot, to save himself from the frowns and indignation of an insulted People, and to bring about that event by a lawless Tyranny, which he found could not be carried into effect by force. There are a variety of opinions on the subject, which a few days will furnish sufficient light for the impartial mind to act on. All I wish, that if guilt ever did exist, that all concerned may be punished—if they are innocent, that they may be acquitted; but I have no opinion that it is just to sacrifice one, as a peace offering to policy, and permit others of equal guilt to pass with impunity. I am sorry to say, that this thing has, in part, assumed the shape of a political prosecution, and for which I refer you to the papers of this place—I am told you receive them. A subpoena has been sent on for the President, with a *duces tecum*; what may be the return I know not; but it appears Mr. Hay, by a change, is placed in the opposite situation that he acted in when Calendar was tried, and his own doctrine is used against him. As soon as the grand jury has acted on the thing, I will advise you thereof. At the race I hope you will see Mrs. Jackson—tell her not to be uneasy. I will be home as soon as my obedience to the precept of my country will permit. I have only to add, as to the race, that the mare of Williams is thought here to be a first rate animal of her size; but if she can be put up, she will fail in one heat—it will then be proper to put her up to all she knows at once.

Adieu.

INDICTMENT FOR AN ASSAULT AND BATTERY WITH INTENT TO KILL
SAMUEL JACKSON.¹

DAVIDSON COUNTY, TENNESSEE

The Second Monday in November, 1807.

The State vs

Andrew Jackson

And now to wit at the term first above mentioned the said Andrew Jackson appeared in court according to his recognizance, and thereupon pleaded not guilty to the indictment, and for his trial put himself upon his country. whereupon come a jury of good and lawful men to wit, Silvanus Castleman, John Buchanan, Edward Gwin, Scion Hunt, ——— Kinnard, James Dickson, Erwin Cameron, Lawrence Whitsett, Arthur Harris, Henry Rieff, David Edmiston, and Archibald Cheatham, who being elected, tried and sworn the truth of and upon the premises to speak, and having tried the evidence on their oath, do say, that the said Andrew Jackson is not guilty of the trespass, assault, and battery charged upon him in the indictment as in pleading he hath alleged. Therefore it is considered by the court that the said Andrew Jackson be acquitted and discharged.

¹ A certified copy of this record was published in the *Cincinnati Advertiser*, June 28, 1828, whence the editor's copy was taken by Mr. William F. Beard, of Nashville.

TO DANIEL SMITH.

HERMITAGE, November 28, 1807

Some time ago I made a return to the Secretary of war of the volunteers who had tendered their service to the united states, under the law, and who were ready for service at the call of the government, and that at a minutes warning. I stated at that time that it was only a partial return, and as soon as I obtained compleat returns under my orders for that purpose I would forwarded them, requesting of him in the [mean time] to advise me how they were to be organized, and whether any particular form was to be observed in making out the returns, other than, the one I had adopted. I have lately recd. returns compleat from the different Brigades and was about to forward them by this mail but casting my eyes over the Presidents message on the subject of the volunteers, I observe this sentence "They are ordered to be organized, and ready at a moments warning etc., etc., etc." not having recd any such orders, I have posponed any further returns least his honour thro the influence of his virtuous, immaculate, unspotted, and patriotic Genl Wilkinson, from whom perhaps he has recd, another Bulletin, that may still hold me out as a conspirator to hide his own guilt—his excellency the secretary at war may think it dangerous to trust me. for these reasons I have not sent on my full returns, nor will I untill I receive an answer to my letter to him on this subject. I forwarded to him returns, of 22 companies compleat—since which I have recd. returns of Eight more mounted infantry and cavalry, and from Genl Roberts I have recd. no additional return. notwithstanding I have been informed from his regimental officers, that there are several companies, made up since his return to me. The object of this part of this letter is that you may name it to the President, that there is ready at a minutes warning, and subject to immediate [du]ty Eight full companies, with officers at their head that will give a good account of any equal number, that dare insult freemen.

From certain intelligence, that I am in possession of, that not only [came?] from Genl Wilkinson, but from two other channels that are and may obtain higher respect, than any thing that could come from the genl, particularly from the heavy clouds of guilt that now hang over him; that certain communications have been made to the President, relative to me (from one I have recd. acknowledgements of the injury he had done me, by the communications and this too at the time I was informed that such communications were made) I say from this circumstance, it may become a duty I owe my own feelings (for Publick opinion I am regardless of), to make a statement, to the publick, accompanied with such proofs as I am in possession of, to shew my [friends] that the confidence once reposed in my patriotism and republican principles, have never been violated on my part, and if I have been suspected by the administrators of the government, that I am still pure, and those perhaps (I mean the Secretary at war [*mutilated*] give credence to it, from proof presumptive, has been acting the same game with Jamy Wilkinson, raising suspicions against others, to hide his own guilt.

for this purpose then; I must request you to forward me a coopy of my letter to you and Doctor Dickson, of date about this time twelve months with your certificate thereon that it is a true coopy. I observe from the proof that gallatine is hinted at. believe not this, if any of the Secrataries were knowing to the thing, the proof if ever reached, will bring it home to the *war* department—but I hope, for the honour of republicanism for the honour of our nation, and for the sake of virtue that none of them were knowing to the plan, I mean of an *attack* on the *integrity* of the *union*. I have no doubt nor have I had of the guilt of Wilkinson; from the proofs I see exhibitted against him at Richmond. these are light as air compared to those that will be exhibitted if I am rightly informed; and say to the President, for his own sake, for the sake of the honour of the nation and the republican cause to shake off this viper. It is reported that the President has said that he will support him. This is why the prooffs positive of his guilt is kept back, in order to damn the Prest, by the production of them when the thing can be established that he has tried to shelter him from that indignation, that from an indignant publick awaits him. would Joseph H. Davies have hazarded the Publication that he has, if he [*mutilated*] by proof positive. rest assured that John Adair whenever he let loose his port folio, it will produce testimony, as he himself has said, “that scepticism itself cannot doubt. I have seen lately, both Daviss and Adair, I have conversed with the travelling companion of Adair from Neworleans here, a man of strict verracity, who does tell me that the prooffs of Wilkinson guilt, both as a pensioner of Spain and a colleague of Burrs, will be made manifest.

I name this to you knowing you to be the real friend of Mr Jefferson and the republican cause and let me once more and for the last time repeat that if Mr Jefferson hugs this man to his boosoom they will both face—this has been long my oppinion, I am now certain of it,—the Publick mind now plainly evinces it,—and notwithstanding I have loved Mr Jefferson as a man, and adored him as a president, could I see him attempt to support such a base man with his present knowledge of his corruption and infamy, I would withdraw that confidence I once reposed in him and regret that I had been deceived in his virtue.

Whether my ideas may meet yours or not, you will at least ascribe to them pure motives—for you certainly do know, that I am [not catering?] for patronage or in persuit of office. it is well known, that neither the state or general government has an office in its gift, that I would accept of. My only pride, is, if our country is involved in war, in the station I fill; I will do my duty. My pride is that my soldiers has confidence in me, and on the event of a war I will lead them on, to victory and conquest. Should we be blest with peace, I will resign, my military office, and spend my days, in the sweet calm of rural retirement. May you have a pleasant session, and a safe return to your family, friends and country. . . .

W. C. C. CLAIBORNE TO JACKSON.

NEW ORLEANS, December 3, 1807.

Dear Sir, Your letter of the 17 of October was handed to me by Mr. Robertson, the Secretary for this Territory, whose appointment is

to me the more satisfactory since so many of my old friends unite in representing him "as a Gentleman of worth and a true Republican."

In compliance with your request, you have inclosed a copy of your letter of the 12th. of November, giving me inform[ation] of plans (either formed or forming) "inimical to the Union", and advising the organization of the Militia and preparations for the defence of New-Orleans, "as well against internal as external enemies." This letter was esteemed of such importance to our Country that I immediately transmitted a copy to the Executive of the United States; It was also seen by General Wilkinson (being convinced from my knowledge of your character that you would have no objections) and was for a short time in his possession, but he did not receive a *copy* from me, nor did I know that the General had *one*, until I saw it referred to on the trial of Burr.

No man can be more desirous than myself that the conspiracy should be thoroughly developed, and the agency of every individual concerned, explained and exposed; of the innocence or guilt of *General Wilkinson*, there seems to be a diversity of opinion; but for myself, I am free to declare that my impressions *are greatly in his favour*.

I feel no hesitation in informing you the time when and the manner in which General W. advised me of the Conspiracy; it was by letter bearing date at Natchez the 12 of Nov. 1806, and which I received per Express in four days hereafter. Your communication did not reach me until the morning of the 5th. of Decr. and tended to confirm the statements which General Wilkinson had previously made me, as well verbally as in writing. I am persuaded you will not suppose that I did, either unnecessarily or improperly expose the contents of your communication; It reached me at an interesting crisis, and was only resorted to with a view to serve our Country and Gouvernement, to which I always beleived you to be ardently attached. . . .

TO JAMES POTTER.¹

WASHINGTON, January 15, 1808

Dear Sir: If you are not too closely engaged with your own business, I wish you would grind as much of our wheat as will make seventy barrel of flour and have it forwarded so as to be at Philadelphia again the First of April.

Mr. Rose the British Envoy extraordinary has at length arrived. The business of negotiation will of course soon commence. The extent of his powers is not known, but it is presumed he is restricted merely to the affair of the Chesapeake.² If he is Authorised to make such reparation for that attack as the principles of general justice and national character warrant us to demand, it is to be expected we will yet avert the impending storm without being compelled to have recourse to open war. If the affair was settled, negotiation on the other points in dispute might, and would

¹ The original of this letter was in the auction sale of Stan V. Henkels, Jan. 17, 1924. Cat. no. 1343, item no. 326. Mr. Henkels kindly permitted the editor to take a copy.

² Meaning, of the *Chesapeake* and the *Leopard*.

probably be continued until a general peace in Europe should remove our various causes of complaint.

Several weeks ago a motion was made for expelling from his seat, John Smith a Senator from the State of Ohio, in consequence of his having been charged with being associated with Burr in his conspiracy. This I believe is found by every member of the Senate to be one of the most unpleasant, disagreeable subjects on which they have ever been called to act. From appearances it is to be presumed that some weeks will yet elapse before it is decided.

A Court of Inquiry has been instituted and is now sitting to investigate the conduct of General Wilkinson, particularly whether he has at any time since he has held a commission under the United States, received any money from the Government of Spain as a pension. This charge has been exhibited against him on the floor of Congress. The Court was appointed at the request of the General himself. It is composed of three Colonels, viz. Burbeek, Cushing and Williams.

This charge exhibited against Wilkinson was no doubt pointed at the President, because it was made and supported by that Party, who for two years have been planting his path with thorns. Let the result of the Inquiry be what it will, respecting Wilkinson, very little if any blame will attach to the President. It will appear in the investigation of the business of the Spanish affair was known to General Washington when he appointed Wilkinson to his command, that it was known to Mr. Adams who continued him in his Command, thro his Presidency, and of course that if there is corruption it must attach equally, if not in a higher degree to both his predecessors, than to Mr. Jefferson.

The weather here at present is peircing cold, and a continued snow on the ground.

With my kind respects to Mrs. Potter, I am,

Yours truly,

TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.¹

April 20, 1808

Sir, I hasten to transmit to you the inclosed statement of William Meadows (which if true) connected with the information transmitted to the Secretary of War, by Brigadier Genl, Thomas Johnston commanding the sixth Brigade, under date of the third instant to which I refer you, will shew the alarming and hostile attitude of the creek Indians, on our frontier—alarming, because there can remain no doubt but the twelve whites with them must be agents of a foreign Nation, exciting the creeks to hostilities against the united States. thes[e] scenes bring fresh to our recollection the influence during the revolutionary War, that raised the scalping knife and Tomhawk against our defenceless women and Children.²

I have but little doubt, but the present savage cruelty is excited from the same source—the blood of our innocent Citizens must not flow with

¹ Copy.

² The incident alluded to was an attack, "lately", on the Tennessee frontier by a party of 440 Creeks including twelve white men.

impunity. Justice forbid it, and the present relative situation of our Country with foreign Nations require speedy redress, and a final check to these hostile murdering Creeks, I am not personally acquainted with Mr, Meadows am informed that he is a man of truth, but as he lived last year in the neighbourhood of Genl, Danl Smith our Senator I refer you to him for his Charactor. On the Rect, of Mr, Meadows statement I hastened to issue a General Order to the Brigadiers of my division to place their resp[ec]tive Brigades in a state of preparation to march at the shortest notice. I have directed General Johnston to be upon the alert and to act on the defensive only, untill further orders, and by confidential spies to find out the position, numbers, and situation of these marauding creeks, and communicate the same to me without delay, and by no means to persue beyond the Tennessee River, unless the protection of our frontier, and imperious necessity require that they should be dislodged from the position they now occupy and upon such an event, that this is to be done with a sufficient force to insure success. should the information recd, from the spies render this step necessary (which nothing can do unless that should appear the point to which their whole strength is to collect) I will with a small but well chosen band march for that purpose—and should I, I pledge myself to my government that I will destroy the Coalition. would it not be proper, that some mode should be pointed out by Government, how and in what manner express,s should be paid. under present circumstances serious inconveniences may arise and many parts of our frontier, fall a sacrifice to savage cruelty for the want of some arrangement on this subject. few there are who is able out of their private purse, to hire and pay expresses, and none can be got to perform this duty without compensation, another deploreable event. it is well known that there is a great deficiency of arms not only on our frontier, but throughout the interior of our Country and on the eve of war and no provisions either by our state legislature or Congress to remedy this evil. without arms, altho brave we cannot fight, no love of country or bravery can supply the want of arms. the Certainty of war and our defenceless situation in this respect, and the subject being overlooked by our state legislature and as yet by Congress, I have thought it my duty to bring this subject to your view that the evil may be remedied before the rise of Congress. I am sir with due Consideration and respect, your most obedient Sevt.

TO JOHN SEVIER.

HERMITAGE April 20th 1808

Sir: I herewith inclose you a statement of William Meadows relative to the late murders, committed on our frontiers by a party of Creeks of about 440, including twelve whitemen. who these whitemen are is not ascertained, but it is to be presumed, that they are agents of some foreign power, exciting the creeks to acts of hostilities against the united States. On the rect, of the enclosed Statement I issued orders to the different brigades in my division without delay to place their brigades in a state of preparation to march at a minutes warning and to hold them in that

state for further orders, from you or the government of the united States. I have directed General Johnston to be upon the alert, to act on the defensive only, untill the protection of the frontier and imperious necessity made it necessary to dislodge them from their present position on the south bank of the Tennessee and on that event to employ a Sufficient force to insure success. I have directed him, by confidential spies immediately to find out, their real numbers, position and warlike preparation, and transmit the same to me without delay, and not to make an attack upon them untill your orders are recd, unless imperious circumstances require it for the safety of our frontier. Should the information recd, from the spies make it an act of defence and safety to our frontier with a well selected band I will march to perform this duty, but unless imperious necessity require it will wait your orders. Our frontier must be protected, the blood of our innocent Citizens must not flow, with impunity. This Coalition must be destroyed and peace restored to our frontier. The frontier heretofore has suffered much and bore those sufferings with patience and fortitude. Justice forbids that again their patience should be put to the test, we only wait your orders and retaliation shall be made with due Consideration.

I am your most obt, Sevt,

JACKSON'S DIVISION ORDERS.

HERMITAGE, April 20, 1808

From General Thomas Johnstons advice of the 3rd, instant, and William Meadows Statement under his hand of the 18th, instant it appears that 25 of our inoent Citizens has fell victims, to the ruthless hands of Savage barbarity, and from strong circumstances it appears that the Creeks who have perpetrated this horrid Massacree has been excited to this hellish act, by the instigation of whitemen agents under foreign influence, who have stimulated those barbarians to lift the scalping knife and Tomhawk against our defenceless women and Children. it is stated by Mr, Meadows that a hostile band of Creeks to the amount of four hundred and forty with twelve whitemen are encamped on the south ba[n]k of Tennessee. on the 3rd, instant they attack Colberts boat, having five men on board killed two and wounded three, one of which was since dead, and on the 5th, Massacreed three whole families twentyone in number, three miles below the mouth of Duck. this brings to our recollection the horrid barbarity committed on our frontier in 1777 under the influence of and by the orders of Great Britain, and it is presumeable that the same influence has excited those barbarians to the late and recent acts of butchery and murder, but the blood of our innocent Citizens must not be shed with impunity. prepare then for retaliation. the relation of this horrid scene will rouse our countrymen. they will pant for the orders of our government to punish the ruthless foe, who has deprived us of our fellow Citizens of our Brothers our wives and our children and the influence that gave it birth. You will therefore without delay place your Brigade in compleat readiness to march at a minutes warning. you will have the voluntiers within your Brigade in readiness to march at a very short notice, provided the

defence of our frontier and imperious necessity should from information to be recd. make it a measure of defence to dislodge this hostile marauding band from the present position they now Occupy. you will hold your Brigade in compleat readiness untill further information is recd. from the mouth of Duck River and untill further orders from me and from the goverment.

S. WILLIAMS TO JACKSON.

CARTHAGE, TENNESSEE, April 25, 1808.

Dear sir. Since you left here politicks have ceased and the greatest harmony immaginable pervads all ranks, the only two converts you made while here have retrograded, or in other words they say that they only supported Munroe¹ out of politeness to you, because that you were a stranger, and I can assure you sir without you or some other friend of Munroes return to this quarter he will have but few friends—at present I know of none nor do I suspect but one. I know that you have been at considerable trouble and expence in Electioneering for him and I thought it a duty that I owe you from our long and friendly acquaintance to inform you that any further Exertion in his favor will be lost for your friend cannot come in this heat.

Your friend Fite says that he cannot stand alone and at present he does not know who he shall support for Elector and without James Lyon declares unequivocally in favor of Madison he shall not vote for him but let the presidential Election terminate as it may, my friendship for you is the same it ever was and will not cease untill I have reasons to change my present opinion. you know caucusing is necessary on Extraordinary Occasions. at all events my sincere wish is that the best man may be Elected and if I should be mistaken in my choice and hereafter be convinced as I heretofore have been I shall acknowledge my error and repent for the injury done my country and try to repair it on some future Occasion which is all I think that is required of sinners, but I hope that we shall get all right after a while.

Accept sir the assurances of my Esteem and believe to be a true Republican of 76

TO GEORGE W. CAMPBELL.¹

HERMITAGE August 5th 1808

I should have done myself the pleasure long since to have wrote you, but having nothing to communicate, I posponed writing in daily expectation of hearing from Mr. N. Prior Phil. last mail brought me, an answer to my letter to Mr J Jackson on this subject. the contract is not closed, but there is flatering hopes, and by next mail I expect to receive final information on the subject, \$15,000, the price as proposed and under consideration the 12th of July— $\frac{1}{3}$ in cash, the ballance in anual payments as soon as I receive conclusive information on this head, will communicate it to you. will you say, what amount, five or ten thousand, you will have in this purchase and communicate the thing to me, by the return

¹ Jackson had undertaken to launch a movement for Monroe in Tennessee. He was in sympathy with the faction opposed to the election of Madison as President.

¹ Collection of Mrs. Susan P. Brown, through Dr. Lucius P. Brown, Franklin, Tenn.

mail. I am determined to be prepared for the contract, and it behoves me to know the amount I will have to meet. Send me a state of your pole, in Davidson Williamson and Rutherford, Roane has got Between 2 and 300 majority. I have not heard from the rest of the counties. you will note that the above contract is not closed but the prospects are that it will on the above terms, and I have a right to think against next mail I will be advised thereof.

As usual in haste I am with due regard

P. S. Col. Burr has just returned and is now with me.

Yr friend etc.

COURT RECORD.

October, 1808

From the Minutes of the Davidson County (Tennessee) court (1809-1813, p. 266) ¹

October Session, 1808, Andrew Jackson, Esq. an Inspector of cotton gave bond of \$5000.00, with Joseph Coleman and Bennett Searcy his securities, and took and subscribed the following oath, to wit, "I, Andrew Jackson, do solemnly swear that I will well and truly inspect or cause to be inspected, all bales of cotton that shall pass through my press, marking the bales according to the goodness thereof agreeable to the directions of the act of the Assembly in such cases made and provided. So help me God

ANDREW JACKSON

AFFAIRS OF JACKSON AND HUTCHINGS.¹

November, 1808.

Debts due in Philadelphia for goods Bot. 1803

Meeker Denman and Co.....	\$3172
Saml Meeker	1618.29.
Saml Carswell	533.71
John Smith and Son.....	928.62.
Morrell and Son.....	404.72
	<hr/>
	6657.23
Seth Craig and Co.....	848.64
Inskeep and Wood.....	96.54. $\frac{1}{4}$
Darrah	96. 5
Elisha Fisher and Co.....	1939.60.
J. Jackson	629.50
Bukam and Rees and Gettey.....	3135.40
Boggs and D.....	2841.87.
Knox and Deas.....	242.87 $\frac{1}{2}$
	<hr/>
	16489.70. $\frac{3}{4}$
	6
Interest on this sum up to Novbr 1808—5 years.....	989,38.20
	<hr/>
	5
	<hr/>
	4946.91.00
	<hr/>
	21,436.61 $\frac{3}{4}$

¹ Tenn. Hist. Soc.

¹ The additions and subtractions are not always correct.

Debts due in gallatine and Davidson with J. S. note 1803.	\$12476.59.¼
Lebanon	3349.86.
Cotton shipd 1804.....	7280.

\$23106.45.¼

Debtes due in Davidson store on the 10th. day of July 1804	2544.32
in gallatine, in acpts and notes.....	4641.44.¼
John Smith T. Debt.....	5290.83.
Lebanon	3349.86
Cotton Shipd.	7280.

23106.39¼

21436.61

1669 79.¼

The debts due in Philadelphia—D. and T.² not included.. \$16489.70

Interest on this sum fro[m] Novbr 1803 to Novbr. 1808—

five years 4946 91

21,436.61

Insolvants in lebanon and debts paid—to be deducted..... 1122.12½

Insolvants as stated in Davidson and Debts paid..... 914.71¼

2036.83.¾

deduct this from the debt due..... 23106 39¼

2036.83¾

21069.55½

5

add to this sum interest Novbr. 1804 to Novbr. 1808..... 1053.47.75

4

4213.91.00

25283.56.½

Deduct the debt and interest as a credit to..... 21436.61.

To this add D and T. debt..... 3846.95½

Memorandum, of Debts. owing to merchants in Philidelphia, etc. etc.

² Deadrick and Tatum.

JACKSON'S DIVISION ORDERS.

HERMITAGE, December 19, 1808

Having seen in the publick papers, as early as the first day of November last, a requisition from the President of the united States, through the Secretary of the department of War on the respective States for their quotas of militia under the act of Congress passed on the 30th. day of March 1808 entitled 'an act authorising a Detachment of the militia of the united States etc., etc., requiring the governor of each State without delay, to take proper measures to perfect the organisation of their respective quotas required into companies, batalions regiments, Brigades and Divisions completely equiped with arms and accoutrements fit for service including blanketts and knapsacks, and to hold them in readiness to march at a minutes warning In the above alluded to orders it also states that if any corps of volunteers who previous to the orders for taking the field may tender their services to the commander in chief of the state conformably to the second section of the above aluded to act they will be accepted as part of the detachment, and also any company or companies of volunteers either artillery, cavelry or infantry who will associate and offer their services will be accepted as part of the quota of the militia required by the President of the united States.

Having waited with anxious expectation for many weeks the orders of the commander in chief of this state, requiring of me without delay to cause to be carried into effect the orders of the Secretary of the Department of War, and not as yet having recd any but viewing it as my duty from the delicate situation of our common country with the great Beligerent powers of urope, to have the Division under my command placed in the best Possible state, of readiness to meet the wishes of the President of the united States as soon as his orders shall be officially made known to me. You are therefore requested without delay to place your Brigades in the Best Possible state, to perfect the quota, that may be required from you as soon as you receive orders for that purpose, you will not fail in appealing to the patriotism of the citizens that compose your Brigade that the full quota required, may be made up by voluntary enlistment, from the military ardor displayed on a former occasion, I rest confident, that it still exists, that it is not abated, but has increased and will still increase, with the dangers that threaten our country—and when their is a call to arms their will be but one voice, defend the liberties and independence of our country or die nobly in the last ditch.

WILLIAM MARTIN TO JACKSON.

JEFFERSON, [TENN.?], January 4, 1809.

Dear Genl. I have Just time to inform you, that I have seen the Negroes at Robertses which I was to set a price on, and think them worth nine hundred Dollars. This information, I have also communicated to Mr Cage. who says that if you are not satisfied with the price, he will willingly take them, and pay up the balance. . . .

JOHN SEVIER TO JACKSON.

KNOXVILLE, January 12, 1809.

Sir. The president of the United States by virtue of an act of Congress passed on the 30th day of March 1808. entitled "an act, authorising a detachment from the Militia of the United States," have requested the executive of the State of Tennes'see, to take effectual Measures to organize arm and equip according to law, and hold in readiness to March at a moments warning, our respective proportion of one hundred thousand Militia. This therefore is to require of you, to take early and effectual Measures within the shortest period that circumstances will permit, for having the Quota ready to march on the shortest notice, which have already been called for in a former order from the Executive as the proportion of your Division, and as nearly as practicable in the following proportions of Artillery, cavalry, Riflemen and infantry. (Viz) one twelfth artillery, one sixteenth Cavalry, and from one sixteenth, to one twelfth riflemen, and the residue Infantry; to be compleatly equipped with arms and accoutrements, fit for actual service, including blankets and knapsacks.

Any corps of volunteers who previous to orders for taking the field, who may tender their services according to the second section of the aforesaid act, will be considered as part of the Quota of said division, according to their Numbers. And you are also authorised to accept as a part thereof, any company, or companies, of volunteers, either of artillery, cavalry, or Infantry, who may associate and offer themselves for the service, agreeably to an act of Congress (a copy of which is enclosed) passed "on the 24th of February 1807." And I have to request you will endeavor to encourage as general a disposition as possible, for volunteer offers of service, especially under the last Mentioned act.

Permit me to suggest the propriety and importance, of having such field officers, Captains, and subalterns selected, as can in all respects be relied upon, in case the detachment should be called into actual service. When the Detachment and Organization shall have been completed, the respective corps will be exorcised under the officers set over them, but will not remain embodied, or considered in actual service, until by subsequent orders they shall be directed to take the field.

You will please direct correct returns to be made of the corps to be raised in your Division, and that Copies thereof, be immeadiately transmitted to this department. Seperate returns should be made of those who have heretofore volunteered, and of those who may volunteer under the last mentioned act.

Permit me to observe that Brigadier General James Winchester, is appointed to take command of the whole troops to be raised for the service aforesaid, and you will please correspond with that officer, on any incidel occurrences that may be necessary on the Occasion.

When the Executive takes into view the constant and invariable conduct of the General Government of friendship, honest Neutrality, and the accommodating measures manifested towards the Belligerent powers since they have been engaged in War, seemingly for the designed purpose of desolation and distruction of each other; he is inspired with full confidence, that his fellow Citizens will on the present Occasion demonstrate to the World that they will not tamely submit to the insults and aggressions unmeritted by the Government of their Country, to no tyranical Nation of people whatever: That they will recollect that the Americans have not trespassed upon, or violated the rights of any neighboring or foreign Nation, that in all cases, the United States, have been unoffending towards those Waring persons, who have been for a length of time, wantonly sporting with the lives, liberties, and properties of the American people. The Governor flatters himself, that his fellow Citizens will on the present occasion, exhibit to the world a spirit of patriotism and Military Ardor, that cannot be exceeded, and evince to the nations of the earth, that if invaded by any of the Marauding despots of Europe, that the infamous feet of their enslaved Armies, shall not dare to tread the Ground of our peaceful shores. It is regretted that a number of reasons have induced the Executive to postpone so long issuing the present orders. Among those reasons are, that some hundreds of families have lately settled in our State, and I need not remark they are in want of almost every substantial necessary for their subsistence, and will require all the time they can be indulged with, to provide for their families to support upon, in their absence. The extreme intensity of the Winter has been another formidable impediment, and many other precarious circumstances could be named were it necessary. It would have been extremely difficult under these embarrasments, to have Organized completely the troops, before a more moderate season approached.

It is also to be observed, that there is no appropriation for supplying with blankets, Knapsacks, tents, or any contingency whatever. Some of those articles are indispensable in the time of such an inclement season, and soldiers cannot take the field without them: The infancy of our state will sufficiently apologize, as it cannot be presumed our troops can so immeadiately be provided for a Campaign, as those in the Original States. Also our local situation is such, as will occasion our troops a long march, let the scene of action be where it may. The foregoing considerations have had much weight with the Executive, who have considered the present as the most fit and favorable time, for carrying the same into prompt and complete success, relying with unbounded confidence, in the patriotism and unshaken fidelity of his fellow Citizens, that they will as usually heretofore, rally round the standard of their Country, with all that active alertness, that is becoming a brave and independent people, and be in perfect readiness to obey any request they may receive from the Government of their Country.

I have the honor to be sir,

DIVISION ORDERS.¹

HERMITAGE, February 20 1809

Having recd. on the 20th. instant, from his Excellency John Sevier Esqr Governor of the State of Tennessee his order of Date the 12th. ultimo, (anticipated by my order of the 19th. of December last) "requiring me to take early and effectual measures, to have the quota required from my division ready to march at the shortest notice which have been already called for in a former order from the executive and as nearly as practicable in the following proportions of artillery, cavalry riflemen and infantry (viz) one twelfth artillery one sixteenth cavalry and from one sixteenth, to one twelfth riflemen and the residue infantry, to be completely acquiped with arms and accoutrements, fit for actual service, including Blanketts and Knapsacks" not having recd. the former order above alluded to by his Excellency, it is out of my power to state the quota required, but presumeing that it has come to your hands thro some other channel, you are commanded herby strictly to attend to the former order of his excellency alluded to in his present order as it respects the number required from your Brigade. Should it have reached you, you are to understand that any corps of volunteers, previous to orders for taking the field, who may have tendered their services according to the second section of the "act of congress passed the 24th. day of February 1807 authorising the President of the U. States to accept the service of a number of volunteer companies not exceeding thirty thousand men," will be received and accepted of as part of the quota now required from your Brigade. You will therefore appeal to the patriotism of the citizens, that the quota may be made by voluntary tender of service—and your [general? governor?] is confident, from the Patriotism displayed on a late meeting in Nashville, that it is only necessary to say to our fellow citizens and soldiers, that our rights are invaded our liberties endangered, that our common country requires their services—to see them like a band of brothers pressing forward in to the ranks to Defend the rights liberties and independence, so dearly Bot. and Bequeathed to us by our forefathers.

you will so soon as you can raise the quota required of your Brigade, furnish me with the muster Rolls of each company, and the names of the field officers captains and lieutenants by whom they are commanded, that I may transmit the returns to the governor of this state. You will please to note, "that seperate returns must be made of those who have heretofore volunteered, and those who have volunteered under the last mentioned act." Genl James Winchester is appointed by the Governor to command the Troops to be raised in this State under the present requisition. relying on your patriotism and alacrity, in carrying this order into immediate effect, I am with sincere Esteem and respect yr mo. ob. serv.

¹ Jackson's orders of Dec. 19, 1808, probably spurred Governor Sevier to action. Jan. 12, 1809, he ordered Jackson to call out his quota, in accordance with the requisition of the President, but the detachment was directed to be under the command of Brig.-Gen. James Winchester. Jackson accepted the decision and, Feb. 20, sent this order to the commanders of brigades in his division.

TO JAMES WINCHESTER.¹

March 15th 1809

Dear Genl. I have just recd, your letter of the 4th instant inclosing the Detail of your Bridgade.

On the 20th ultimo I wrote the Governor and stated to him the absolute necessity of Directing the adjutant Genl to forward to me without delay, the quota required of my Division under the present requisition, fearfull that the former order alluded to in his late order of the 12th. of January had not reached, you nor the other Brigadiers of my Division, knowing none such had ever reached me. Not having recd. any answer from him as yet I dispair of his noticing my request. I am therefore the more pleased, with the plan you have adopted, If *war* there cannot be too many in readiness if peace it will do honour to the patriotism of the Division that such ardor was displayed on the signal of our government that our country and our Liberties were endangered.

It is certainly time that the regular channel and mode would have been as you have stated, and it is much to be regretted, that the governor did not persue it, on the present urgent occasion, but you know as well as I do that if he knows his duty as a military man he never performs it. Therefore to remedy this defect as far as possible, I have this day wrote to Generals; Johnston and Roberts, To furnish from their respective Brigades 500 men including volunteers and to be completely officered as pr your detail, and as soon as their quota is made up to inform you thereof, and transmit to me, a compleet return, of the officers and men ready for the field. as soon as this is done I will furnish you with a duplicate return, and forward one to the executive. the governor has directed me to corrispond with you "upon any immediate occurrence that may be necessary on the occasion." This will give me pleasure, and I hope by the next mail after this reaches you to receive advice, that the quota in your Brigade is ready for the field.

WASHINGTON JACKSON TO JACKSON.

NATCHEZ, December 20, 1809.

Dear Sir, I have at length made sale of your Wench and Child, to a free French Negro Woman, with whom they have been since they came into my possession, for \$325 say three hundred and twenty five Dollars, which sum Mr. De. D Elliott is to pay me in a few days, and which when rec'd shall advise my Brother thereof so that he may pay you the money as you may require, I think it a fortunate sale as there are but few would take them as a gift, (altho the Wench is a very valuable one) owing to her having the fits and the Child being sickly. I have no charge against them, having got my Washing my done by her, it about amounts to what Cloathing I furnished her with, please make my best Respects to Mrs. J.

I am Sir,

¹ In Governor Sevier to Jackson, Jan. 12, 1809, Brig.-Gen. Winchester is designated to command the detachment of Tennessee militia to be raised for the contemplated service. Jackson's letter to Sevier of Feb. 20, 1809, here mentioned is not in the Jackson MSS.

WILLIAM O. ALLEN TO JACKSON.¹

ST. LOUIS, January 10, 1810.

Dear Genl., I received, your complimentary and friendly letter yesterday; and hasten to write by the return of the mail. The papers, you mention'd, are in my possession, but, as to their production, before the public, etc. I feel much doubt, perplexity, and great solicitude. You know, my dear Genl., that I am *poor*—that, I am a stranger in *this Country*—that my profession is my only means of support: And that the success of my practise, is to depend on the *Good Opinion of the World*. If then, I should leave this, my residence, and go on to the City, there to mix in the scenes of the contemplated investigation, to encounter the machinations, of *Genl. W.*, and his powerful friends—*Cut myself loose from my increasing business, exhaust my money, and spend twelve months of my time*—What, I demand, would be the difficulties, the loses, and privations, that I must necessarily forego? It is impossible for me to enumerate—most of them will Occur, to your strength of mind.

But Sir, if it should be asked, what is it that you would not do, for the benefit of your Country? I would unhesitatingly answer, *every thing*, that is within the *reach* of my *physical or mental powers*! No Sir! for so long as my nerves or mind would act, so long, would I *attempt* to surch for the interest of this beloved Union! Yet Sir, this question arrises, is this the *time*, and *that*, the *subject*, for which my prosperity is to be put afloat; and is it indispensible, that I should give my aid in that investigation? If it is, I will *obey the call of my Country*, when made by a constituted Authority.

Your information relative to the letters etc. in my possession is not circumstantially correct. but it is thus, There, once lived in Louisville K.y, a French Gentlm. by the name of Michael Lacassange, a mercht. Mr. L. and my Brother-in-Law, were (I believe) connected in trade. I presume, that Mr. L. is the person alouded to, by Mr. Clark of Oleans,² in his communications to congress—Mr. C. states, that, “he was, late post-master at Louisville”—Mr. L. was post-master at that place. Mr. Lacassange died, some years since, and left my Brother-in-Law, Ro: K. Moore Esqr. one of his executors. Mr. M. transacted most of the business of Mr L's Estate. In consequence whereof Mr. L.'s papers came to the possion of Mr. M. Mr. Moore died in 1807, and my sister invited me to carriout, and superintend the business of her decd husbands Estate. I did so: And thus Mr. L's papers, were placed in my hands.

As to the tendancy of those papers, I will not give an Opinion *now*. But surely, a *part*, of Genl W's history etc. may be collected from their perusal. If any impression has been made on your mind averse to the Honor of my Brother-in-Law's memory, it should be instantly removed, for from all of L.'s and his own papers it dose appear, that *he was always*

¹ In *Army Reg.* for 1813, p. 99, appears William O. Allen as a captain in the 24th Regt. Robert Butler, son of Jackson's friend. Col. Thomas Butler, and later his efficient adjutant-general in the New Orleans campaign, was a major in the same regiment.

² Daniel Clark, *Proofs of the Complicity of Gen. Wilkinson*.

an excellent patriot. Be careful, in your use of this letter, but, at the same time, consult the interest of my Country.

Take, and Keep a copy. . . .

To ———.¹

HERMITAGE, February 10, 1810

Dear Sir: Last Thursdays mail brought me an answer to the letter I informed you I had written to a gentleman of my acquaintance, in whose hands and possession I was advised, was a serious of letters which contained the communication between Genl Wilkison and his deceased brotherinlaw, which went plainly to prove, the receipt of large sums of money by Wilkison from Spain, and compleatly to shew the nature completion and tendency of that conspiracy, from which I find my information was correct as to the letters being in his hands but incorrect as to his brotherinlaw being the individual with whom Wilkison had and held the correspondence but that it was with a Michael Lacasange, the person named by Danl Clark in his affidavit and aluded to in his pamphlet. My Dear Sir I think it a duty I owe to my self and country to enclose you a coopy of this letter that you may shew it to the President of the U.N. States, that you and he may see the effects of over grown treason, treachery and corruption when cloathed with power and supported by the sm[i]les of government over virtuous poverty in private station. yes Sir I know the writer to be a patriott, and possessing Virtue such as every citizen ought to possess, who the god of nature has intended to live in a land of freedom and to enjoy the blessings of a government like ours and which alone can perpetuate to the nation of america its freedom and independance and yet with all his firmness and virtue, he dreads to meet the influence of W[ilkinson] and his powerful friends. yes Sir I know he is a man of firmness, and I once knew him before he obtained possession of these papers at Richmond in 1807, the open and avowed supporter of the Genl. View now his feelings from facts and events. at that day any virtuous patriot who had honesty and firmness to come forward and disclose facts was immediately branded with the epithet of *Traitor Burr-rite* etc. and let his reputation or standing be what it might, he fell a, ruthless victim at the shrine of the lords anointed to shield this hidden but well known villain from that Just Punishment, that a fair and impartial inquiry into his conduct would have lead to. my god is it possible, that the influence of a great and Publick villain and his friends in this infant republick are such as to overawe the poor but virtuous from disclosing evidence that would when lincked with that before the Public, go to shew compleatly that our government has been heaping all their favours upon a wretch who was meditating this destruction, and the greater the strength of evidence against him, the more favours and encomiums, by

¹ Probably written to one of the Tennesseans in Washington. An expression in Jackson to Randolph, Feb. 20, 1810, *post*, suggests that it was sent to Jenkins Whiteside, U. S. senator from Tennessee. However, against this supposition is the fact that another letter from Jackson to Whiteside exists for the same date, and in it is no reference to Wilkinson. Tennessee's other Congressmen were Joseph Anderson, senator, Pleasant Miller, John Rhea, and Robert Weakley, representatives.

government bestowed upon him which at once gave the lie to his accusers, and as I observed before the virtuous Patriot who had courage enough to step forward to warn the country to unmask Treason and Treachery fell a ruthless victim before the impious and thundering accusations of Wilkison untill *virtue itself* stood *apalled* and *amased* at the sight of this hardy villain Who spurns the power of truth and enquiry and riding triumphant over virtue and his accusers. These are the effects that has been produced in society, and a sufficient proof is contained in the letter a coopy of which I inclose (and the mock trial by the court of enquiry and the executive approbation so loudly proclaimed was the engine that has lead to it.)² But I hope the energy and firmness of the present chief magistrate will compell an enquiry, and I am well convinced, if ever an enquiry is had and that before a tribunal that can enforce the production of those letters which are in the handwriting of the Genl it will with other proofs before the publick *compleatly unmask* him. What my Dear Sir Just on the eve of war, and a Treator at the head of the army—a commander in chief in whom the citizens that is to fight your Battles have no confidence, that they know is every thing but a honest man and virtuous Patriot—and still with all the prooffs that is before the public and in the hands of individuals still enjoying the confidence of government. What impressions is this calculated to make upon the publick mind. I can tell you what it is making—That the people begin to think there are some favorites who have been high in office in the united States whose complection would be scorched by the enquiry. I have Just to add that I inclose you a coopy of the letter with a request that you shew it to the president with the injunction that the name of writer is only to be made publick when the good of the publick requires it. as to this letter of mine you are at liberty to do with it as you please. I am reguar[d]less of the smiles or frowns of the Genl or his friends altho he may be supported by the favours and smiles of Gov. When I obtain information of Treason treachery or vilany either in Publick or private walks in church or state, regardless of smiles or frowns I will do my duty, I will make them known to the Publick, and if Possible bring them to meritted Punishment. I shall await on this occasion, an enquiry by government. Should that not take place I shall make known to the publick, The corrispondance between the Genl and Mr L. if I can obtain [it.] For Villainy has too long escaped punishment, and Virtue in the united States appears to groan under oppression, whilst treason and treachery is idolised, and hailed as the savior of our country yrs etc.

TO JENKINS WHITESIDE.¹

HERMITAGE, February 10, 1810

Dear Sir, I have Just recd. your friendly and polite letter of the 26th. last month to which I hasten to reply. When I was solicited by those

² A line is drawn around the words in parenthesis, as though the writer doubted the propriety of using them. The letter is a much corrected draft in Jackson's handwriting.

¹ United States senator, 1809-1811.

respectable citizens and particular friends of mine who are about to remove to the county of Madison to accept of the appointment of Judge in that county in case such arrangement was made, I had it not in contemplation of becoming a citizen of that county. From my pursuits for several years past, from many unpleasant occurrences that took place during that time it has given to my mind such a turn of thought, that I have laboured to get clear off. I have found this impossible, and unless some new pursuit to employ my mind and thoughts, I find it impossible to divest myself of those habits of gloomy and peevish reflections that the wanton and flagitious conduct, and unmerited reflection of base calumny, heaped upon me has given rise to. in order to try the experiment how far new scenes might relieve me from this unpleasant tone of thought, I did conclude to accept that appointment in case it was offered me, and I was careless about the compensation attached to the appointment.

Since the arrival of last mail which brought your letter two of my friends, fearful from the provisions of the law, that it would prevent me from accepting in case it was offered to me has visited me whose arguments and wishes has brought me to the following conclusion. That in case the office should be offered to me I will accept thereof if the compensation is such that will meet necessary annual expences. it is stated to me that the salary of the Judge of Washington county is \$1000, 1200, or 1500. Either of these sums is fully adequate to my expence lower than either would not, and for a less than the lowest I would not accept, and notwithstanding I am not needy, and I have a wish to gratify my friends, still it is a duty I owe myself and family, not to impair my little competency which I possess from my own industry to the gratification of my friends or the service of my country when that service can be performed as well by others. You may think it curious that I have been so unatentive to the civil text of late years, as not to know the compensation of the different officers of government, but it is really the fact, and I do not know the salary that Judge Tollman receives. I therefore state to you if the salary is \$1000 or upwards under the condition of the law I will accept and if permanent residence is not required, for any salary for the before mentioned reasons I would accept.

far from the Temporising disposition displayed by congress, I am well aware that no act of insult, degradation or contumely offered to our government will arouse them from their present lethargy and temporising conduct, untill my name sake ² sets fire to some of our seaport Towns and puts his foot aboard a British man of war. Then perhaps, the Spirit of 76. may again arise. I was in hopes, that the energy of the executive would have been followed up by congress, but the arguments made use of and the opposition to the resolution from the Senate has convinced me that the present congress will not act with energy, that some of our old republican friends, have either lost their usual good judgment. or their Political principle. from all which I conclude that as a military man I shall have no amusement or business, and indolence and inaction would shortly

² Francis James Jackson, envoy of Great Britain.

destroy me. for these reasons and under the provisions of this letter I authorise you to say that if appointed I will accept. . . .³

TO WILLIE BLOUNT.¹

HERMITAGE, February 15, 1810

Dear Sir. your letter of the first of this instant is before me and it will afford me pleasure to comply with the request, I would herewith inclose to you the returns from the different Brigades composing my Division in 1809 which at one glance would shew you the state and condition thereof and from which you would discover that there is a great deficiency of arms and accoutrements. But presuming, that these returns you will find at the seat of Government in the office of the adjutant Genl, of the state, or amongst the archives which were handed over to you by your predecessor—I omit inclosing them. It is certainly true that at a time like the present great attention ought to be paid to the discipline of the militia—they ought to be in readiness to act. But Sir under the laws of our State the militia never will be disciplined, the[y] never can, and it appears, that as danger approaches the less attention is paid to this all important subject to the Defence of our country by Congress who alone can pass efficient laws to diffuse discipline amongst us and which will give us a uniform militia throughout the union. before the militia under our state regulations can be disciplined, the mode pointed out by the county for the election of officers must be changed. Without this, proper subordination never will be maintained amongst the militia—hence no discipline. This is the first change, that must be effected—next to this the[y] must be classed (and as you have asked my opinion on the most proper plan of classification I will here give it) first I would class the militia into two classes only the first class should be from the age of 18 to 28 inclusive second from 28 to 40. The first class should be the first for duty. This class would form an army too numerous for any one requisition from the general Government upon the state. I would then divide this first class, into as many divisions as it would admit of, to meet the demands of the general government on any case of emergency that might occur, this could be easily known from the number of militia required by the laws of the union

³ Donelson Caffery, a nephew of Mrs. Jackson's, writing to Jackson from Natchez, Dec. 5, 1810, had this to say about Jackson's desire to move to Mississippi: "Cousin Sandy informs me you are determin'd to move to this Country, I will not pretend to advise you, but persist in the opinion I have before express'd, that were I, in your situation would not move. You have nearly got through all your embarrassments, you have a delightful farm, from the produce of which you will at least be able to live comfortably; by the respectable and well inform'd part of the Country you are highly esteem'd, you are able to select a good society from yr. neighborhood. You have been able there to read the Characters of men in their actions; here another Volume will be presented to our view in which human baseness will take up a considerable part." But Gen. Wade Hampton's letter to Jackson, Dec. 9, 1810, shows that Jackson did not give up his idea of selling his estate. See *post*.

¹ Copy. Willie Blount succeeded Sevier as governor, in 1809, and continued in office until 1815. His reply to Jackson, Mar. 15, 1810, was complaisant, but there is no evidence that any serious attempt was made to adopt Jackson's suggestions. Gov. Blount's baptismal name was pronounced "Wiley", a common usage in North Carolina where he was born, *e. g.*, Willie Jones, and Willie P. Mangum.

to be held in readiness to act at the call of the President. When this was done at the expence of the Publick compleat camp equipage should be furnished for the number in the first class for duty, which first class should be held in readiness for service for one year in case during that time there should be a call after such clasification this first class should be ordered into the field and there cantooned at given points, placed under the directions of officers appointed by government competant to dicipline both officers and men for the space of two months from the date of their arival at the place of rendezvous at which Period the[y] should be dismissed (unless their servic[e]s should be required, against an enemy) and would carry with them amongst their fellow citizens the knowledge of the dicipline they had acquired—and when dismissed the second class should be called on and undergo the same rotine of dicipline under the same drill officers as the first class etc. etc. untill the whole of the first class shall be Thus diciplined and assured to the duties of the field. When they are dismissed and intermet with their fellow citizens again the[y] will carry with them a knowledge of Tactics that they can difuse throughout our fellow citizens, will raise a military ardor, throughout the country and stimulate others to vie with them in the knowledge and art of war. But this I know will be objected to because it will occasion expence. To which I answer—our independence and Liberty was not obtained without expence. It was dearly Bought—both with Blood and Treasure, It must be preserved. the pence on this subject never should be counted—and its only real and substantial defence is a well organized militia—and we can not we find from experience have this without expence. From the scenes of corruption, that has lately been discovered in the genl of our regular army, the ideas contained in the constitution is verified, that the sure defence and Bulwork of our Liberty is in a well organized militia. I would also advise that every three years, the militia should be classed and thus diciplined. this will always keep ready for duty, the young and healthy part of our citizens who will be able to undergo any hardship or fatigue and keep our militia in a proper state of discipline; laws well calculated to inforce subordination. When thus introduced by the dicipline of the first class for duty it can be kept up and every three years being classed the rising youths, will become diciplined on cases of amer-gency, our State in a verry few years could furnish an army sufficient to face any enemy that could be introduced by an invading foe. If this plan or any similar should be adopted, it will at once present to your view the necessity of our state or the general Government supplying the militia with arms and accoutrements. our state possesses fine raw materials for an army it only requires a little manufactory, to be able if necessary to oppose with success Boneparts invincibles, but to do this with success, it will require two things, first *dicipline* second arms, to carry into execution, all the benefits of dicipline. But to shew you, the military a[r]dor, that prevades my Division I inclose you Genl James Winchesters Report to me under my last order under the requisition of the genl Government the Detachment was filled on short notice by voluntary enlistment. But Sir the frequent calls for the militia by the Genl Government, without

action is well calculated to destroy the military ardor that has prevailed and which I still hope exists. It has frequently Brought to my mind the fable of the wolf and the Shepard, and the Temporising Spirit that appears to prevade Congress under passing insulting and degrading scenes, convince me, that let the pulse of the nation be what it may congress will try to paralise it. the nation possessing a proper dignity of feeling for the many degradations and insults our government has recd the[y] are ripe for war but congress is temporising. But I will do my duty and aid you in maturing any plan to dicipline the militia, which when well organized, may emphatically be stiled the sure Bullwork, and defence of the nation. I am yours with respect

TO JOHN RANDOLPH.

HERMITAGE, February 20, 1810

Sir. I should have adressed you some weeks ago, had I heard, that your health had permitted you to take your seat in congress. I now hope this will find you in your seat It is highly probable from what is stated in the public prints, that an inquiry may be had into the conduct of Genl Don James Wilkison. Should this be the case I think it a duty I owe myself and country, that it may be known; where testimony exist, in the hand writing of the genl, that may throw some light upon the inquiry. This (as I am advised) is a lengthy correspondence had and held between the Genl and Mr Laca[s]sang[e] formerly Postmaster at the fall of the ohio. The letter from Obediah B. Hays Esqr which you will receive by this mail, will give you the channel through which I obtained my information. The Publick I think will be much indebted to him. The inclosed coopy of a letter, will shew you in whose hands the correspondence are, and when you are informed, that my letter to which the inclosed is an answer stated, that "I was informed; the corespondance would establish the genls being a Pensioner of Spain—who were concerned and the object of the conspiracy the severance of the western from the Eastern states etc. etc." you will perceive from the answer that these papers prove *much*. I have no doubt from the information I have recd. from Mr Hays that they will prove more than I anticipated.

It is to be regretted that the arm of Govt. has been stretched forth to shield this publick villain, from that just *publick* punishment that he merits. It has appeared to me that the clouds of testimony of his guilt thickened around him. the more the respectability of his accusers; the more the favours of government were heaped upon him, and by this means inquiry crushed, and truth intimidated and from the inclosed you will see, that this object has been attained. for I believe Capt O Allen a man of firmness, and a Patriot, and with what solicitude he writes, and expresses himself on the occasion. The Publick mind is now calm, This villain of corruption and iniquity must be draged from his lurking place, and unmasked to the world. The stain that the goverment of our country has recd by having such a charector at the head of our army must be washed out by a Just and publick punishment, and I fear that there is not

a man on the floor of congress that has firmness and independance enough, to bring forward to the bar of Justice this *once favorite* of *presidential* care: but yourself. I therefore write you, and inclose information in whose hands this precious correspondance between the Genl and Mr Laca[s]sang[e] can be found. I have to request that the inclosed will not be made publick untill It is necessary. you will see with what caution he confines me to the use of his letter. as to my letter you may use it as you please. where villainy is concerned I have no secretes. I neither fear the frowns, nor court the smiles of *Genl Wilkison and his friends*, however influential the[y] may be. I have sent a coopy of the inclosed letter to Mr Jenkin Whiteside of the Senate with a request that he shews it to the President—That he may take early measures for the preservation of this correspondanc[e]. Should he *not act* so as to procure them; I write this to you, that measures may be adopted; that this correspondence may be obtained, and laid before the publick.

The subject of this letter I hope will be a sufficient apology for my intruding it upon you. The matter it contains induces me to write you. our verry slight acquaintanc[e] I know would not warrent me in opening a correspondance, but the subject requires a man of talents and firmness on the floor of congress, and for this reason I intrust the subject to your hands. I am Sir with high regard for your charector yr. mo. ob. serv.

P S. Capt. O Allen was raised in or near Petersburg has been well recommended to me. It is likely you are personally acquainted with him, when I first knew him it was in Richmond in 1807, he was then the open supporter of Wilkison—and I believe from a sincere belief of his merit. he came to the western country in the fall of that year. these papers fell into his hands which has verified to him that the Genl was just such a composition of corruption as I had assured him he would find him to be upon inquiry and investigation. From the small acquaintance I have with Capt. O Allen, I have I [*sic*] high confidence in his integrity and probity, and he is thus considered by all his new acquaintances in the west that I have heard speak of him.

W. H. OVERTON TO JACKSON.

CANTONMENT WASHINGTON, September 26, 1810

sir. My long absence from your part of the country and my remote situation heretofore which debarred me from all communications, together with that respect which I have always had for you and your good lady induces me to drop you a line. you no doubt have heard ere this of the internal commotion of East florida¹ on the 23d the Americans declared themselves independent and on that day two hundred and fifty of them, marched and that night took posses[s]ion of Baton Rouge. Killed the commanding officer a mr Grand-pre and a few Spanish soldiers, without losing a man they are headed by a Genl Thomas formerly of Kentucky they also have the governor Lasuse² in Irons, Governor Folk is now

¹ Meaning, West Florida.

² Delassus.

marching to meet them in a few days we shall have the particulars of that battle it is said Folk has five hundred men you have no idea of the anxiety of the army over to assist their brave countrymen in taking possession of that Elegant part of this country, which our non energetic government long since purchased. the Governor of this territory has ordered out a part of the militia to be stationed on the line to prevent any intercourse and to obstruct the negroes from passing to the assistance of Either a part of our troops I think will be requested also, and there is but little doubt of the request being granted, as we are panting for Exercise. If you have never visited this country I think Sir it would be even worth your while as it is much the finest I have ever seen, this Sir is the place for making fortunes, I have persuaded my father much to remove here but he pays no attention to my entreaties. I think were you to see this country you would move the whole neighborhood. pray Sir favor me with a scroll, present my best respects to Mrs Jackson and Believe to be with the highest Esteem, your friend

WADE HAMPTON TO JACKSON.¹

MOUTH OF ELK, December 9, 1810.

Dear Sir, As I am fearful my Horses in your hands may not arrive in time to go down with my own, I will beg the favor of you to make the most of them. I am sure you will [do] with them as you would with your own, and be pleased to request Capt. Brahan to do the same with the Dragon. I am vastly partial to your elegant seat and fine tract of land, but my face is turned the wrong course for purchases. In truth my thoughts are very much occupied with the objects of my journey, altho' perhaps to much less account. I see I must come and give you all a *lesson* or shall loose my credit as a sportsman.

Very truly and respectfully

I am off in half an hour.

TO WILLIAM EUSTIS.¹

HERMITAGE NEAR NASHVILLE, May 10, 1811.

Sir. I have Just recd. the inclosed from the officers of the Volunteer corps of infantry of the Town of Nashville soliciting me to write you on the subject of arms.

This is a corps of respectable merchants and Mecanicks, whose military pride will prompt them on, to acquire a knowledge of tactics and discipline, and I have no doubt but in a short space of time, they will be able to vie in the field with the oldest veterans, Provided they can obtain arms *proper* for field exercise.

¹ Hampton was a prominent South Carolinian. It is known that Jackson spent a portion of his youth in Charleston, where he frequented the racetrack, and it is suggested that he there became acquainted with some of the leading sportsmen and acquired his lofty sportman's ideas. This letter shows that in 1810 he was on easy terms with one of the leading patrons of the turf in the South. In 1809 Hampton was made a brigadier-general in the regular army and stationed in New Orleans. He was superseded, in the command, by Brig.-Gen. James Wilkinson, in 1812.

² Secretary of War. War Dept. files.

In this state we have no such thing as musketts indeed the Legislature of this state has shamefully neglected their duty in this respect, and in every other respect as it relates to a well organised militia. There are a number of stand of arms at Highwasie, and I am told in a bad state. Would it not then be well to make a deposit of sixty stand of Musketts in the hands of Capt. Carrol, Lt. Paxton and Ensign Tannehill, these officers are gentlemen of Property and standing in society, and in whom confidence may be placed that the arms will be well taken care of, and faithfully delivered to any agent of the united states on demand and from Nashville the arms can find a speedy and safe conveyance to any point southwestward, should the united states have a call for them in that quarter, and I will vouch for this corps (should their country call) that they will make as good a use of those arms as any other corps belonging to the army of the united states, and that they may be counted on with certainty in case of any emergency, and *in the hour of danger*. Wishing to augment the military ardor of the militia of this quarter, (which appears to slumber) I would be much gratified, in the corps being furnished with the musketts—their appearance in the field would act as a stimulent to others and in a short time we might have several well trained corps ready for the field. If therefore it is consistant with your powers, I have no doubt from your military charector that the request of the volunteer corps of infantry of Nashville will be granted, and that you will inclose me an order to the proper officers to deliver to capt. Carroll etc etc, the sixty stand of Musketts etc etc the Gentleman applying for them giving security that the[y] shall be kept in good order and safely returned to the order of the united States when demanded—on these terms the arms will be thankfully received.

altho not personally known to you, the subject of this letter will in itself be a sufficient apology for the intrusion, particularly, when the clouds of war appear to be hovering around us.

I am Sir with due respect

TO GEORGE W. CAMPBELL.¹

[n. p.] August 5, 1811.

Sir. Agreeable to your request I send you an acct of Expence of keeping your sorrel mare—whether I am precisely correct as to time and date I cannot precisely say—for never intending to have presented you with an acct had it not have been for your request I have no date except the Stud Book, of the date she was put to the horse, and agreeable thereto I have made out the acct you will note that if you have give the mare to Mr. Childress to breed from on the shares I suppose he is chargeable with the last season, if so, he may acct to me or to you for the season as you may think proper—I am Sir with due regard

P. S. You will be good enough to Credit yourself for the amount due you for fees—and strike a ballance, and when done you will please advise me in whose favour the ballance stands.

¹ Mrs. Susan P. Brown Coll., through Dr. Lucius P. Brown, Franklin, Tenn.

ANTHONY BUTLER TO JACKSON.¹

RUSSELLVILLE, October 28, 1811.

My dear General, As your great sweepstake is still on hand, I have not allowed myself to expect you over: But so soon as that question is settled I must count on you every day. In the mean time let me insist on your sending the Horses forthwith which are destined for this Turf. As you have Mr. Hutchings with you Dinwiddie might be spared to come over, and the Horses should be here to rest a few days previous to the Races which commence tomorrow week. I shall expect *Decatur* and *at least one more that can be counted on*, we have a much better show of Nags over here than last year, and they have been so bantering and jeering me that I must beat them if possible. Stables are prepared and Corn and Oats on hand waiting your arrival: I have two pretty good Cyder Nags and when you get here we shall compare chances and do for the best in our placing the Horses. If you mean to let the Horses come lose no time.

Yrs. very sincerely

THOMAS A. CLAIBORNE TO JACKSON.

NATCHEZ, November 26, 1811.

My dear Sir, The intimate acquaintanc[e] which I had the satisfaction to maintain with you during my residence in Tennessee renders it unnecessary for me to offer an apology for obtruding on your notice; the particulars of a recent affair of honor in which I officiated as surgeon to one of the gentlemen engaged. Indeed it so frequently happens on such occasions that facts are mistated, either with, or without, an intention of producing an improper impression, that I feel particularly anxious, that you should know the circumstances from one who witnessed them precisely as they occurred.

During the late election contest; the most violent struggle was made to prevent the reelection of [George] Poindexter Esquire, as our representative in the Congress of the United States. The means employed by the federalists, were deemed by mr Poindexter to be of a personal nature highly indecorous and insulting to his feelings. Among those who were most active and vigilant in the circulation of hand bills, to promote the views of the federal party and the election of Robert Williams, was Abijah Hunt Esquire merchant of Natchez. The Election resulted in favour of mr Poindexter by a majority of 1346 Votes.

This part of the drama, was followed by an immediate demand, of Mr Hunt to come to an eclaircissement on the field of honor, with mr Poindexter for the personal injuries and insults which he believed he had

¹ Anthony Butler was a son of Maj. Edward Butler who served as adjutant-general to General Wayne in 1796. The major was brother of that Col. Thomas Butler who aroused Jackson's sympathy by refusing to crop his hair. When the major died, in 1805, Jackson became guardian of his two sons, Edward G. W. Butler and Anthony Wayne Butler. (Cf. Jackson to Gen. J. Stephenson, Mar. 11, 1804). Russellville was about fifty-five miles northeast of Nashville. Butler was later entrusted by Jackson with the task of buying Texas from Mexico and conducted the negotiation so badly that he forfeited Jackson's good will and respect.

sustained from Mr Hunt, during the canvass. The invitation was accepted, and the parties met on the western margin of the Mississippi on Friday the 7th. Instant. Wm C Mead Esq late an officer in the army of the United States and Lieutenant James Peyton were the friends of Mr Poindexter and I at his particular request attended him as surgeon. E Bradish and Elijah Smith Esquires were the friends of Mr Hunt and Doctor Duncan attended him in the character of surgeon. At four o'clock [mut.] the parties took their posts, at the distance of ten paces, and at the first exchange of fire; Mr Hunt received the Ball of his Antagonist through the Abdomen of which wound he expired, on the Sunday Evening following. It is due to Mr Poindexter to remark, that from the commencement to the close of this unfortunate affair, he behaved with the greatest coolness and composure, and observed the strictest attention to etiquette and the principles of honor. . . .

FELIX GRUNDY TO JACKSON.

WASHINGTON, November 28, 1811.

Dear Genl, It is now late at night and I have just returned from a meeting of the Committee on our Foreign Relations, of which I am a member. If the opinion of that Committee is to prevail I may say The Ruebicon is pass'd. With a full determination to report in favor of actual War, at a given period, we for the present, shall recommend, filling up the ranks of the present military establishment, which will make ten thousand; in addition we recommend, the raising ten thousand more regulars, also the acceptance of 50,000 Volunteers, detachments of the Militia etc. arming the Merchantmen etc. The above, I am authorised to say meets fully the approbation of the Executive, and indeed the cooperation of that department in ulterior measures was promised, before a Majority of the Committee could be brought to so mild a Course, and, sir, I must say that I as one member wanted a pledge as to the Application of the force before I could heartily Join in raising it, and still, I could not think of War untill I saw something like the means provided. Rely, on one thing, we have War or Honorable peace before we adjourn or certain great personages have produced a state of things which will bring them down from their high places, If there be honest men enough to tell the truth loudly. On the business named in Yr letter you shall hear from me next week at present my account would not be satisfactory. The contents of this may be no secret, but it is not written for publication. I am yrs

P S, As to young men in my District who ought to be applied for as proper persons for Appointments in the Regular service, you know I am at a loss. Young [Mr. Parsons] lives with Elihu S Hall, I have forgotten the christian name of, let me know it. I beleive, John is the name of the Mr Reed who acts a Clerk in the Bank,¹ If wrong put this right—And give me any further informed in yr power.

¹ This seems to be that John Reid who was Jackson's most efficient aide de camp in 1813-1815. It is the first appearance of his name in the Jackson correspondence. See *post*, Maj. John Reid to Jackson, Dec. 11, 1812, note.

TO JAMES WINCHESTER, DIVISION ORDERS.

HERMITAGE, November 28, 1811

The Period has arived that calls for the energies of the nation; our government have been compelled by the conduct and acts of great Britain to take a stand, that must lead to actual war if great Britain should not immediately retrace her steps, and repair the many insults and multiplied injuries that we have so long and so patiently endured from, her. To prepare for this event, it is necessary, that we should place ourselves in a state of readiness to support our government and with a strong hand insist [on] that Justice from her, that in a state of peace she has so long and so unjustly withheld from us. It is at length discovered that indecisive and wayward measures will not do. Our president in his communication to congress has taken that firm and manly stand worthy the chief magistrate of america, and which is necessary to preserve our national honor and independance, and it will be the pride and boast of every lover of his country to support the government in every measure it may take in persuit of that Justice that is due to us as a neutral and independant nation. In the west on the wabash, excited by some secrete influence the savage Tomhawk and scalping knife is raised the blow is struk *war savage war* has been commenced, and we have to regret, the loss of many of our brave country men who on the 7th. instant fell bravely by the hands of the deceitfull and ruthless savages. The blood of our murdered fellow citizens must be revenged. Governor Harrison for the want of sufficient force has been compelled to retreat. he must be aided. I have wrote to him of this date, that on his call on me, I will march with 1000 or 500 men to his support. in the patriotic ardor of my division I have implicit confidence, that in ten days, that number by voluntary enlistment can be marched. I have confidence that all those who tendered their services to the general government on a former occasion and particularly, the independant companys of infantry and rifle corps will now come forward and renew it. you will see from the Presidents communication to congress that he recommends that provisions be made "for the acceptance of volunteer corps whose patriotic ardor may court a participation in urgent services" you will therefore without delay place your Brigade in the best Possible state of readiness, to furnish your quota of such requisition as may be made of me by the President of the united States thro the Governor of this State, instill into the minds of your officers a proper attention to discipline and encourage as much as in your power lies volunteer corps sufficient to act in urgent services. recommend to your officers, to meet every fortnight for drill by this means they will acquire a knowledge of Tactick themselves which when acquired they can easily difuse thro their men. as early as practible make known to me the state of your Brigade, the number of volunteers inrolled and ready for duty. Should Governor Harrison Invite me to his aid, I shall make known, by a general order, the mode of equipment the time and place of Rendezvous. I have appointed Major John Coffee of Rutherford my

second aid in the room of Colo. Purdy resigned, and all officers are commanded and required to obey him as such.¹

TO WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.¹

HERMITAGE, November 30, 1811

with deep and heartfelt regret, I received the information of the loss you sustained on the morning of the 7th. instant by the attack of the indians upon your encampment. upon the receipt of this information, and hearing that you were slowly retreating I Issued orders to my respective Brigades to hold themself in readiness to march to your support, in case the safety of your frontier and your request might make it necessary and proper.

Should the aid of part of my Division be necessary to enable you to revenge the blood of our brave heroes who fell by the deceitfull hands of those unrelenting barbarians, I will with pleasure march with five hundred or one thousand brave Tennesseens. The *Blood of our murdered heroes must be revenged* that Banditti ought to be swept from the face of the earth. I do hope that Goverment will see that it is necessary to act efficiently, and that this Hostile band, which must be excited to war by the secrete agents of Great Britain must be destroyed. Should my services be necessary to your safety and that of your Country by notifying me thereof, and at what Point I can meet with supplies, I will have the number required at a short day at the appointed place. Being called by imperious business from home, for a short time I have directed my aids Major Anderson and Major Coffee, to attend at Nashville receive letters to my address, and should you require men, to have them ready and prepared to march at my return. you will please address me at Nashville.

accept assurances of my Esteem and respect.

DIVISION ORDERS.¹

November, 1811

Soldiers attend—we are invited, by Governor Harrison to partake in the glory of avenging the blood of our brave fellow citizens who fell by

¹ With respect of this proclamation, Felix Grundy on Dec. 24, 1811, wrote Jackson, from Washington, as follows: "I have with great pleasure, receiv'd a newspaper containing Genrl Jackson's Division orders, they breath no doubt the sentiments of my District and what added much to my gratification was the circumstance of their arrival a few days after I had in a speech stated what I believed the sentiments of my Constituents were—while others were speaking doubtfully about the sentiments of their Districts, I had only to pull out, my Genrls orders, as I often said to shew, what my Constituents thought and felt he had confirmed every thing I had said on the subject. I took the liberty of transmitting the paper containing those orders to the president, and firmly beleive, that G Britain must recede or this Congress will declare war. If the latter takes place the Canadas and Florida will be the Theatres of our offensive operations. If War is not resorted to, one thing is certain to my mind, this nation or rather their representatives will be disgraced."

¹ Governor of Indiana Territory. The battle of Tippecanoe was fought Nov. 7, 1811.

¹ Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.

the treacherous hands of the savages on the 7th of November.² whose bosom will not beat with pleasure at the joyfull moment of having it in their power to be enlisted in the glorious cause of avenging the death of the brave the virtuous Davies, Owen, White and Randolph, with the other worthies who died and bled on that day. Then prepare, let your cloathing be of the warmest kind, but not unwieldy, your arms choice rifles, or musketts with bayonet, your flints sharp, your steels bright and your powder of the choicest kind, you will find your selves, with provisions to last you to where you will be supplied by the government. you will meet at Springfield Robertson county on the day of from which place on the succeeding day, you will receive orders to march by such routs as your general may be advised may be the most expeditious. Genl James Winchester will command the Brigade and your general will watch over you with the tender care of a parent and lead you on to victory, all officers commanding volunteers corps are commanded to make returns of their companies to the undersigned, or to Genl Winchester, on the day of so that the undersigned may know the number and strength of his escort, to and advise supplies accordingly.

Maj John Coffee

Something like the above will be necessary on the receipt of Governor Harrisons letter; if he requests my aid; if he should not, then an order, first containing the substance of his polite reply (for this I expect), and concluding to the Division to continue their preparations for defence and voluntary enlistment, that war (if the advices from congress say so or so portend) will be inevitable and the government rely on our patriotism and expect to be supported, our national honor our liberties, and independence require it, and it is the pride of your general that he has never been disappointed in your valour your patriotism or readiness to step forward in defence of your rights and liberties at your countrys call, and at present he knows he will not be disappointed, or your government have cause to say that the Militia is not the sure bulwark of national defence, etc. etc. etc. It must be spirited. I know you can and your colleage if he is here mould it to suit the times. farewell. I shall hasten back, and if a call by Harrison is made wright me to Gibson port.

ANDREW JACKSON

GEORGE W. CAMPBELL TO JACKSON.

WASHINGTON, December 24, 1811.

Dear Sir, The public prints will give you the ordinary proceedings of both houses. By these you will see we are raising *large regular* armies, and making preparations for *war*, and talking a great deal about

² It was Nov. 7, 1811, that Harrison beat off the ferocious attack of the Indians at Tippecanoe and fell back to the settlements in Indiana. The first impression of the public was that the battle was a defeat; but, as the Indians did not follow his retrograde movement, it was hailed as a success. The original of this order is in Jackson's handwriting. The fact that it exists in Coffee's papers with blanks not filled in suggests that it was not promulgated.

taking Canada etc. Some are in earnest in all this, and others, it is believed are not. The Government, no doubt, mean what the message of the Executive stated to the nation, that it is high time to take a firm position and maintain it, though war should be the consequence. From present appearances it is extremely difficult to perceive how war can be avoided, without degrading the national character, still lower, than it now is, which certainly cannot be desirable. For there is no ground to expect G. Britain will abandon her system of depredation on our commerce, or her habitual violations of the personal rights of our citizens in the impressment of our seamen. It is understood and believed here, that Mr. Foster¹ has no powers, whatever to negotiate respecting those great subjects of complaint on our part, unless it be to receive propositions, and forward them to his Court, and it is probable, our Government will make no further propositions to that nation unless she changes her course of measures towards us by revoking her orders etc. violating our neutral rights. under these circumstances the prospect is very gloomy, and a rupture between the two countries seems more than probable. To prepare for such event is certainly the duty of Congress. There is no doubt, at present, but the regular military force, will be increased to, 25,000, men, or more, authority will also be given to raise volunteers, call out the militia etc.—probably merchant vessels will be permitted to arm, and our present naval force, filled out and prepared for service, but what will be the final result of all this cannot, at present, be determined—many, who vote for, armies, a navy, and all other expenditures that are proposed will vote against war with England!!—time alone will develop *their views*. . . .

LIST OF JACKSON'S TAXABLE PROPERTY.

January 1, 1812

The list of Andrew Jackson Taxable property in the County of Davidson for the year 1812.

640 acres of land—whereon he lives

640 in two tracts belonging to John, Andrew Jackson, and Daniel Donelson sons of Saml Donelson Deceased.¹

one stud horse (Truxton) which will stand in Gallatine Sumner Cyt.
1 white Polls.

Black Polls on the first day of January 1812—*Twenty*.

J. MOORE TO JACKSON.

PORT GIBSON, January 22, 1812.

General Jackson

Sir: From the acquaintance with which I was honoured with you during your late Stay at Port Gibson I take the liberty of introducing to you my Brother Mr James Moore. who on his way to Pennsylvania will

¹ Augustus J. Foster was British minister to the United States. He was received by Madison on July 2, 1811.

¹ For whom Jackson was guardian. The list was made by Thomas Overton, "for Linsey".

probably give you a Call. In that Case I must request you to aid him with a little advice with respect to the Management of His Horse Rodney, on his Journey. call him to an Account for his Capers in the Wilderness and Send him On. He takes with him a Negro Boy whom I have directed him to leave in your Care and must request the favour of you to Send him to me by the first Opportunity that you may think a proper One. Such an One as you would send a boy of your Own by. he is a boy I esteem very much but a Great Rascal in fact, they are both Rare birds. Two such never went through the Wilderness together I know. I have another favour to ask of you If James should lame or tire his Horse that you will furnish him with such a Horse as will carry him to philadelphia and his draft on me for the price shall be paid at Sight. . . .

THOMAS H. BENTON TO JACKSON.

NASHVILLE, January 30, 1812.

Dr. Sir, I had expected to have seen you at this place; not having the pleasure to do so, I have taken the liberty to trouble you with this letter. In the event that a volunteer force should be raised, there is no question, I fancy, but that you will command the division which goes from this state; and as I have always been resolved to quit the gown for the sword, whenever the sword was to be used, I mean, on some terms or other, to be in that corps. I can and will raise a company from my own county; but a more eligible situation would be that of Aid to the General. Now the truth is, I know of nothing that could recommend me to such a place; but the natural inclination which all young men feel, or ought to feel, to advance themselves in the world, has induced me to say to you, that if you should lack an officer of this kind, and should be able to find none better than myself, that I should deem myself honored by your approbation. I beg you not to answer this application, or to take any other notice of it than merely to remember that if you should think proper to use me, I am entirely at your service.

As soon as the bill for raising volunteers has passed, and we have learnt its details, I shall do myself the pleasure to come and see you, that I may get your advice and instructions about raising and organising as many as possible of them. For I do not content myself with raising a single company: I wish to bring out the largest possible force from this state: and for that purpose I mean to exert myself throughout the sphere of my influence. I have a strong hope that a regiment may be raised from the southern counties in which I have practised; and if it is not done, it shall not be for the want of my exertions.

If there should be an expedition to the Canada's I shall make an experiment of my capacity to use the pen as well as the sword. I mean to preserve a journal of the operations of the army; and to give a history of such transactions as are worthy of being remembered. You Sir, who feel a generous wish to see young men come forward by their own intrinsic strength, will not smile at this presumption. You recognize the principle that to mount the eminence of distinction, the votary for fame must dare every thing. I deem it more honorable to fail in honorable efforts

than to make no attempt at all to drag myself from obscurity. I think with Tacitus, that every man should aim at doing something worthy of being written, or at writing something worthy of being done.

Respectfully etc.

TO MRS. MARY CAFFERY.

HERMITAGE, February 8, 1812.

Dr Madam. Your letter of the 11th. of January is now before me, I have closely observed its contents, and am sorry indeed that an illiberal world has prevented you from buying in Jacob.

The negro fellows that I brought through with me owing to their exposure in the wilderness have all been sick and were the[y] *well* neither of them is such that I could recommend to you.¹ Nor could I think of selling such to you. I have delayed one week answering your letter to see whether I could meet with a fellow to buy that would suit you, as yet I can hear of none for sale that I could buy, and had I such a Negro, I am fearfull, it would (from the convulsed state of the Earth and water from the frequent shocks of Earthquake) be difficult to obtain a passage for him down the river. few Boats will venture the passage of the Mississippi this Spring, and from the last shocks here, being so violent it is to be feared, that a vast many of the Boats that are on the river is lost. I am therefore fearfull, that it will not be in my power shortly to send you one down, but I have a fellow, that ranaway from the Natchez, in last Novbr called Jessee, he is a valluable fellow, at least such he ought to be he cost \$500 here. he is in the neighbourhood of the Natchez. Capt Hunter, Mr. Trigg, or Mr. Hardin who live in the Natchez, knows him, also Mr. Fleming if Jackey² will go down it is highly probable he can be got, and if so take him and keep him. if he should prove to be such a negro as you want you can buy him if not you can keep him untill another can be got.

Mr. Fleming of Natchez (Tavern Keeper,) Told Mr. Hutchings that he had heard that such a Negro had been taken up by a boat, on the bank of the Mississippi, some where above Natchez. he promised to go and see the Negro, if it was him that he would take him into Possession for me. If Jacky goes down for him and can find him this letter will be full authority for taking him into possession. Capt Hunter Mr Trigg or Mr Fleming will give him any aid in their power in regaining him and I have no doubt but he can be got if Jacky will make search for him, and I will freely pay any expense that may accrue in getting him. Your daughter Kitty is well, she is a fine traveller. She passed the wilderness without a complaint or murmur. She is now at school in good health and spirits. from a letter I have recd. from Donelson since I reached home,

¹ It was the bringing of these slaves from Natchez to Nashville, through the wilderness of the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations, that brought on Jackson's quarrel with Silas Dinsmore (Parton, *Jackson*, I. 349-360). Mrs. Caffery was Mrs. Jackson's sister. She lived near Natchez and her daughter married Ralph E. W. Earl, who spent much of his life as a member of Jackson's household.

² John Hutchings, Jackson's partner in the store at Clover Bottom, and in other trading ventures.

I expect he is with you. if so tell him to write me. I wish much to see him, and say to him when there he can easily ride here, and I shall expect him to come up, at any rate to write me that I may know where to write him.

Your sister and all your friends are well, but very much alarmed, with the frequent shocks of Earthquakes, some of which have been so severe as to throw down chimneys, and to crack brick walls, but I hope these alarms will subside, and the shocks cease here but I am fearfull, that the inhabitants on the west side of the Mississippi, in the neighbourhood of New Madrid and the little prairie have suffered.

FELIX GRUNDY TO JACKSON.

WASHINGTON, February 12, 1812.

Dear Genl, On this day, I receiv'd, yr friendly communication and could I be with you, I could talk over many matters and things to much advantage, perhaps, to the Community but prudence forbids to commit to paper, fears, doubts conjectures, suspicions etc., etc. The Bill for raising 25,000 men has been a Law of the Land for about six weeks, and wonderfull, not a single officer except the Commander in Chief is appointed. This is Henry Dearborne. Is there nothing rotten in Denmark? The Cabinet are in daily Council. Are they not examineing the papers in Wilkinsons Case to see whether he shall not be second in Command, and of course the Commander of the Southern and Western Armies? Should this be the case, It will damp the spirit of the nation much. This is mere conjecture, and untill I saw the Intelligencer of Today, I inclined to a beleif that, the British Minister and the Cabinet were negociating. The Volunteer Bill for accepting the service of 50,000 men has become a law, and the states are to officer these troops; of course, that is a matter, not to be acted on here. as soon as I can get a Copy of this law I will send it to you. In West Tennessee, we are only entituled to the Following officers in the 25,000. One Leiut Colo, 5 Cpts. 4 first Lieuts 4 Second ditto, 3 ensigns. From all the applications made a selection has been made in the manner practised on such occasions and the following will no doubt be the appointments.

Wm P Anderson Colo Thomas Claiborne Robert Butler, Robert Desha Junior, of Sumner, Alexander Gray of Carthage, Francis Armstrong of Franklin County—Captains—Mr Reed of Nashville, Tilden Taylor of Sumner Don Carolus Dixon of Smith, Isaac Walton of Smith, first Lieuts. James H Gamble of Davidson, Avery Clark of Robertson, Mr Smith of Rutherford, (Bennetts son I understand) and some other not now recollected second Lieuts. Mr Harmon Hays could not be appointed more than an Ensign. There is a vacancy for a Surgeon's Mate, in my District. To whom can this be given? write to me, I shall keep it vacant untill I am advised. . . .

This Congress will do more *harm* or *good* than any that has preceeded for some years, how things will end God only knows, for I answer no man here can tell how this Session will end. For my part, I shall endeavor

to pursue a consistent course, and one which shall in my opinion promote the prosperity of the Country. A Seat in Congress, at present, is too responsible a Station to be even tolerably pleasant. A Bill for Classing and arming the whole body of the Militia has failed in the house of Representatives, it was lost by three votes only. A Bill is now before us, which will probably pass for arming them only. I was in favor of the first and of course shall vote for the latter, altho it is only half doing what ought to be done.

Silas Dinnsmore Esquire, has been the subject of one Conversation between the Secretary at War, Mr Poindexter¹ and myself. In that Mr Poindexter gave him a severe dressing, I shall in a day or two repeat it. I am much gratified at the disposition shewn by the Citizens of my District in Volunteering their services in behalf of their Country, It does them much honor, and I confess I feel my own pride increased in consequence of it. No man in Congress can say, that his Constituents have stepped forward in half so magnanimous a manner. To represent such a District would be an Honor to any man and you may rest assured, that my every exertion has been and shall be used to demonstrate to them, that however unqualified I am to be usefull, I am not deficient in a disposition to be so.

Shall we have War? That is the question you want answered. *So, do, I.* I thought some time ago, there was no doubt. But, If in six weeks only one man out of 25,000 is furnished, how long will it take to furnish 25,000. See Mr Gallatin's Budgett; it talks, of Stamp duties, Excises, Direct Taxes etc., etc., etc. Did it not make its appearance at an unfortunate moment?

Mr Bacon² the Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means has Just left my room and I now see a dreadfull storm a little ahead. He says he will push his Tax Bills as hard and as fast as possible. I say to him, the question of War plainly and distinctly put shall go in front. In what a situation could this Country be, should a heavy system of Internal taxes be imposed and payment enforced. when the people of the United States were not compelled to have recourse to them for the purpose of avenging injuries inflicted by Foreign Nations, or in other words, in case we do not go to War. Would there not be danger of such a system becoming permanent? There is great intriguing for the Presidency going on. It seems to me, that Mr. Madisons situation is a very delicate one, but more of this by and by. You have heard, of the Newyork Mammoth Canal which the Legislature of Tennessee requested their members in Congress to support. Good Easy men, did they know that Dewitt Clinton lived in Newyork? that this was a mere electioneering hobby and in itself impracticable I presume had they known these things, they would hardly have wished us to support a project which would cost the U States ten millions of dollars and by which no other purpuse could be answered, except to increase the power of the northern Section of the Union. . . .

¹ George Poindexter, a representative from Mississippi.

² Ezekiel Bacon of Massachusetts, M. C. 1807-1813.

TO ARBITRATORS.¹

HERMITAGE, February 29, 1812

Mr Jno. Coffee communicated to me the other day some information relative to the acct. of Mr. H. Green, before you from which I am fearful there has been something in that letter I wrote you and Messhrs. Hall and Smith, that has given offence. Not having a copy of that letter, and having written it in a hurry, if any expression or idea is contained therein calculated to touch the feelings of Either you or the other gentlemen I do not recollect it and I can assure you that if there is any such, it has incautiously been introduced without any intention, far be it from me, in any situation to make use of any expressions calculated to injure the feelings of gentlemen acting as arbitrators, and particularly those for whom I have the highest veneration and respect, as is the case in the present instance. for this reason I trouble you with this letter at the present moment, to state to you what give rise to the letter I wrote the other day.

I did find from looking over all the accounts of the shipment of cotton from here to Neworleans and the expence of Negroes, that Mr Greens account exceeded them greatly. the highest Expence of any that did accrue during the time we were engaged in the mercantile transactions was (including provisions hands and return expence) two hundred and fifty dollars, that Mr Greens acct provisions and hands furnished (except a steersman (for he had on board a number of Negroes) amounts to three hundred and Eighteen dollars and 75/100 twenty five of being deducted for difference of vallue for a horse leaves the amount still greater than any sum that any Boat load of cotton ever costs us. I also found from examining the acpts of Negroes sent to markt that the expence never averaged more from here than fifteen dollars a head except one wench and three children, who had been subject to the fits remained better than six months in the Natchez, she cost with her children Twenty five dollars. finding his acct so exorbitant, and in lumping charges without any specification,

I did not think that Justice to myself would permit of me admitting his account without vouchers or specifications such as would in your oppinions when specifically stated, the sum paid and the object to which applied, that it was Just and reasonable that it should be admitted, and that I by the terms contained in the proposition to buy was bound to pay it. I did think and still do think, that where a special copartnership is formed for a particular purpose, particular agreement entered into as in the present instance, that the property is to be taken to a certain markt, and the

¹ Copy.—This letter shows Jackson in a conciliatory frame of mind, which is contrary to the usual idea of his character. It also contains valuable information concerning the relation between the planter and his New Orleans factor. The copy is in Jackson's handwriting. The letter probably refers to a partnership, with the firm name of Jackson, Coleman, and Green, into which Jackson was drawn to promote the interest of a young relative of his wife, the H. Green mentioned in the letter.

In 1828 Col. Andrew Erwin, of Nashville, in the public journals, charged Jackson with having been a negro trader. His friends denied it, and said that, on one occasion, he had taken slaves on account, and sent them to Natchez for sale. The transaction with Green was cited (Parton's *Jackson*, I. 248, and 353-354). The information in this paper however goes to show that he sent negroes to the Southern markets at other times.

partner deviates from his agreement and instructions as in the present instance and thereby incurs heavy and unexpected expence—that unless he is able to shew, that this was owing to some unavoidable occurrence, and the expence incurred thereby such as could not be avoided under existing circumstances that the partners is not by the rules of law Justice or reason liable for such expence, and particularly that the acting partner in the above case ought to shew that he has actually and for the benefit of the firm laid out and expend the sums exhibited in his acct, for this reason when it was submitted I did remark, that I should require vouchers or particular specifications, such as would enable you to Judge under existing circumstances, that the specified sum had been properly applied to the use of the firm. I did see that you were about to take a different view of the subject, and would leave the thing conclusively settled as it respected the hire of the negroes, and was about to conclude the subject without any specifications, that would put it out of my power even where I had proof to correct the account, when by specifications made to amount to the sum claimed by him, Justice to myself and family and creditors, forbade me to yield to such a course, and I am sure you must have mistaken me if ever it was understood to consent to such a rule by which the settlement was to be concluded. I claimed the right of having either vouchers shewing the payments of particular sums, or such specifications as is usual and necessary in all cases of accounts, and particularly in such an account as this, leaving you to be the Judge of its Justness and propriety.

I had further made a statement of what sum would be necessary to have laid in a sufficient supply of provisions and covered all necessary expence and when this is done, taking no notice of the time the negroes have been hired out, or the reduction of their expence by sales, and one having run away, from which statement, there is a ballance of three hundred and forty dollars, and from every enquiry I have made on the subject, that fifteen dollars pr head is about the usual expence, and finding this to amount including the amount of the Price of the Boat, and not taking into view the children at the breast, it makes the cost on each negro \$44.66, $\frac{2}{3}$. this as I am advised is more than double what is usual, therefore necessary to be particuly set forth how it has accrued, and whether (if it has accrued at all), it has arisen in such a way as the situation in which I stand as a purchaser is bound for. These reasons induced me to write the gentlemen arbitrating the acct the other day. I will here state the view of expence I took. three months provision was talked of as necessary to be laid in as an outfit. I have thus stated the subject you can see how far it wears the appearance of being Just, and here I will remark, that finding there would be a great loss on the cotton Bot of Smith those negroes were bought, to indemnify us from the loss thereby sustained and agreed on by all concerned that industry and oeconomy must be used to obtain the object.

Now Sir I take the charges for the outfit and see from the prices of provisions in this country then whether it would not lay in a sufficient supply for three months. let us take the soldiers ration for the Basis—there was 25 grown negroes with two sucking children they always count with the

mother—then say 25 for three months will take 1125 lb Beacon this at the then selling price say 16th. of May 6/100.....	\$67.50
50 Bushels of corn meal will be more than sufficient we will say however to have enough for this.....	25
add 57.50, to make up and lay in Mr Greens supply.....	57.50
this 3 months will takes us up to the 16th. of august. another three months will take us up to the time or nearly so, that Mr. H. recd the negroes at the Natches. they are now there and let us take his letter for the price of Beacon which is 12½ cents—then say 1125 lb beacon at 12½ cents.....	140.62½
50 bushels of meal at 75 cents.....	37.50
Mr Greens Board for four months in the Town after he left his Boat at \$5 pr week.....	80
let us add fifty dollars more for his expence.....	50
let us give \$60 for cloathing (there was 13 wenches one habit each the fellows recd naked).....	60
let us add \$160 for steermans Doctors bill and any extra provisions coming down the river.....	160

this makes an agregate of this sum..... 678.12½
 leaving a ballance of his account unaccounted for of \$340.6¼.

now I cannot see for my soul how he has properly, and agreable to the intention of the partners oeconomically, for the necessary support expended this ballance of 340\$. hence resulted to my view from my first objections to Mr Greens account the propriety of specifications or vouchers particularly as I do believe I am in the reach of proof to shew that sum of this money whenever the specifications are made, are such as the concern or partners except Mr Green ought not to pay. I will ask if Mr. Green chose to give ten dollars pr month to a dray man to Hall water for his negroes unemployed would such an item be thought reasonable, or Just—or suppose Mr Green had given a mantua maker—say two dollars for each habit when he had three negroes with him that could make their own cloaths and that of the others would the arbitrators say that it was reasonable or Just that I should pay it standing as I do as a purchaser, or even as a partner. I put these cases for example—suppose he had expended in fine muslin and silk for the negro one hundred dollars would you say that it was reasonable or right that I should pay it. hence results the reason and Justice to my mind for a particular specification, and as I thought would have been called on for, as well as for the time of the hire of the negroes, and to whom hired. I will make one simily as to the acting partner in a special partnership as ours and for a special purpose, deviating from his instructions and agreement and incurring expence thereby, for your consideration and reflection. let us recollect that by special agreement these negroes were to go to a certain markt and there was to have been sold for cash. instead of selling them for cash Mr Green had sold them for horses, and kept the horses in a livery stable in the Natchez I ask would I without any knowledge thereof have been bound to receve the horses under my proposition to buy, and pay the

expenditure of the horses. I trust not, but law Justice and reason would say that he should keep the horses pay the expence and account in money for the price of the negroes. apply the case—it was agreed on all hands that the Natchez was glutted with negroes, and at that place the negroes was not to be stopped unless for a supply of provisions a keel Boat is therefore Bot that he may go every where below, first to Biosarah,² next the rapids of red river etc contrary to this he stops at the Natchez sells some of the negroes for an old horse foundered, encounters as his account states in the lump unusual expences, am I by the rules of law Justice and reason bound to pay for the expence of horse believing as I did when I made the proposition to buy that no expence except Mr Greens would have been on the negroes, believing as I did at that time that he had so managed the negroes that at least they would have cleared their own expence, if not neated something to the owners. I believe this was not ideas uncommon, for every person but Mr Green that I know of whose negroes have been there four or six months has made a great deal of money by the hire. has Mr Greens conduct been such to me or the firm that I should have confidence in him or has not his indolence and going counter to his agreement been the cause, that a sacrifice will be upon the negroes of at least \$1500 if not 2000. then certainly I hope that none of the gentlemen on the arbitration will think, that I infringe on their feelings by insisting on Mr Greens, producing vouchers or specifications. if he has actually expended that sum for the use and support of the negroes he can shew it, and the mail will afford a speedy channel through which he can obtain vouchers, and he can certainly shew by a regular acct and statement how he fed the negroes or how the[y] were fed. But Sir after all I have said, if there is any thing improper in me or the demand I have made please to say to me as a friend in what; and was it to reduce me with all the Rheumatic pains about me to plow for my bread, I will immediately abandon it, I wish to pay him every cent that he has advanced necessarily for the support of the negroes, but I do not wish to be first injured by his *inattention* and *gambling* and then pay his gambling debts. I beg you to say to the other gentlemen if there is any thing in my letter improper (which I hope there is not, that it would give me pain the longest day I live to be informed that I had done any thing to injure their feelings—and accept assurances of my high respect and Esteem.

P. S. I fear you cannot read this scroll. I write it in the night and with the Rheumatick in my right rist so that I can scarcely wield the pen. You may shew this to the other gentlemen or not as you think proper.

DIVISION ORDERS.

HERMITAGE, March 7, 1812

VOLUNTEERS TO ARMS! *

Citizens! Your government has at last yielded to the impulse of the nation. Your impatience is no longer restrained. The hour of national vengeance is now at hand. The eternal enemies of american prosperity

² Bayou Sara.

are again to be taught to respect your rights, after having been compelled to feel, once more, the power of your arms. War is on the point of breaking out between the united States and the King of great Britain! and the martial hosts of america are summoned to the Tented Fields!¹

Citizens! An honourable confidence in your courage and your patriotism has been displayed by the general government. To raise a force for the protection of your rights she has not deemed it necessary to recur to the common mode of filling the ranks of an army. No drafts or compulsory levies are now to be made.

A simple invitation is given to the young men of the country to arm for their own and their countries rights. On this invitation 50,000 volunteers, full of martial ardor, indignant at their countries wrongs and burning with impatience to illustrate their names by some signal exploit, are expected to repair to the national standard.

Could it be otherwise? Could the general government deem it necessary to force *us* to take the field? We, who for so many years have demanded a war with such clamorous importunity—who, in so many resolutions of town meetings and legislative assemblies, have offered our lives and fortunes for the defence of our country—who, so often and so publicly, have charged this verry government with a pusillanimous deference to foreign nations, because she had resolved to exhaust the arts of negotiation before she made her last appeal to the power of arms. No under such circumstances it was impossible for the government to conceive that compulsion would be wanting to bring us into the field. And shall we now disappoint the expectations which we ourselves have excited? Shall we give the lie to the professions which we have so often and so publicly made? Shall we, who have clamoured for war, now skulk into a corner the moment war is about to be declared? Shall we, who for so many years have been tendering our lives and fortunes to the general government, now come out with evasions and pitifull excuses the moment tender is accepted?

But another and a nobler feeling should impell us to action. *Who are we? and for what are we going to fight?* are we the titled Slaves of George the third? the military conscripts of Napolon the great? or the frozen peasants of the Rusian Czar? No—we are the free born sons of america; the citizens of the only republick now existing in the world; and the only people on earth who possess rights, liberties, and property which the[y] dare call their own.

For what are we going to fight? To satisfy the revenge or ambition of a corrupt and infatuated ministry? to place another and another diadem on the head of an apostate republican general? to settle the ballance of power among an assasin tribe of Kings and emperors? “or to preserve to the prince of Blood, and the grand dignitaries of the empire” their overgrown wealth and exclusive privileges? No. Such splendid achievements as these can form no part of the objects of an american war. But we are going to fight for the reestablishment of our national charector, misunderstood and vilified at home and abroad; for the pro-

¹ The last sentence in this paragraph is perhaps not in Jackson's handwriting.

tection of our maritime citizens, impressed on board British ships of war and compelled to fight the battles of our enemies against ourselves; to vindicate our right to a free trade, and open a market for the productions of our soil, now perishing on our hands because the *mistress of the ocean* has forbid us to carry them to any foreign nation; in fine, to seek some indemnity for past injuries, some security against future aggressions, by the conquest of all the British dominions upon the continent of north america.

Here then is the true and noble principle on which the energies of the nation should be brought into action: *a free people compelled to reclaim by the power of their arms the right which god has bestowed upon them, and which an infatuated King has said they shall not enjoy.*

In such a contest will the people shrink from the support of their government; or rather will the[y] shrink from the support of themselves? Will the[y] abandon their great unprescriptible rights, and tamely surrender that illustrious national charector which was purchased with so much blood in the war of the Revolution? No. Such infamy shall not fall upon us. The advocates of Kingly power shall not enjoy the triumph of seeing a free people desert themselves, and crouch before the slaves of a foreign tyrant. The patriotic tender of voluntary service of the invincible grays Capt. F. Stumps independant company and a correspondent display of patriotism by the voluntary tender of service from the counties of Davidson Sumner Smith and Rutherford, is a sure pledge that the free sons of the west will never *submit to such degradation.*

But the period of youth is the season for martial exploits; and accordingly it is upon the young men of america that the eye of the nation is now fixed. They in a peculiar degree are the proper subjects of a volunteer expedition. To say nothing of the generous courage which distinguishes that period of life, they, from their particular situation, can quit their homes at the shortest notice with the least inconvenience to themselves. Unencumbered with families and free from the embarrassment of domestic concerns they are ready at a moments warning to march to any extremity of the republick.

Should the occupation of the canadas be resolved upon by the general government, how pleasing the prospect that would open to the young volunteer, while performing a military *promenade* into a distant country, a succession of new and interesting objects would perpetually fill and delight his imagination the effect of which would be heightened by the war like appearance, the martial music, and the grand evolutions of an army of fifty thousand men.

To view the stupendous works of nature, exemplified in the falls of Niagara and the cataract of Montmorenci; to tread the consecrated spot on which Wolf and Montgomery fell, would of themselves repay the young soldier for a march across the continent. But why should these inducements be held out to the young men of america? They need them not. Animated as they are by an ambition to rival the exploits of Rome, they will never prefer an inglorious sloth, a supine inactivity to the honorable toil of carrying the republican standard to the heights of abraham.

In consideration of all which and to carry into effect the object of the general government in demanding a voluntary force, to give to the valiant young men of the second military Division of the state of Tennessee an opportunity to evince their devoted affection to the service of the republic; the Major General of the said division has thereupon ordered

- 1 That the militia of the second military division of the state of Tennessee be forthwith mustered by the proper officers.
- 2 That the act of congress for raising a volunteer corps of 50,000 men be read at the head of each company.
- 3 That all persons willing to volunteer under the said act be immediately *enrolled* formed into companies, officered, and reported to the Major Genl.
- 4 The Generals of Brigade, attached to the second division are charged with the prompt execution of these orders.

WILLIE BLOUNT TO JACKSON.

KNOXVILLE, March 22, 1812.

Dear Sir, The foregoing is a copy of my letter to the Secy War, sent for your perusal—the full details in yours to me seemed to supercede the necessity of saying more.¹

¹ This letter was a protest against Silas Dinsmore, agent to the Choctaw Indians. He had undertaken to require persons taking slaves through that Nation to show certificates of ownership. As the main road from New Orleans to Nashville ran through the Nation, many people were stopped, with their slaves, at the agency house. Complaints were loud. Jackson undertook to suppress Dinsmore's new rules, which he thought illegal and tyrannical. Parton's *Jackson*, I. 349-360, contains much on this subject, to which that biographer gave too much prominence. Blount's letter to the secretary of war, mentioned by the governor, is as follows:

"Sir, I have the honor to forward to you a copy of Major General Andrew Jackson's letter of the 25th. Jany last, to me, representing in firm manly language, the conduct of the Agent of the United States resident in the Choctaw Nation towards him, shortly before the date of his letter; and the copy of two other letters, the one from Mr. John Miller, the other from Mr. George McCleskey, of the 2d. Jany, and 15th. March, in the present year, to Genl. Jackson, corroborating the General's statement of the ill-treatment he experienced from said Agent, on the public road, leading from Nashville to Natchez and back.

"It is understood that such oppressive conduct is not sanctioned by the General Government, and the belief is entertained, that they will inquire into and redress the wrongs, and also take such measures as will lead to the entire security of such Citizens of the United States as may travel that road in future, checking effectually all such oppressive conduct; otherwise, it is fair to presume that those Citizens may, under the plea of necessity, feel themselves bound to do, what they now hope the Government will cheerfully do for their relief, after being advised of the almost daily violation of their rights, and infringement of their privileges, secured by Treaty.

"It is understood that the Agent declares he knows not how to discriminate between the fair and suspicious character of travellers on that road, and therefore enforces the most rigid rule against good and bad men—we suppose here that we have the same right to travel that road unmolested, without a pass, that free citizens have and exercise at Washington, whilst passing along the streets attending to their laudable business, as well as the right to remove unlawful nuisances operating to our hindrance in the execution thereof; and it is the desire of Government that we should be entitled to do so, I have no doubt. The frequent violations of the rights of American citizens practised on that road, in the way now complained of, has been the subject of complaint for many years, and they have been repeatedly represented to Government by the regularly constituted authorities of the States of Kentucky and Tennessee, the citizens of which states, do by thousands, of necessity use that road as the best in their power when attending to their lawful and laudable business; and to those who know of the frequent acts of oppression exercised towards many of them, tho' not permitted by Government, their

Since writing you last have read your truly patriotic and able address preparatory to your Division Orders—those who have feelings and love of country about them will shoulder firelock and wish for an opportunity to march. I am unadvised what course Government will pursue in relation to giving an intimation of the wish of the Government as to the manner of raising those Volunteers, it would seem they ought to give certain intimations in the nature of general instructions or rules to be uniformly observed by the Militia of the different states, this is mere conjecture but I have hitherto expected some such course to be pursued which is the reason and the only one why I have said so little about the subject—if this is your way of thinking do you or do you not think it would be well to wait a while after your men are ready before making the formal tender of service?—if Government should take any such or other step perhaps they would expect a strict compliance with such general rule. . . .

TO JOHN COFFEE.

LEBANON, March 25, 1812, 9 o'clock at night.

D'r Sir. This momoment Mr John Childress gave me the information inclosed. I have Issued my Division order to Genl Winchester (who is now with me) to immediately march with his volunteers, to Rendesvous at Philips horse mill, with Eight days provission for man and horse, and forty rounds of amunition, and to proceed on to the Fishing ford on Duck river, unless otherwise orderd. I wish you immediately to Issue orders to Colo. Searcy and Henderson, to march their volunteers immediately to the relief of the frontier. I shall expect to meet you and their volunteers on friday next at Philips horse mill but if you find that they can be raised sooner, and information reaches you confirming the Carnage and the danger of that frontier you will proceed immediately to the spot where the mischief is doing and done, and render relief as far as you can to the sufferring families—but not to attempt to persue the indians beyond the frontier without sufficient force to insure success untill the main body gets up. you will coopy the inclosed and give each Colo. a coopy of the order, with such other adit[i]on as you may deam necessary from any other information you may have recd. in haste your friend

TO JOHN COFFEE.

HERMITAGE, March 26, 1812, 1 O'clock P. M.

Sir: I this moment met an express on my arival home announcing that the alarm of yesterday, which was brought by express, is groundless—

forbearance has been more a matter of surprize than otherwise—it is only to be accounted for from the belief that Government will when informed remove the causes which lead to the practice of such, and take effectual measures to guard against a repetition, by the better ordering of them in future, under such impressions, forbearance to a certain extent is commendable, but it is well known, that forbearance, under oppression, beyond a certain point, known to all reasonable men, ceases to be a virtue, and deserves another name, which men of independent minds do not admire, it is not uncommon for travellers on that road to be detained for the want of passports, which should not be exacted, until they can send, or go, several hundred miles to get them—many who take passports have to travel, or to send, several hundred miles to obtain them, before starting on that journey, which creates great and injurious delays in their business. As Genl. Jackson's letter is so much in detail on this subject to say more would seem unnecessary."

that it originated by some villians who was encamped on the Indian land who had a wish to get possession of some houses possessed by others, who Painted themselves, raised the indian yell and fired, those in possession immediately ran and gave the alarm, and as it spread it magnified, when it got to Nashville it had increased to what you will see in the enclosed you will therefore countermand the orders of yesterday for assembling the Vollunteers and if any should be assembled order that they be immediately discharged. I am in haste yrs. etc etc etc

TO WILLIE BLOUNT.¹

HERMITAGE, June 4, 1812.

I have this evening reached home, from my trip to Georgia and my heart bleeds within me on the receipt of the news of the horrid cruelty and

¹ This letter seems to be the original, sent to Governor Blount. A copy, with slight variations, in the handwriting of a clerk, exists in the Jackson Manuscripts. The depredations of the Creeks, here alluded to, are explained in the following deposition of Mrs. Martha C. Crowley, taken in Humphrey Co., Tenn., Aug. 11, 1812:

"State of Tennessee

Humphrey County

"This day Martha Crowley personally appeared before us Samuel Parker, and Thomas Holland, Justices of the Peace for said County, who being duly sworn on the Holy Evangelist of Almighty God, the truth to speak concer[n]ing the treatement she received while a prisoner with the Indians, deposite and saith That after those savages had in a most cruel and barbarous manner murdered two of her infant children, a young Mr. Hays that lived with her and three of Mrs. Manlys children, and shot Mrs. Manly, they immediately took her a cross the Tennessee River in bark canoes, which they appeared to have provided for that purpose, and that when they took up, or encamped that evening, they tied her by the arms and neck to a tree; threatening her at the same time, if, she attempted to make her escape that they would immediately put her to death; That the next morning they set out with her and on the 13th day arived at Bear creek, where they continued about twenty six hours, during which time they were visited by a number of chickasaws, some of whom drank and smoaked the pipe with the party that held her as a prisoner. That George Colbert came to where they were and conversed in a very familiar manner with the chickasaws and then rode off again without once speaking to her, and that she verily believes Colbert might have rescued her from the creeks had he made the least exertion, the number of chickasaws far surpassing that of the creeks. That when they left Bear Creek they immediately left their trace, apparently to avoid being pursued by either the whites or chickasaws, and that on the 4th day after leaving Bear creek they reached one of the Creek towns on the Waters of Bigly, but did not go into the town.

"Immediately after they had encamped they were visited by a Number of creek Indians, who conversed familiarly and smoked with the party that had her along. That the party that held her as a prisoner told the Chiefs or head Men of the town that they had taken her from the Ohio at the Battle of Tippacanoe, and that in the course of four Moons they intended to return again to the Ohio, and that they intended to try to excite the Indians belonging to the different tribes, to go to war with the whites, but was doubtful they could not. That when they left that place they took her near to a town on Black Warrior, where she continud one day, when she was informed by a squaw, that they intended to put her to death, and that they were then diging her grave. That she was ordered by one of the men to stir a pot of hommanny that was then on the fire.

"Knowing that there was no time to be lost she determind to effect by stratagem what she could not do by force. She immediately therefore picked up a tin cup under the pretence of going to the spring for water, when she fortunately made her escape under cover of the Night, and crept into a hollow log where she continued some time and then wandered untill the next day two oclock when she attempted to make her way towards the Bigby, in hopes she should meet with some person that would protect her from savage cruelty and barbarity. That on the 3rd night from the time she effected her escape after travelling through swamps and suffering all the pains of cold and hunger (having eat nothing but black berrys from the time of her escape) she reached

murders committed by a party of Creeks, on our innocent, wives and little babes, since I left home. It is with regret I find that Genl Johnston at the head of 500 men was near the place where this horrid scene was acted, and did not either send a detachment in pursuit or follow the trail of these marauders, with his whole force even to their towns. as far as I have yet heard they have Escaped with impunity. *But they must be punished*, and our frontier protected, and as I have no doubt but the[y] are urged on by British agents and tools, the sooner the[y] can be attacked, the less will be their resistance, and the fewer will be the nations or tribes that we will have to war with. It is therefore necessary for the protection of the frontier that we march into the creek nation demand the perpetrators, at the Point of the Bayonet, if refused, that we make reprisals, and lay their Towns in ashes. I think I can in three weeks, raise a sufficient force for this purpose and in six weeks lay their Towns in ashes. I only *want your orders*, the fire of the militia is up, they burn for revenge, and now is the time to give the creeks the fatal blow, before the[y] expect it. as far as I can learn from the Cherokees, the Creeks are making every preparation for war. the cherokees will Join us, if we shew an immediate spirit of revenge, and it may deter the bad men of the Choc-taws and Chikesaws, from aiding the Creeks. give me the power to procure provisions and munitions of war, by your orders and I will pledge myself for the ballance. powder is scarce but I believe, a sufficient quantity could be obtained for this Expedition in Nashville. lead can be had. I think 2500 men (volunteers) could quell the Creeks, and bring them to terms without presents or annuities. This number I think I can raise on a short notice. I intend Issuing an order to prepear the minds of the militia for such an event and await your orders or the orders of the Genl Govrt. In the mean time I shall give orders, that a sufficient protection be afforded to the frontier. I shall be impatient for your answer, I am Sir with high consideration and respect yr mo. ob. serv.

TO GEORGE COLBERT.¹

NASHVILLE, June 5, 1812.

Friend and Brother! I learn from the talk which you have sent to Genl Roberts that the creeks who have been killing our women and chil-

a town (in the night) on black Warrior, which she Ventured up to in order to dry herself, when she was informed by some Indians she saw, that there was a person in town that could speak English, and that they would take her to him; that they then took her to a house where there were several Indians, neither of whom could speak English. She then concluded it was a plot laid to kill her and immediately told a squaw (by sign) that she wanted to go out, when she again effected her escape, and continued to travel (or wander) untill the sun was about one hour high in the evening of the next day, when she was overtaken by an Indian with a gun on his shoulder, who ordered her to go back to town, that she refused to do so, when he made a noise which was answered by another, who immediately came up, and took her back towards town, where she met with a Mr. Walker, upon the Bigby who was there purchasing of Beef Cattle, and who having heard of her offered a reward of twenty five dollars to any one that would find her, and that the party that took her along receivd no part of the money as she knows of, neither was she ever purchased of them, by either of the chiefs, as has been related. That Mr Walker treated her very politely and succeeded in sendind her back once more to her friends and further this deponent saith not"

¹ Copy. George Colbert was a chieftain of the Chickasaw, who were, in general, friendly to the whites. Mrs. Crowley stated in her affidavit that her captors took her

dren, have passed through your nation carrying along with them stolen horses, scalps, and a white woman prisoner. You tell us that you took two horses from them: Brother, could you not also have taken the woman?

Friend and Brother! You know I am your friend, and the friend of your nation. The United States is also the friend of the Chickesaws; but this friendship will stop if the creeks are suffered to march through your nation to attack our frontier.

You say your nation is a small nation and the creeks are numerous. But what have the Chickasaws to fear from the creeks when the white people are their friends? Do you not remember when the whole creek nation came to destroy your Towns that a few hundred chickasaws aided by a few whites chased them back to their nation, killing the best of their warriors, and covering the rest with Shame? Brother we will do so again if the creeks dare to touch you for your friendship to us.

Friend and Brother! If you suffer the creeks to pass through your nation our people in pursuit of them may kill the chickesaws through mistake. If your nation suffers any more scalps or stolen horses to be carried through your nation, your Father the President will have reason to think that the chickesaws are about to let go the treaty they have made with him, and take his enemies by the hand.

Friend and Brother! Mark what I tell you! The white people will do no wrong to the Indians, and they will suffer the Indians to do no wrong to them. The creeks have killed our women and children: we have sent to demand the murderers, if they are not given up, the whole creek nation shall be covered with blood: fire shall consume their Towns and villages: and their lands shall be divided among the whites.

Friend and Brother! You tell us you are the friend of the whites. Now prove it to me. Send me the names of the creeks who have killed our women and children: tell me the towns they belong to; and the place where they have carried the woman.

I am your friend and Brother.

TO WILLIE BLOUNT.¹

NASHVILLE, June 17, 1812.

Dear Sir. I have the honor to acknowledge the recpt of your two letters of date 12th. instant, which is Just to hand, and I am favoured with the perusal of your letter to Major John Coffee of the 6th. instant all of which I have carefully perused, and their contents duly noted. I heartily concur with you in your ideas with respect, to the little confidence that ought to be placed in the aid or friendship of Indians.² but I do think

to a Chickasaw town and smoked the pipe of peace with its leading men. She said that George Colbert was there and that she believed the Chickasaw could have rescued her if they had tried.

¹ This letter shows how completely Jackson was then absorbed in preparations for war against the Indians. It was June 12 when Congress declared war and the news could not have reached Nashville by that time. June 25 Jackson, through Governor Blount, offered to the President his own services and those of 2500 volunteers. The reply of the secretary of war, received by Blount July 21, was very appreciative of Tennessee patriotism.

² Governor Blount had said he had no faith in any Indians and no confidence in the recent offer of the Cherokee to maintain peaceful relations.

that policy will dictate the propriety of inlisting one nation against another. If they will go to war, those that are not for us must be against us. if the[y] will attempt to deceive by part of a nation holding out the olive branch whilst the others are scalping us, let us make the aparent friends, Join in punishing the hostile part. If we get the Cherokees, engaged with the Creeks, they will be obliged to be friendly with us to preserve themselves. I believe self interest and self preservation the most predominant passion. fear is better than love with an indian. Therefore the policy to enlist Lowry, Walker and the Ridge in our service, and make them furnish a sufficient number for pilots, to the Creek towns, and manage the ballance so as to deceive the Creeks, by giving them orders to march always at a distant period, when troops would at that time be actually in the creek towns for I am of the oppinion that either the Cherokees or chickasaws would advise the Creeks of any campaign against them if the[y] knew it.

I am happy to find that a supply of arms and equipments can be had, and immediately on the recpt of your orders for the arms and equipments, I shall send Mr Eli Hammond for them across by land, to get them put into some of our merchants Boats who are loaded for this place three are shortly expected from Pittsburg to pass Newport, on their way thither. Mr Hammond is a man in whom the utmost confidence can be placed and well acquainted with boating.

Rest assured I have the militia in a state of readiness that I could in three days move with 2500 volunteers against the creeks, and I shall have (where there is not already) one company of mounted infantry as you recommend in each R[e]giment. Should the report of Mrs Williams and her child being murdered be true, it proves fully the combination of all the nations to the south with the phrophe³. as soon as I can get the arms from Newport, I will be ready, and the spirit of the times here says speedy vengeance will await the friends of the phrophe³, for let Colo. Hawkins⁴ say what he will the truth is the great body of the creeks are for war, and it is almost impossible that he Colo. Hawkins could have wrote on the 18th of May, and that reached north Carolina, and there published in the Raleigh paper and in Nashville on the 12th of June. Mr Luster did state to Capt Strothert and myself on the night of the 24th. of May, that on the 22nd. he saw the Colo. and his family in milledgeville and that he had moved his family owing to the hostile attitude of the creek nation we had the same report from other channels. I see and note from your letter to major Coffee, the extent of your power. Indeed I knew, that by the laws of the state you had no other power but

³ The Prophet was the brother of Tecumseh. Together they planned a general confederation of Indians in the West and Southwest to stay the advance of the whites into the Indian country.

⁴ Colonel Benjamin Hawkins, a member of the Continental Congress, and, from 1790 to 1795, a senator from North Carolina. In 1797 he was appointed "Superintendent of all Indians South of the Ohio". He moved to the heart of the Creek country and established himself on the Ocmulgee River in Georgia at a place which took the name Fort Hawkins, now called Hawkinsville. In 1812 he was merely agent with Creeks. He built mills and introduced manufactures and sought to develop the civilization of the Indians. He had great influence with them and was not sympathetic with the average frontiersman's attitude on that subject.

to order out men to repel invasion etc etc—that you could only make defensive war but I did expect that the President seeing the situation of the north western frontier would have given you full and ample power, to have defended your frontier in every way necessary and proper, and not to have waited until a blow was struck, and then give you orders to apply a remedy. This is sending for a Phi[s]ician after the patient is dead. rest assured that my militia are ready and will act promptly and efficiently when ordered.

I hope to be able to have compleat returns to you, under your two last orders in a verry short time. I wrote for some explanation to the adjutant Genl by last fridays mail, which I hope to receive by next friday; the differrent Genls, are acting in anticipation of my order having seen yours and will have their respective quotas in ten days from the time they receive my order. I can only make the apportionment by Brigades. The law does not require the Brigade Major to make a return to me of the strength and condition of their Brigades, I have no data to Judge of their respective strength, and can only divide the men wanted equally between the five Brigades.

I am advised that Capt Masons Company is not yet in the field, but will march on Saturday. With assurances of respect and Esteem I am yr mo. ob. serv.

WILLIE BLOUNT TO JACKSON.

KNOXVILLE, June 23, 1812.

Dear Sir, I wrote you fully by last mail. Yours of the 17th. instant is to hand. I am not authorized to draw any money from the treasury to defray the expence of transportation of Arms from Newport, but presume Mr Crutcher might loan as much, or that you will otherwise make the necessary arrangement on this head, until the assembly provides—shall expect you to do so; am glad you have been able to get Mr. Eli Hammond to go on for them, he is the right kind of man,—inclosed is the order for the arms, which please hand to Mr. Hammond—tell him to pick the arms if he is permitted, for I fear they are not of the best kind. . . .¹

TO WILLIE BLOUNT.¹

NASHVILLE, July 3, 1812

D'r Sir. On the 29th ultimo, Mr E. Hammond set out for Newport Kentucky, with instructions, and determination to be here at as early a day as possible. I hope he will be at Nashville on the 20th Instant, with the arms and Equipments, doubts has been suggested here, of there being the quantity of arms at Newport, and it has been stated, that what are there, is not fit for use. this has reached me since Mr. H. started. let this be as it may, I have directed Mr Hammond to receive good arms, and I

¹ On the same sheet is the following in Jackson's handwriting: "June 27th. 1812 Then recd. of Andrew Jackson two hundred dollars to be applied, to the expence of bringing from Newport Kentucky one thousand stand of Musketts with their Equipments to Nashville being, a part of the quota of arms for the militia of Tennessee agreeable to the order of the Governor of the state of Tennessee. ELI HAMMOND"

¹ Draft.

have requested the agent to send none but such as are fit for immediate use. I am really fearful that we will be disappointed, in the receipt. of them.

I have had my eye to the recpt. of those arms, to commence my movements against the Creek Nation—on the event that the captive,² together with the captors are not deturred to the united States, which I do not expect. The safety of our whole frontier requires, a speedy stroke against the Creeks, and with or without orders, the present spirit of the citizens require, an immediate movement to be made. Nay I may say the safety of our Frontier, and that a speedy end may be put to indian hosti[li]ty imperiously demand it. I shall wait no longer than the 20th. or 25th. instant. With such arms and supplies as I can obtain I shall penetrate the creek Towns, untill the Captive, with her Captors are delivered up, and think myself Justifiable, in laying waste their villiages, burning their houses, killing their warriors and leading into Captivity their wives and children, untill I do obtain a surrender of the Captive, and the Captors. I find a great scarcity of amunition here it will be difficult to obtain a supply. Should I be disappointed in the musquetts from Newport, it will be a serious, injury and inconvenience in the contemplated scurging of the creeks. I am Just (verbally) advised that Capt Masons spies five in Number, fell in with four indians believed to be Shaonese,³ and killed one and wounded two, so soon as I receive Capt Masons report, will advise you thereof. I shall thank you for any advice you have recd. from the war department on the subject of the Depredation of the creeks.

By next mail I shall write Colo. Thos. P. Carnis of Georgia asking his cooperation with me, with a body of men from Georgia to make an attack upon the South Eastern tribes of the Creeks at the same time I make the stroke on the north western a combined movement and sudden blow will give us eternal peace with the southern tribes. . . .

TO WILLIE BLOUNT.

NASHVILLE, July 10, 1812

Dear Sir: I wrote you of the 8th instant, advising you that a consultation was to be held on the 9th. having in view the period of time that a movement should be made against the Creeks on the event Mrs. Crawly was not surrendered. On reference to your letters, and the dates thereof we find that if the nation is disposed to give her up with the murderers that we will be advised thro you of that event certainly by the 25th. or 30th. of this present month, therefore have an eye to the 10th of august next, the whole present agreed that it was right and proper to be prepared at the moment the Creek nation made the act their own by a refusal to release the captive to carry fire and Sword into the heart of the creek nation, for this purpose my order of this day is Issued, and in the mean time to provide if Possible a sufficient supply of provisions, and munitions of war for the campaign. *men I have; but money I have none.* If

² Mrs. Martha Crowley.

³ Shawanees.

my own credit is suff[i]cient for the object, I am safe, and revenge certain, but the supply of an army competent to destroy the Creek nation, (say four thousand) is a serious undertaking for the private purse of a single individual, But I had a hope that sufficient funds could be obtained on loan from the Bank. This I am certain could be obtained, by application from the State Legislature if the members of East T[ennessee] feels, for the horrid murder as we feel on the west.

Were the Legislature in Session, they would, procure supplies, and countenance the expedition, for I am confident that the government of the united States would sanction the proceeding—and in fact I do believe were the[y] not entirely absorbed in the invasion of canady—the Secratary of war would have authorised you to have held your militia in readiness to have marched, at the moment you were advised, that the application made for the surrender was refused. but from the tenor of his letter, I do infer that the agent is to make the demand, communicate the answer to the President, and then you are to receive orders. If this is the specimen of the energy and dispatch of our war ministers at the commencement of their operations such *emergeney* I fear will not bring the war to a *speedy close*, the eyes of the circumjacent indians are on us, and if we are dilitory in our punishment of the creeks we will have captives in their nations to demand, and many murders of our frontier citizens to deplore.

we have confidence in your energy and wishes for satisfaction if you had the power. Will it not be then, expedient to convene the Legislature of Tennessee early in august next, that they may take the subject up, and grant you by law such powers as are necessary to obtain compleat satisfaction from the creeks and a restoration of Mrs. Crawly. was the Legislature to convene the first week in august, a sufficient force could be in the Creek nation by the 25th, if the Legislature took up the subject on their first deliberations. This I submit to your consideration at the request of a number of those gentlemen I have consulted. We all know with the direction and support of the goverment, how much more pleasant the campaign would go on than without it, we know also, that an army well furnished and supplied is much more certain of success, than one badly supplied. but we are determined, with such supplies as we can obtain, by our individual exertion to make the attempt to restore Mrs, Crawly to liberty, and avenge the death of our butchered wives and infants.

When we make the case of Mrs. Manly and her family and Mrs Crawly our own¹—when we figure to ourselves our beloved wives and little prattling infants, butchered, mangled, murdered, and torn to pieces, by savage bloodhounds, and wallowing in their gore, you can Judge of our feelings. What feelings can a goverment have, who can hear the recital, and await the slow progress of dispatches thro the channel of a mail to an indian agent, instead of making use of the power and the means to enforce speedy vengeance on the perpetrators of these horrid scenes and

¹ See Mrs. Crowley's deposition, pp. 225-226, note.

that too at the time the[y] have declared war against great Britain, and in part for exciting these very Indians to commit these shocking and barbarous outrages. the know we are ready and pant for vengeance. why not give you orders; intrust the thing to your prudence and management instead of this tardy and circuitous rout. These were your citizens and is a citizen of the United States, to remain under the barbarous lash of cruel and unrelenting Savages; confined to a mortar, naked, lacerated and compelled, thus to prepare food for her tormentors for six months without any other notice of the general government, than mere directions for a demand to be made by the agent. The scene is to disgusting, and the thing too disgracefull for a government that boasts of liberty and of rights we have a hope, that the legislature will be shortly convened, that the brave sons of Tennessee, may under the authority of the state by their prowess and heroism wipe from the national charector, this blushing shame.

accept the assurance of my respect and Esteem.

TO JOHN STROTHER.¹

NASHVILLE, July 12, 1812

Capt. John Strother will please say to Colo. Lowry that we are ready to march to the creek nation we wait only to hear from the agent of the creek nation to know whether the murderers are to be delivered up with the prisoner, that we have men enough that when we march I want as many of his men together with himself as will be sufficient for guides, that if any plan can be devised, so that in the time of action, our friends and brothers the Cherokees can be distinguished from the Creeks I would rejoice to have him and his regiment in the field, but fearfull in the heat of battle some of my warriors, might mistake our friends and brothers the Cherokees for the Creeks, and thro mistake might kill our friends, which would leave a lasting grief upon my mind, it has been concluded that twenty five will be only wanted, and these only as pilots, that in an engagement I will keep them near me so that mistake cannot happen. make my Compliments to the Colo. and his warriors. Yrs with respect

TO BENJAMIN SMITH.¹

Division orders,

HERMITAGE, August 13 1812.

Nearly two months has elapsed since the date of my orders of the 19th. day of June last, requiring the Generals of each Brigade in my Division, forthwith to furnish a Detachment of two hundred and Eighty men officers included etc etc etc as in said order specified—and (so soon as

¹ John Strother was an experienced frontiersman, well acquainted with the Indians south of Tennessee. Jackson depended much upon him in the early stages of his campaign against the Creeks. Captain Strother commanded one of the mutinous militia companies that gave trouble in 1814 and was convicted by a court martial and dismissed the service. Colonel Lowry was a friendly Cherokee chief.

¹ Of the 7th brigade, 2nd division, Tennessee militia. This order gives one an idea of Jackson's sense of discipline for the militia.

organized as in said order directed, that compleat muster rolls and inspection returns should be made to me without delay. It is therefore, with extreme pain and regret I have to notice your inattention and neglect in not carrying the said order into full effect. I am now on the 13th. of august without your muster roll and inspection returns. Our government is engaged in a Just and necessary war, every military officer ought therefore to be prompt in executing all orders directed to him, without which the service must suffer, and part of our brave soldiers now in the field, may be cut off for the want of reenforcements. The governor of the State cannot fail to notice the delay and calls for a fulfilment of his order. *His order must be obeyed*, and no delay in future will be permitted, or the general of Division will not pass it over unnoticed. you will therefore before the 22nd instant, furnish me with muster rolls and inspection returns for the 280 men officers inclusive agreeable to my order of the 19th of June last, and make return of rolls for all the volunteers of your Brigade that have tendered there servic[e] under the act of congress authorising the president to accept of 50,000 volunteers as heretofore ordered, and on the recpt of this order you will please to acknowledge it.

DIVISION ORDERS.¹

NASHVILLE, August 25, 1812

Colonel John K. Winn: The different Brigades composing my Division (the 7th only excepted) having made return of the muster rolls and inspection returns of their qota of the requisition made by my orders of the 19th June last in conformity with the orders of the governor of the 7th of the same month I have proceeded to oragize the said Detachment into a regiment. From the rostrums of the different Brigades as returned to the general of Division, it appears you are from your rank entitled to command said detached regiment.

You will therefore hold yourself in readiness to take the command of said regiment, when called into service, and be ready to march with them at a moments warning—The detachment is composed of five Batalions one from each Brigade. the Batalion of the 4th Brigade commanded by Major Conn, from the 5th Brigade by Major Barton from the 6th Brigade by Major McNees from the 9th Brigade by Major Bradford. from the 7th Brigade there is no return. as soon as a return is recd you shall be notified of what Major commands the Batlion from said 7th Brigade. The Government expects and the General of Division requires you to be ready for the field at a moments warning.

¹ Tenn. Hist. Soc. This paper is in the handwriting of General Jackson. A letter to Jackson from Benjamin Bradford, of Bedford Co., Aug. 7, 1812, said the men volunteered for a three months' tour of duty and so understood it. This movement, it must be remembered, was not authorized by the War Department. A call had gone out to prepare the militia, and hold them ready to volunteer. Jackson had gone ahead as though actually called on to raise and muster in his volunteers. He laid his offer before the Secretary of War who acknowledged it on July 11, 1812, with an acceptance of the services of the volunteers.

TO THOMAS CLAIBORNE.¹

HERMITAGE, September 10, 1812

Sir: I am Just informed that the house of representatives has entered upon that part of the Governors message recommending acts to be passed authorising the raising of volunteers etc etc and that you have a law before you on this subject. My attention to business, that cannot be neglected, prevents my being in Nashville which will be an inducement for you to pardon my sugesting a few hints on this subject, particularly when you recollect the adage that the bee sucks honey from the mire.

Without vanity I can say that no person has laboured with more zeal to promote a proper feeling and spirit of patriotism and volunteering throughout the western part of the state than myself, and it gives me pleasure to see the present ardor that prevades the whole hence results the anxiety that I entertain that caution may be used in the wording of any law that may be passed on this subject, least confusion by an interference with volunteers already enrolled under the act of congress and their service tendered may be introduced. Would it not be improper, and tend to this, if any expressions in said law should be used that may be construed to have any bearing on the volunteers already enrolled, that might create Ideas that any part of them were exonerated from their enlistment, or engagement. Would not such a law be nugatory in itself as the volunteers already enrolled are under the act of congress, solemnly engaged for the term therein specified, as if they were actually enlisted and when ordered, are as much bound to repair to the standard of their country as if the[y] were regular soldiers. If then the above is correct, ought not any law on this subject be carefully worded so that no confusion might be created or pretext afforded for any part of the volunteers already enrolled, to think that the [y] are absolved from there engagements. I am well aware that the assemblies intention are truly patriotic, and that every act of theres will be to promote the interest of their country, and least thro accident that these laudable intentions might be converted into the reverse of what was so well intended has occasioned these hasty remarks. a number other remarks might be submitted, but I know your patriotic intention and that you will guard against expression or omission that might tend to injure the service at this all important crisis.

I am with due regard and respect yrs

P. S as I write in haste permit me barly to repeat that should any act be passed, that will in its operation interfere with or exonerate any of the volunteers from there engagements, the good intention of the legislature will be defeated.

JOHN GORDON'S CERTIFICATE AND JACKSON'S COMMENT.¹

September 26, 1812.

I do Certify that some time in the month of August last on my way from Natchezes I passed the agency house in the Choctaw Nation with two servants and Enquired for Silas Dinsmore the agent who was not

¹ Endorsed by Jackson, "Substance for a Copy".

¹ War Dept. files. With Jackson to G. W. Campbell, Oct. 15, 1812.

then at home. I tarried for the space of an hour or more and no person demanded a pasport of me. I then proceeded on my Journey and met Mr Dinsmore near the pigeon roost² who ast me for my pasport. I informed him that I had none. He appeared astonished that I should have come through without one. I told him I had been advised that it was not necessary as he had been advised by the Secretary of war to desist from stoping of Property under the pretext he had hertofore done, and that I had it in my power without any inconvenience to have procured a pasport had it been deemed Necessary. He admitted he had received such Instr[u]ctions with discretionary power to detain property under suspicious circumstances but that he would not undertake to discriminate and should under circumstance act as he had done untill the powers under which he acted were Entirely taken from him. He then took an obligation of me to give him from some proper person a certificate of the rite of property and gave me a pasport to proceed.

Certified at Nashville this 26th of September 1812

[*In Jackson's handwriting*]:

Can any freeman read the above, without indignation, and a firm determination if Government, does not give us immediate relief, to burn the lawless tyrant in the agency house. What that he will not obey the orders of the secratary of war on the solemn gurantee under the treaty that "the citizens of the united states shall enjoy the *free and unmolested* use of that road, and mr. Dinsmore nevertheless will not suffer it—the die is cast. The citizens say they will remove the nuisance if goverment does not.

A. J.

THOMAS G. BRADFORD TO JACKSON.¹

NASHVILLE, October 8, 1812.

I certify that I believe that the note I published in the *Clarion*,² as a card from Silas Dinsmore, esq. United States agent to the Choctaw nation, was wrote by him. I have seen his hand writing often, and I am very confident that the note is in the same hand writing.

Having been long been vexed with the arrogant assumptions of Mr. Dinsmore of powers that he did not, I believed, legally possess, I have often expressed in the public papers the indignation that his conduct excited in my mind. The continual detensions of the servants of gentlemen of this state travelling to and from Natchez, compelled the investigation of the authority Mr. Dinsmore as Choctaw agent had to detain any person travelling the high way between the western states and Natches; the result of which was an order from the war department, (a copy transmitted to me by G. W. Campbell esq) published by me last spring. For a while the positive instructions of the war department were not deviated from that I have ever heard, and travellers discontinued applying for passports. The summer passed away, and as the fall approached the old practices were revived. A gentleman of Nashville had his servant taken

² Where the road crossed a branch of the Big Black River, in what is now Choctaw County, Miss.

¹ War Dept. files.

² The *Democratic Clarion and Tennessee Gazette*, published in Nashville.

from him because he had no passport, in the most aggravating manner; incensed at this wanton dereliction of duty I lost not a moment in holding him up in the public papers to the just indignation of the people. To silence the clamors of the people by shewing that he would do as he pleased, I conjecture was the motive for his writing the note above alluded to. But be the motive what it may I feel confident that he not only wrote the note, but that he has taken the servants of Mrs. Sibley from her, whether as has heretofore been said to gather in his crop or not, I pretend not to offer a conjecture.

I understand Mr. Dinsmore justifies his conduct, but of that I have nothing to say. Gen. James Robertson has just stepped into my office and says he was informed by Mr. Dinsmore that he did write the letter to me, and that he would continue to act as he had done.

Yours with respect

TO GEORGE W. CAMPBELL.¹

HERMITAGE, October 15, 1812.

sir, You will receive herewith inclosed, the certificate of John Gordon and Major Thomas G Bradford editor of the Clarion on the subject of the card bearing date Sept. 11th 1812 published in the Clarion on the 26th of Sept. 1812 from Silas Dinsmore united States agent to the Choctaw nation being in the proper hand writing of the said Silas Dinsmore. you will also receive enclosed, the paper of the 26th. Sept. containing the Card of Mr. Dinsmore, which I beg you to lay before the secratary of war, as soon as the[y] reach you, and I beg of you to communicate to me without delay his determination as it respect the removal of Mr. Dinsmore. When I recd your letter of the 10th. of April last inclosing me an extract of the secratary of wars letter to Silas Dinsmore agent to the Choctaw Nation, I, nor the citizens of West Tennessee, hesitated not, to believe that Silas Dinsmore would cease to exercise over our citizens Such lawless tyranny as he had been in the habit of, and that our peacefull and honest citizens would be left to enjoy the free and unmolested use of that road as secured to them by treaty. you can easily Judge and so can the Secretary of War, our surprise and indignation, at the wanton insult offered to the whole citizens of west Tennessee by the publication of his card in the Clarion, in which he boasts, that he has set at defiance the Solem treaty that Secures to our citizens and those of the united States the free and unmolested use of that road as well as the express instructions of the Secratory of War of the 23rd. of march last,² and boast his

¹ Copy. This letter is given in Parton's *Jackson*, I. 356, with date as "Sept., 1812". It exists in Jackson's hand in a clear and legible copy, evidently not a draft. In composition and manner it is unrestrained and rambling, that is, in Jackson's worst style. The original is in the War Dept. files. It was published by his enemies in the campaign of 1828. See the *National Journal* (tri-weekly), Apr. 3, 1828, and Dec. 15, 1829.

² These instructions were as follows: "*Sir*, The laws regulating trade and intercourse with the Indians provide against all trespasses, and encroachments on the Indian Territory, but are not construed to authorise the stopping of any person travelling through the country in a peaceable manner on the public road or highway; you will therefore refrain from the exercise of any such authority hereafter." They accompany this present letter, in the War Dept. files.

detention of a defenceless woman and her property, *and for what!* the want of a pass port? and *my god*; is it come to this, are we *free men or are we slaves is this real or is it a dream*—for what are we involved in a War with great Britain is it not for the support of our rights as an independant people and a nation, secured to us by nature and by natures god as well as Solem treaties and the law of nations, and can the Secratary of war for one moment retain the idea, that we will permit this petty Tyrant to sport with our rights secured to us by treaty and which by the law of nature we do possess, and sport with our feelings by publishing his *lawless tyranny exercised over a helpless and unprotected female*—if he does he thinks too meanly of our Patriotism and galantry—were we base enough to surrender our independant rights secured to us by the bravery and blood of our fore fathers, we are unworthy the name of *freemen*, and we view all rights secured to us by Solem treaty, under the constituted authority, *rights* secured to us by the blood of our fathers and which we will never yield but with our lives. The indignation of our citizens are only restrained by assurances that government so soon as they are notified of this unwarrantable insult, added to the many injuries that Silas Dinsmore has heaped upon our honest and unofending citizens, that he will be removed. Should we be deceived in this, be *frank* with the Secretary of war, that we are free men, and that we will suport the sup[r]emacy of the laws, and that the wrath and indignation of our Citizens will sweep from the earth the invader of their legal rights and involve Silas Dinsmore in the flames of his agency house—we love order, and nothing but a suport of our legal and inalienable rights, would or could prompt us to do an act, that could be construed as wearing the appearance of rashness—but should not the source of the evil be removed, our rights secured by treaty restored to our citizens, the agent, and his houses will be demolished, and when government is applied to, and so often notified of the injuries heaped upon our citizens and they will adhere to the agent who delights in treading under foot the rights of the citizens, and exults in their distresses, the evil be upon the goverment not upon the people who have so often complained without redress. we really hope that the evil will be cut off by the root, by a removal of the agent. Should this not be done we will have a right fairly to conclude that the administration winks at the agents conduct under the rose, notwithstanding the instructions of the Secratary in his letter to Mr Dinsmore of the 23rd. of march. the right of nature occurs, and if redress is not afforded, I would despise the wretch that would slumber in qu[i]et one night before he cutt up by the roots the invader of his Solem rights, reguardless of consequences, let not the Secratary of war believe that we want more than Justice, but both from indians and indian agents, we will enjoy the rights secured to us by Solem treaty or we will die nobly in their support. we want but a bare fulfilment of the treaty. we neither under stand the Tyranny of the agent in open violation of our rights secured to us by treaty, or the Creek law, that takes from the United States the right guaranted by treaty. that the indians who commit murders on our citizens, shall be delivered up when demanded, to be tried by the laws of the united States and pun-

ished,—the Creek law says the Creeks will punish them, themselves. These innovation[s] without the consent of the constituted power of the government being first had our citizens do not understand, the information of Colo Hawkins U. S. agent for the Creeks and the information of Genl James Robertson agent of the Chickasaw Nation, to the contrary notwithstanding neither can we the citizens of Tennessee believe without better proof that the hair of the head of one of the murderers of Manleys family and Crawleys at the mouth of Duck river are disturbed by the Creeks, when we have proof that they have lately passed near to Caskaskia fifteen in number to Join the Prophet. In this particular we want and do expect the murderers delivered up agreeable to treaty—this is only *Justice* this we ask of Government—this we are entitlled to, and this we must (sooner or later) and will have. This may be thought strong language, but it is the language that freemen when the[y] are only claiming a fulfilment of their rights ought to use. it is a language that the[y] ought to be taught to lisp from their cradles, and never when they are claiming rights from any nation ever to abandon.

Pardon the trouble I have given you in this long letter, it relates to the two subjects that has for sometime irritated the publick mind, and is now ready to burst forth in vengeance. I am Dr sir with due regard . . .

TO WILLIE BLOUNT.

NASHVILLE, November 11, 1812

Sir: At a period like the present when the din of war reve[r]b[e]rates from shore to shore, it is the duty of every citizen to do something for his country. with these impressions at an early period of the symtoms of approaching war, I excercised my influence with the citizens composing the soldiary of the second Division of Tennessee which I have the honor to command, to Excite them to assume a proper attitude as *americans*, as *soldiers*, who had important rights to protect and defend, and which had been invaded by the unhallowed and sacraligious hand of great Britain and her emisaries. Twenty seven hundred and fifty brave Tennesseens under my order, stepped forward and enlisted under the banners of their country, resolved to protect their own and their countrys right or nobly die in the glorious struggle. These brave men had chosen me to lead them to the field, and required me thro your excellency to make a tender of their and my own services to the President of the united States. This Tender was made, and the terms of its acceptance too flattering for me now to repeat. Suffice it to say, that it made us feel like americans anxiously waiting the call of our country, that we might mingle with the heroes of the day and measure our strength and courage with the enemies of our country. we did expect when called on, it would be agreeable to the tender as made. permit me to remark when the tender was made, compensation was out of view, and I pledge myself it is not now taken into the account. But I feel that military Pride that I hope will go down with me to the grave when the Tender was made the Secretary of war well knew, that I had the honor to command a Division in the State of Tennessee, and as such the Tender was made and accepted. I have read the

orders of the Secretary of war to you which you had the goodness to shew me with care and calm attention. The orders and instructions do not relate to any volunteers already tendered. The words are "should volunteers offer etc etc," and I am clear in the opinion, if the Secretary did intend to embrace the volunteers tendered by me that the order recd. by yesterdays mail, was either to exclude me from the command, or if I did command by an apparent willingness and condesension on my part to place me under the command of Genl Wilkinson. I cannot disguise my feelings. had the Secretary of war directed you to call me and my volunteers into the field, and had confined my compensation to that of seargeant or private soldier I should have been content, but he has not even daigned to name me or the brave fellows who long since have tendered their service, and enrolled themselves under the act of congress. There appears something in this thing that carries with it a sting to my feelings that I will for the present suppress. The place of destination, and the officer under which they are to be placed when the[y] reach that destination, cannot be mistaken. But Sir vi[e]wing the situation of our beloved country at present, should your Excellency believe that my personal service can promote its interest in the least degree, I will sacrifice my own feelings, and lead my brave volunteers to any point your excellency may please to order all I ask is that we may be ordered to a stage where we may partake of active service, and share the dangers and laurels of the field.

I have the honor to be with high consideration and Esteem yr excellencies mo. ob. serv.

P. S. I await your orders and instructions.

WILLIE BLOUNT TO JACKSON.¹

NASHVILLE, November 11, 1812.

Sir, I am required by Brigadier Genl. Harrison who acts under the Authority of the President of the United States to hold two Regiments of the Militia of the 2d. Division detached conformably to the Act of the 10th. of April 1812, in readiness to march as soon as they may be called for, either by Governor Howard or Governor Edwards, for the protection of their Territories,² or for an expedition against the hostile Tribes of the Illinois river.

You will give the necessary orders in your Division to cause two Regiments of said detached Militia to hold themselves in readiness for that service to move at a moments warning when required by either Governor Edwards or Governor Howard; and you will without delay transmit to me a Roster of the Officers selected to command in said Regiments, and state the number of men detached and held in readiness for said service.³

¹ Nov. 23, Blount sent an order to Jackson, fixing Dec. 10, 1812, as the day of rendezvous and the place Nashville.

² Ninian Edwards was governor of Illinois, 1809 to 1818. Benjamin Howard was governor of Missouri from 1809 until late in 1812.

³ This letter was copied in Jackson's MSS., Letter-Book B, p. 7, but the portion embraced in the first and second paragraphs was not copied.

I am required by the President of the United States thro' the Secy War to call out, organize, arm and equip fifteen hundred of the Militia of Tennessee detached conformably to the Act of April the 10th. 1812; or of Volunteers who have tendered their services to the President of the United States under the Acts of Feby 6th. and July 6th. 1812, for the whole or such part of the required detachment as may be deemed expedient, to be rendezvoused at such parts of the State as may be judged most convenient for their march to New Orleans for the defence of the lower Country, to be organized as far as practicable according to the laws of the United States, under the command of a Brigadier General.⁴ I am authorized to assure the Volunteers that they will not be continued in service in the lower Country during the next Summer,—commissions are forwarded for Officers to command the volunteers as selected. when said Volunteer Corps may be commissioned and organized the fifteen hundred will be ordered to move to New Orleans either by land or water as shall be most convenient, to go on all together, or by detachments of four or five hundred according as the necessary arrangements therefor can be made. They are the Volunteers under your command, whose services with yours have been tendered to and accepted by the President, who are to perform this service you will command them.⁵

⁴The detachment was ordered merely as a reinforcement for Wilkinson, commanding at New Orleans, which, it was feared, might be attacked by the British during the coming winter.

⁵The letter of Secretary Eustis, Oct. 21, 1812, is as follows:

"Sir, I am commanded by the President to request your Excellency to call out, organize arm and equip, fifteen hundred of the Militia of Tennessee, detached conformably to the Act of April 10th. 1812 as soon as practicable. It is submitted to your Excellency to have these troops detached and rendezvoused at such parts of the state as you may judge most convenient for their march to New Orleans for the defence of the Lower Country.

"In consequence of the very great and extensive calls for Tents and other camp Equipage, and the time required for transportation, the Government rely on the exertions of your Excellency and the patriotism of the citizens of Tennessee for a great part of these supplies. One thousand stands of Arms will be ordered from Harper's ferry and down the Ohio, with ammunition and such other stores as can be reasonably procured, which together with a Thousand stands ordered to be delivered to your Excellency from the stores at Newport in May last, will, it is presumed, enable you to arm and equip the Detachment for immediate Service. Should Volunteers offer under the Acts of February 6th. and July 6th. 1812, your Excellency is authorized to organize them for the whole, or such part of the Detachment, as you may deem expedient. Seventy Blank Commissions are transmitted, to be filled up by your Excellency as the Officers are selected. It will be distinctly understood, that the Volunteers will not be entitled to pay, until they are called into actual service.

"Your Excellency will please to order these Troops to move for New Orleans by Land or Water, as shall be deemed most expeditious and convenient, in detachments of four or five hundred as they are organized, and the necessary arrangements are made. Copies of the contracts for supplying Rations are herewith inclosed, and your Excellency will appoint such agents as may be necessary, conformably to the Law, copies of which are also inclosed. Your Excellency will please to communicate with General Wilkinson at New Orleans, keep him advised of your arrangements, the number of Troops in each detachment, and the time of their Rendezvous and march from the several points. For the necessary Expenditures under this Order, your Excellency is hereby authorized to draw Bills on this Department."

A second letter from Eustis to Governor Blount, Oct. 23, 1812, directed that the volunteers be infantry or riflemen under the command of a brigadier-general, and that they be assured they would not have to serve in the "lower country during the next summer".

You will please notify the Officers of said Volunteer Companies who have made a tender of service under said acts and who have forwarded rolls that I am authorized to commission them as selected by their Companies; and also to request the said officers to meet at Nashville on the twenty first day of November Instant. for the purpose of nominating and selecting the field officers to command.

You will please procure the necessary Boats for the transportation of the Troops to New Orleans, together with the necessary Camp equipage; tho', it is to be understood that for supplies of the latter description including Tents the General Government rely principally on the patriotism of the Citizens of Tennessee, hence with such each man will be expected to furnish himself as fully as it may be in his power to do. this reliance on the patriotism of our fellow citizens in part is owing to the great and extensive calls for tents and other Camp equipage, and the time required for transportation.

The Troops will also be expected to take with them their own Arms and equipments such as may be fit for service including Rifles—those who have not arms will as far as practicable be furnished by Government meaning both detached Militia and Volunteers. For the necessary expenditures under this order I am authorized to draw Bills on the War Department. The well known attachment of yourself and the volunteers for your country is a sure pledge for the prompt execution of this order, respectfully

your Obt. Servant

JACKSON'S ANNOUNCEMENT TO HIS SOLDIERS.¹

———, November 14, 1812.

In publishing the letter of Gov. Blount the Major Genl. makes known to the valiant Volunteers who have tendered their services every thing which is necessary for them now to know. In requesting the Officers of the respective companies to meet in Nashville on the 21. Inst. the Governor expects to have the benefit of their advice in recommending the field officers who have already volunteered; also to fix on the time when the expedition shall move; to deliver the definite instructions, and to commission the Officers in the name of the President of the United States. Companies which do not contain 66 rank and file are required to complete their compliment to that number. A second Lieutenant should be added where the company contains but one.

The Major General has now arrived at a Crisis when he can address the Volunteers with the feelings of a soldier. The State to which he belongs is now to act a part in the honorable contest of securing the rights and liberties of a great and rising Republic. In placing before the volunteers the illustrious actions of their fathers in the war of the revolution, he presumes to hope that they will not prove themselves a degenerate race. nor suffer it to be said, they are unworthy of the blessings which the blood of so many thousand heroes has purchased for them. The Theatre on which they are required to act is interesting to them in every

¹ Jackson MSS., Letter-book B, pp. 10-12.

point of view. Every Man of the western Country turns his eyes intuitively upon the mouth of the Mississippi. He there beholds the only outlet by which his produce can reach the markets of foreign or the atlantic States: Blocked up, all the fruits of his industry rots upon his hand—open and he carries on a trade with all the nations of the earth. To the people of the western Country is then peculiarly committed by nature herself the defence of the lower Mississippi and the city of New-Orleans. At the approach of an enemy in that quarter, the whole western world should pour forth its sons to meet the Invader and drive him back into the sea. Brave Volunteers! its to the defence of this place, so interesting to you, that you are now ordered to repair. Let us show ourselves conscious of the honor and importance of the charge which has been committed to us. By the alacrity by which we obey the orders of the President, let us demonstrate to our brethren in all parts of the union, that the people of Tennessee are worthy of being called to the defence of the Republic.

The Generals of Brigade attached to the second Division will communicate these orders to the Officers commanding volunteer Companies with all possible dispatch using expresses and forwarding a statement of the expense to the Major General.

JACKSON'S GENERAL ORDERS.¹

HERMITAGE, November 23, 1812.

The major Gen. of the 2nd. Division is commanded by his Excellency governor Blount to call into service the organised volunteers who are destined for the defence of New Orleans and the lower Mississippi. The whole of the volunteers from the second Division are included in this order.² They will accordingly rendezvous in Nashville on Saturday the tenth of December, prepared to descend the river without delay. The Cavalry will provide themselves with Pistols and Sabres; the Infantry with rifles as far as it may be convenient; for which they will be allowed a fair compensation. Such of the non-commissioned officers and privates as bring with them a blanket for their own use will be paid for it a full price. They are particularly requested to furnish themselves with this article.

On their arrival at the place of rendezvous, the officers, non-commissioned officers and privates will receive two months pay in advance, and the non-commissioned officers and privates will receive seventeen dollars for the half pay of one year's clothing.

The Major Gen. informs the volunteers that upon a consultation with the field officers, it has been resolved that the respective companies which form the detachment will appear in uniforms dark blue, or brown has

¹ Jackson MSS., Letter-Book B, p. 14.

² There was a movement also for a detachment of volunteers from East Tennessee. Writing to Jackson, July 21, 1812, Governor Blount had said: "I have reason to believe that a considerable number of Volunteers raised under that act, are about to make a tender of service to the President, from the First Division. What can be more pleasing or interesting than to see citizen-soldiers animated with the love of Country vying in a laudable manner with each other who shall be foremost in taking the field in defence of their common Country? Nothing can be more to the credit of any people." See *ibid.*, p. 1.

been prescribed for service, of homspun or not, at the election of the wearer—hunting shirts or coats at the option of the different companies, with pantaloons and dark colored socks—white pantaloons, vests etc may be worn upon parade. As the expedition will not terminate under five or six months and will include the winter and the spring, the volunteers will see the propriety of adapting their clothing, in quantity and quality to both seasons. The field officers will wear the uniform which is prescribed for officers of the same grade in the army of the U. States. Company officers will conform to the same regulations, if convenient otherwise they will conform to the uniform of their companies.

The constant and honorable zeal which the volunteers have evinced, excludes the idea that any one of them will voluntary absent themselves, now that they have received the final sum[mons] soon to repair to the field of honor and of danger. If sickness, inevitable necessity, or real absence from the state, should detain any one, he will make known his situation to the commanding officer of the company. In all cases where this is not done to the satisfaction of the Major Gen. the absentee will be put upon the list of Deserters, exposed to the scorn of his fellow-citizens and the severest penalties which the laws will inflict upon him.

Capt. William Carroll of the Nashville volunteers is appointed brigade inspector to the organized volunteers and Major Fletcher is appointed second aid to the Major General in the place of Major John Coffee promoted; the officers and privates of the volunteer detachment [are] commanded to honor and obey them as such. The colonels commanding regiments will distribute their orders by express, the expense of which will be reimbursed by the Assistant Deputy Quarter Master.

WILLIE BLOUNT TO JACKSON.¹

NASHVILLE, November 23, 1812.

Sir, You are hereby commanded to give the necessary orders to the organized Volunteers who have tendered their services to the President of the United States after enrolment under the Acts of Congress passed the 6th. of Feby and 6th. July 1812, in your Division, whose services with your own have been accepted, to rendezvous on the 10th. day of December next at the Cantonment to be designated by the Assistant Deputy Quarter Master, in the vicinity of Nashville.

The Volunteers will be expected to arm and equip themselves with their own Arms including Rifles, as far as practicable and to furnish themselves as fully as may be conveniently in their power to do with ammunition, Camp-equipage and Blankets, for which a compensation may confidently be expected to be made by Government, to be allowed and settled for in the usual mode and at the usual rates in similar cases where such supplies are furnished. The object of which rendezvous is to be considered as preparatory to their immediate march under your command to New Orleans for the defence of the lower Country as stated in my order of the 11th. Instant. I am with highest respect and the most perfect confidence

Your Obt. Servant

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

TO GEORGE W. CAMPBELL.¹

HERMITAGE, November 29, 1812.

Sir: I had the pleasure of receiving from you by mail the Presidents communication to Congress, from which I plainly see, that war must rage untill the pride of Englands Humbled. If ever a nation, did refuse such fair and honourable, (which includes Just) propositions as has been made by our goverment lately to england, I have never come across it in print, and those propositions made too at a time when england must know that in six months with our present preparations, we can conquer all her north american possessions. There cannot after a rejection of the terms offered by our goverment to england, be one single decenting voice in america, that our war is not only Just, but necessary, and must continue untill our national and individual rights are permanantly secured. *This is the voice here*, and we have set to work in good earnest. I have been engaged for about ten days organizing the Volunteers.

The Governor on the 21st. Instant commissioned by order of the President forty one captains—we have organized three regiments; there will be a fourth—one of the finest Regiments of Cavalry I ever saw, they have chosen Coffee to command them, they are not quite equipt. Pistols cannot be had here. Colo. Coffee has equip with swords Eighty, they are in uniform of homespun, blue, with caps complete. The regiment is full, and the only thing wanting is arms, I wish about 500 swords and 250 cases of Pistols could be forward. The two regiments of infantry in a short time with the General and regimental staff that is selected will be in a good state to render service to their country, and with the officers selected, I have no doubt could be marched any where that the Government requires service, on the 10th. next month we rendezvou at Nashville by the 15th. I hope to send on the Cavalry and one Regiment of Infantry for the defence of the lower country and by the 20th. or 25th. I expect to be able to follow with the ballance of the detachment.

In the organization of the staff, we were obliged from necessity to depart from the law. The acts of congress say that the staff must be taken from the line. in the line we could not get proper materials, in the line of a regular army proper materials for the staff can always be had. I had to invite from higher grades fit persons for adjutants etc—their compensation, (they not being taken from the line) is not adequate and I do hope you will have provisions made by law in all such cases. say that they shall receive a Lieutenants or Captains pay in the line, and then the extra pay now allowed by law.

The late retrograde movements of the ohio and Kentuckey Volunteers, has tarnished the reputation of their state. with this before my eyes when I view the materials of my Detachment, I feel confident they will "quit themselves like men and fight." and they have too much pride ever to leave their duty without orders.

There is but one thing I fear, should we be ordered to Join Genl Wilkison, he is so universally disliked by our citizens, that something unpleasant may arise. It was whispered that he was to command. It raged like wild fire, and it was only laid by the governor stating Positively in his order

¹ War Dept. files, 1812.

that I was to command them. as to myself, you know my sentiments. It is a bitter pill to have to act with him, but for my countries good I will swallow [it] I go with the true spirit of a soldier to defend m[y coun]try and to fight her battles, and should any thing [come] between him and myself to put a speedy end to [it with]out injuring the service or disturbing the Public [It is] much to be wished that he would be moved from the south and west. I have Just seen a letter from an officer from Washington M. T.² saying the militia in west florida has refused to be commanded by him. Why then not let us have an officer in whom we have confidence, why corode the feelings of an extensive and rising country in these trying times, by keeping him in command in a quarter where the people have no confidence in him at all—advise goverment of the fact, and then let them act. It required some adress and some exertion to prevent a unanimous remonstrance from all the officers to the President on this subject, and the only thing that prevented it was, that it was stated to them that it was an improper time, and it would be said it was only a pretext to avoid the service—to this the[y] yielded—receive my best wishes,

RACING COMPANY IN ACCOUNT WITH JACKSON.

[Autumn of 1812.]

Expence of bringing Stump the Dealer from Georgia to the Hermitage	\$7
Keeping Stump the Dealer two months.....	10
Keeping and training him from the first day of Sept. until the 2nd day of Novbr. at a guinea a week eight weeks....	39
Medicine for him as pr Doctor Bedfords bill.....	8.33.⅓
Shewing him and plating him.....	2.50
Ruber and rider for two months @ \$15 pr month.....	30
finding hand with provisions 2 months.....	3
shewing him after running.....	1.00
To keeping Guttridges mare for one month @ ditto.....	18.66.⅔
Shewing her \$1.50 medicine for her \$6.50.....	8
Rubbers and finding them.....	16.50
To keeping crop horse one month @ ditto.....	18.66.⅔
Shewing him \$1.50 medicine for him \$6.50.....	8
Rubbers and finding them for do.....	16.50
Decature from the first of Sept untill the 24th of October say seven and half weeks @ do.....	35
Medicine for him	8.33.⅓
plating him and shewing him.....	2.50
Rubers riders and finding them for seven and a half weeks..	27.75
To keeping the Western light for seven and a half weeks @ do.....	35
Medicine for him	8.33.⅓
shewing and plating him.....	2.50
Rubbers riders and finding them.....	27

¹ 233.58.⅓² Mississippi Territory.¹ This should be 333.58⅓, here and on the following page.

To keeping the gray Coott for two months and one week that is from the 1st of Sept. 1812 to the 6th of Novbr....	\$42.50
Medicine for him	8.33
Rubbers and riders for Do and finding them.....	37.75
Shewing and plating him.....	5.75
Salamoniac 10 oz at 50/10 pr ounce and 4 qts wine vinegar at 75/10 pr qt.....	8
	<hr/> 102.33
	<hr/> 233.58.1/3
	<hr/> 335.91.1/3
Medicine on hand.....	15.91.1/3
	<hr/> 320

The above acctt is made out without any charge for Mr. Hutchings superintending the horses calculating his attention to clear him from any part of the expence of keeping that it should be divided amongst A. Jackson, J. Jackson, and Cap Ward.

Cap Ward is entitled to a credit for rubbers and riders to the Western light and finding them and also for a rubber and rider to the full end of the term.

The expence of Mr. Hutchings whilst at the tract and the expence of the liquor for horses to be added to this bill and divided in three equal parts.

A. Jackson has recd of the entrance of the three days running and the subscription the sum of \$278.50—Cap Ward has recd

100	
378.50	Andrew Jackson is to receive the entrance of the first day \$25 dollars the balance of 253.50 is to be divided.

To JOHN REID.¹

NASHVILLE, December 11, 1812.

Sir, Mr. Thomas H. Fletcher who I had appointed my second aid in the room of majr. John Coffee promoted having given in his resignation makes it necessary that I should fill that vacancy. Among several characters highly recommended for that office, I have determined to give you that appointment, provided you will accept thereof. I will thank you to notify whether you accept this place. Should you answer in the affirmative it will give me much pleasure to announce it in the next general order.

JOHN REID TO JACKSON.¹

[n. p.,] Dec. 11, 1812

D'r Sir, The proposition you have just made me to serve you as aid, is the most agreeable I could have received. I accept it. I accept it with the greatest pleasure; but I beg General you will recollect it is made to me from home. Nothing short, however, of such difficulties as I cannot

¹ Jackson MSS., Letter-Book B, p. 19.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

foresee and cannot regulate shall prevent me from going with you. Of the duties of this appointment I know but very little; but this assurance I think I can give with propriety, that when you perish, we shall perish together.²

Very respectfully I am yr etc.

GENERAL ORDERS.¹

December 13, 1812.

GENERAL ORDERS.

The Major General informs the army that the organization of the volunteers who constitute the detachment for the defence of the lower Countrys, under his command is completed, and that they will be marched by detachments so soon as they receive their pay and equipments: The following is the result of the organization:

GENERAL AND STAFF.²

Andrew Jackson, Major General
 William B. Lewis Assistant Deputy Quartermaster
 William Carroll, Brigade Inspector
 James Henderson, Brigade Quarter Master
 Col. Thomas H. Benton will perform the duty of first aid
 John Reid second Aid-de-Camp
 Chaplain³

² John Reid was born in Bedford Co., Va., in 1784. He read law and, in 1807, settled in Rutherford Co., Tenn. In 1809 he moved to Franklin, the county seat of Williamson Co., where Thomas Hart Benton also resided. It is said that Jackson took Reid for an aide on Benton's recommendation. From a letter of Felix Grundy to Jackson, Nov. 28, 1811, (q. v.), it seems that he was then clerking in a bank. It is of interest to note that he was prevented by illness from going with Jackson to Natchez in 1813, but he was with him on the Creek and New Orleans campaigns and served him with great ability. He died Jan. 18, 1816, leaving his *Life of Jackson* to be completed by John H. Eaton. Several of his letters and other interesting information about his career are given in Heiskell's *A. Jackson*, II. 64-82. On the Natchez expedition, after the departure from Nashville, Jackson was served as aides by Robert Searcy and James W. Sittler. The latter was adjutant-general and was called on to act as aide after Reid was left behind.

¹ Jackson MSS., Letter-Book B, p. 22; see also Jackson MSS., Papers, I. 85-90.

² A sheet filed in Jackson MSS., Milit. Papers, I. folio 153, without date, gives the general's staff in the Natchez expedition as follows:

Names	Rank	When mustered into service	
Andrew Jackson	Major General	26th Septemr	1813
John Reid	Ltut. and Aid de camp	ditto	ditto
Robert Searcy	ditto . . . ditto	ditto	ditto
James W. Sittler	ditto and Adjutant General	ditto	ditto
William Carrol	Inspector General	ditto	ditto
Stockley D. Hays	Lieut. and Quarter Master General	ditto	ditto
Archibald Potter	Assistt. Deputy Quatr. General	ditto	ditto
Joseph Anthony	Ltut and Assistant Adjut General	ditto	ditto
James Tatum	Principal Waggon Master	ditto	ditto
William R. Hess	Principal Forrage Master	ditto	ditto
John Strother	Topographer		
George Cunningham	Secretary to the Genl		
Howell Tatum	chief engineer		
William White	Judge advocate		

³ Not appointed at this time. In the *Journal* (see Jan. 10, 1813, *post*) the name is given as "Mr. Blockman".

FIELD AND STAFF

Cavalry

John Coffee, Colonel commandant
 John Allcorn Lieut. Colonel
 Rober H. Dyer Lieut. Colonel
 James Lauderdale first Major
 John H. Gibson Second Major
 Basil Shaw First Adjutant
 James Neelly Second Adjutant
 Stockly D. Hays Paymaster
 Neill B. Rose Quarter Master
 Stockley D. Hutchings Quarter master Sergeant
 John Knight Quarter Master Sergeant
 James L. Armstrong Surgeon
 Clement N. Reid Surgeon's Mate
 William T. Henderson Second Surgeon's mate
 John Jones Master of sword

First Regiment Infantry

William Hall Colonel Commandant
 Edward Bradley Lieut. Colonel
 Samuel D. Lauderdale Major
 David Humphreys Adjutant
 William Lauderdale Paymaster
 Richard Alexander Quarter Master
 John Cage Quarter Master Sergeant
 Samuel Hogg Surgeon

Second Regiment Infantry

Thomas H. Benton Colonel Commandant
 William Pillow Lieutenant Colonel
 William Martin Major
 Lieut. Byrd Smith Adjutant
 George West Quarter Master
 Isaac Little Quarter Master Sergeant
 William Butler Surgeon

Paymaster

Companies composing Cavalry

Captain B. Coleman	Capt. Tyrrell
Ditto Baskerville	Ditto Molton
Ditto Bradley	Ditto Stump
Ditto Byrne	Ditto Kavanaugh
Ditto Smith	Ditto Jetton
Ditto McKean	Ditto McFerrin

Companies composing First Regiment Infantry

Captain W. L. Alexander	Captain Wallace
Ditto Martin	Ditto Moore
Ditto Douglass	Ditto Hamilton
Ditto Bledsoe	

Companies composing Second Regiment Infantry

Captain W. J. Smith	Captain Nash
Ditto Cannon	Ditto Newland
Ditto McEwen	Ditto Moore
Ditto Hewett	Ditto Runshaw
Ditto Reynolds	Ditto Williamson

Thus organized, Fellow-Soldiers, we are to *act* and our country and our government expect us to act with effect. To do this, implicit obedience to your commanders and strict subordination must be had and maintained. Courage alone, altho' it may effect wonders, is not, at all times adequate to resist discipline, and military skill with inferior force. The benefit of the service, self preservation, your own honor and a duty to your country require strict attention to discipline. Your General, with an eye to this important object has invited to the field, men of the best acquired knowledge of tactics and discipline. They are placed in the Staff. In their industry and talents he has the highest confidence. With prompt obedience, your General has no doubt but they will soon introduce into the ranks that necessary discipline which is all important to the success and preservation of an army. Hence, then your General requires and commands strict obedience to orders—your duty, your safety, your country; the benefit and importance of the service nay, your pride in arms, fellow-soldiers; imperiously demand it. Your *good sense* will cheerfully yield it. Honor, honesty and civility are the common concomitants of good soldiers—you are commanded, therefore, wherever you are, religiously to abstain from *insulting* the citizens or *destroying* their property. When your General reflects that it is patriotism alone which has induced you to exchange the civil wreath for the military plume, to forego all the endearments of social and domestic life, and to sacrifice, if necessary your lives, in defence of the dearest and most invaluable rights and privileges of your country, he cannot, for a moment, permit himself to believe there is one of this heroic band who would tarnish his honor, disgrace his country, and reflect infamy on his posterity by such unmilitary acts.

The relative situation of your General to you, is, that of a father to his family, and as such he pledges himself to do *his* duty. Your *moral duty* then, is obedience—your duty as *Soldiers* is subordination; this yielded without coercion—united as a band of brothers, we will overthrow all opposition. That we may learn the duties of a soldier and become enured to the requisitions of subordination, it is nec[essary] that our first acts should lead to this most desirable object. It is therefore, required and commanded that no commissioned officer leave the encampment without the permission of his superiors; and that no non-commissioned officer or private, leave the encampment without the permission

of their commanding officer, in writing; and the officer of the day will not suffer them to pass the guards without such permission. The colonels commanding regiments in the detachment, will cause reports to be made every morning to the Brigade Major of the strength and condition of the detachment, that the requisitions of the contractor for rations, and quarter-master for forage, may be regulated accordingly.

All citizens not soldiers, are commanded to leave the encampment at the approach of night.

It is further ordered that the police of the camp, this day be established at two O'clock.

By order of the Major General

TO WILLIE BLOUNT.

HEADQUARTERS NASHVILLE December 21st 1812

It is with the greatest pleasure and satisfaction that the Maj. Genl. in behalf of himself and the brave volunteers whom he has the honor to command, acknowledges the receipt of your Excellency's polite and highly flattering address, which he has caused to be read in General orders on the 19th. Inst.

They feel much gratified that their conduct both in camp, and on parade, has merited the approbation of your Excellency; and, they cherish a belief, that they never will so far forget themselves, the state of which they have the honor to be citizens, and the cause which has elicited the spark of patriotism from every bosom of the volunteers, as to act in any way derogatory to the strictest rules of military discipline and subordination. It is true, that the volunteers have experienced hardships and privations in the camp, and have been exposed to the "severity of the severest cold weather ever known here for years past;" and, that too, without a murmur; but, these hardships, as great as they may seem to be, are but inconsiderable, when compared to those which they are willing to endure, when required for the benefit of the service. We have changed the garb of citizens for that of soldiers; but, in doing this, we hope none of us have changed our principles, for, let it ever be recollected as an invariable rule, that good citizens make good soldiers. The volunteers have drawn their swords, and shouldered their muskets, for no other purpose than that of defending their country against the hostile attacks of their enemies, the British, and their savage and barbarous allies, the Indians, and may they never be returned to their scabbards until the enemies of America of every denomination, be humbled in the dust, and constrained to acknowledge that, which has been so often, and so long demanded by amicable negotiation—*Justice*. We flatter ourselves that your Excellency, will do us the justice to believe, that their is not an individual among the volunteers, who would not prefer perishing in the field of battle; who would not cheerfully yield his life in the defence of his country, than return to the bosom of his family and his friends covered with shame, ignominy and disgrace.

Perish our friends, perish our wives, perish our children, (the dearest pledges of heaven)—nay, perish *all* terrestrial considerations, but, let the honor and fame of a volunteer-soldier be untarnished and immaculate. We now enjoy *liberties*, political, civil and religious that no other nation on earth possess; may we never survive them! *No*, rather let us, perish in maintaining them, and if we must yield, where is the man that would not prefer being buried in the ruins of his country, than live the ignominious slave of haughty lords and unfeeling Tyrants. We hope that your Excellency, shall never have occasion to blush for the honor of Tennessee.

Your Excellency, will not call it presumption, when the volunteers say that it is their full determination to return covered with laurels, or die endeavoring to geather them in the bloody field of Mars. Accept from the Genl., for himself and the volunteers, the homage of the highest confidence and respect.

ACCOUNT OF RAWORTH AND BIDDLE.

		December 29, 1812	
1812.		Gen. Andrew Jackson	
		To Raworth and Biddle Dr.	
			\$ cts.
Decr. 14th	To one gold Eagle	4	
	To mounting sword	16	
29th.	To one silver Eagle	75	
			<hr/>
			\$20.75
		Recvd thee above	
		JOHN BIDDLE.	

JOHN REID TO JACKSON.

December 30, 1812.

Sir, As you have now, two aids, I conceive it of importance to know whether I am to be considered as the first or the second. I make this enquiry with considerable diffidence; but I am sure you will readily excuse me for wishing to understand *clearly*, in what capacity I am hereafter to appear with you.

Altho I was, probably, appointed in consequence of the resignation of Mr. Fletcher, who seems to have been your second aid, it was never my belief that I was to stand precisely in his situation. Under a different impression, I accepted with great satisfaction, the appointment which you tendered me; and my first perswasion was subsequently confirmed by assurances from yourself. Has it been found expedient to make any arrangement, different from that originally intended?

In the late general order, publishing the organization of the army, I have observed myself announced as the second aid. I was surprised at this; and should, before now, have expressed to your Excellency my feelings upon the occasion, had I not considered it a temporary arrangement which would, in a short time, be superseded by new regulations.

I am very Respectfully

TO JOHN REID.

NASHVILLE, December 30, 1812

Sir: your note by Mr Thomas Easten, was this moment handed me, bearing date the 30th. instant. From the recommendation of my boosom friends as well as from the small acquaintance I had with you, I felt truly gratified, on the information, that you would become one of my family, during the present Campaign, as soon as your consent was known to me, I made it known in a general order, Issued for the purpose to make known that the organization of the detachment was compleated, and that you were appointed my second aid in the room of Mr Fletcher resigned. how any distinction between aids crept into the order, at present I cannot say. Colo. Benton was still acting as aid, and as far as his time and duty from his regiment, would permit render all the aid in his power. This is the only general order that has been published, therefore I suppose the only one you alude to, and I am really astonished that this should be even noted in your letter, as at that time it was well known to you that Colo. Benton still continued to act as one of my aids, and had acted in that capacity for a long time. Being advised by our mutual friend Colo. Coffee, that he was fearfull, that there was something that coroded your feelings, to prevent which and that harmony might prevail, I requested him to explain to you fully which I am confident he must have done, in that explanation I have no doubt he brought to your view, that there was no difference in the rank pay or emoluments of aids, and which I did hope would be fully satisfactory, and restore your feelings, for I beg you to believe, that nothing would give me more pain, than that any act of mine should tend to injure the feelings of any individual. I did expect the greatest harmony, this was my sole object, added to talent and respectability, which I was certain of in the choice I had made. *Sir* If there is any thing that has arisen that has given you an idea, of the contrary it is without my knowledge, and altho it would fill me with the greatest regret, that I should be deprived of your aid and service, still a duty I owe to you, compels me to say, that if any circumstances has arisen since the explanation by Colo Coffee that makes your situation unpleasant or disagreeable, I have only to add, that I sincerely regret it, and that I would not, (let the inconvenience to me be what it might,) hold you one moment longer than, your pleasure dictated to you to remain. Accept assurances of my respect and Esteem

WILLIE BLOUNT TO JACKSON.

NASHVILLE, December 31, 1812.

Sir, You will as soon as practicable after the Troops are paid,¹ move with the Detachment of Tennessee Volunteers under your command,

¹ As soon as they were paid the soldiers began to present their notes to the bank, in Nashville, for specie. The directors at once refused to continue to furnish funds to the paymaster, and payments to the soldiers ceased. Then an arrangement was made by which the bank furnished the paymaster funds, one third in specie and two thirds in post notes. In a general order, Jackson announced this fact, and urged the soldiers to be satisfied. Jackson MSS., Letter-Book, Dec. 19, 1812.

consisting of one thousand four hundred Infantry and Riflemen, and six hundred and seventy mounted Infantry and Cavalry, in all, two thousand and seventy, men and officers included, to New Orleans for the defence of the lower Country, transporting the Infantry and Riflemen by water, and ordering the mounted Infantry and Cavalry to proceed by land, on the main road, leading from this to New Orleans, via, Natchez, Mississippi Territory.

You will in giving your instructions to the commander of the mounted Infantry and Cavalry, order, that the greatest caution and care shall be observed and used by him, and the whole Detachment under his command, not to molest, or in any way to injure the peaceable Tribes of Indians inhabiting the Country thro' which they may march on said road. On your arrival at New Orleans, you will await, the order of the President of the United States. . . .

GENERAL ORDERS ON MARTIAL LAW.¹

NASHVILLE, December 31, 1812.

It is with extreme regret that the Majr Genl. witnessed to-day the seeds of mutiny in the Volunteer Camps; but 'tis with pride your General recollects with what alacrity the great mass of the Volunteers flew to his aid to suppress it. He cannot refrain from tendering to Capt. McEwen his thanks for the promp[t]ness with which he obeyed his orders—indeed, he most cheerfully gives his thanks to all the officers present, except those *few* who appeared to countenance mutiny and disorder.

The Major General thinks it important that all officers and Soldiers should know the penalties which the Martial Law inflicts for disobedience of orders—for *mutiny, mutinous conduct or exciting others to mutiny*; therefore, orders that the major of Brigade read to the first and second Regiments of Infantry, the sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth articles of War to-morrow at twelve O'Clock; and all officers and soldiers are commanded to conform thereto, under the pains and penalties which said articles inflict.

The Major General flattered himself there was not an officer, or soldier, in the detachment of volunteers, who would have tarnished that fame, which, from their patience and forbearance, under the most trying circumstances, they had so justly merited; but, with pain and mortification he witnessed a disposition in *some*, not only to cast a shade over their own conduct, but anxious to involve in shame and disgrace, the whole of the detachment under his command. This cannot, nay, shall not be. The Major General feels well assured that a large majority of the Volunteers have too much sense, not to know that every exertion have been made to accelerate their payment; and that the delays of which they complain have been occasioned from circumstances over which their general has no control. He also feels assured that they have too much confidence in their officers to believe, for a moment, that they could be actuated from motives of partiality. None but disorganizers, and those, who are

¹ Jackson MSS., Letter-Book B, p. 51.

mutinously disposed, would attempt to plant the seeds of discontent in the bosom of those, who, when too late, will repent of their temerity. The boast and the pride of the Major General was, that the brave Volunteers whom he has the honor to command, had tendered their services to their country from the most patriotic motives—that, to a man, they were anxious to see her elevated to the highest pinnacle of national prosperity, renowned among the nations of the earth, and crowned with ever shining emeralds of Liberty. But he fears these pleasing expectations in *some instances*, will prove delusive—that there are some who are not impelled to the defence of their country, from patriotic, but *pecuniary* motives. Why, if the love of Country have drawn you from the bosom of your families, such anxiety about who shall be first paid? do you not know that all cannot be first? Can you not exercise a little patience? Take care how you indulge this restless disposition, least the world should say that you are *ostensible* patriots, but *real mercenaries*.

The Major General hopes that the mutinous and disorderly conduct of this day was more the effect of imprudence and incaution than the result of pre-determination to disobey. He flatters himself that no one during the whole campaign will be found so far lost to a sense of duty—so regardless of their fame and their reputation as to be guilty of the like conduct again; but should he be disappointed in this expectation, he pledges himself that the Law Martial shall be fully and completely executed on every individual concerned. Every expression either of officers or soldiers having a tendency to excite disobedience of orders are forbidden, and, if used, shall be punished agreeably to Law. Let it be remembered that the duty of a parent is to chastise and bring to obedience an undutiful child. The Major General has pledged himself to act towards you as a father, and now exhorts you to obedience.

TO WILLIE BLOUNT.¹

NASHVILLE, January 4, 1813

your order of the 31st. ultimo is recd. and I beg you to be assured that the moment the payment of the troops is complete, we will march agreeable to your order without a moments delay. Should the arms equipments and munitions of war not arrive in due time I shall proceed without them chartering a barge and leaving a detachment to bring them on. we have been too long delayed for the public good, but permit to observe what you well know, that neither your exertions or mine could obviate the difficulty, that the want of funds and other supplies threw in the way. the delay of the payment of the troops could not be prevented the most prompt exertions of the paymaster and every citizen of influence amongst whom permit me to remark I know you stand foremost, has been made to obviate the difficulty. The exertion of the officers of the bank deserve my thanks. I hope to be able to strike our tents on the 7th. instant there remaining but seven companies to be paid. your polite and friendly expressions as the[y] relate to my exertions in raising and organising the

¹ Copy. Internal evidence shows that this letter was written to Governor Blount but in Jackson's copy it is stated that it was to the Secretary of War.

volunteers, are certainly pleasing. I have only done my duty, and I hope on every occasion during life I shall do this so far as my Judgt. may direct. brought up under the tyranny of Britain—altho young embarked in the struggle for our liberties, in which I lost every thing that was dear to me, *my brothers and my fortune*—for which I have been amply repaid by living under the mild administration of a republican government. to maintain this, and the independant rights of our nation is a duty I have ever owed to my country to myself and to posterity, and when I do all I can it it [*sic*] support, I have only done my duty, and it will be ever grateful to my reflection, If I find my acts and exertions meet your approbation.

I sincerely respond to your excellency's Letter in praying that the God of Battles may be with us, and that high Heaven may bestow its Choice Benedictions on all engaged in this Expedition.²

JAMES WILKINSON TO JACKSON.¹

NEW-ORLEANS, January 6, 1813.

Sir, This letter will be delivered you by Capt D. Hughes, of 1st. Regt Infantry, Brigade Inspector, who is instructed to muster and inspect the corps under your command, and to afford to your captains every aid and advice they may require, in the formation of their rolls and returns. As soon after the arrival of your corps at Natchez, as may comport with the accommodation of the men, I will thank you to transmit me a General return of your force, agreeably to the form which will be furnished by Capt. Hughes. With consideration and respect,

I am, Sir, yr Obt Sert

GENERAL ORDERS.¹

HEADQUARTERS, NASHVILLE, January 6, 1812 [1813].²

The payment of the infantry being nearly compleat, the Major General feels gratified, to have it in his power, to order the Infantry to strike their tents, and commence their march to their place of Destination agreeable to the orders of his Excellency Governor Blount.³

The Infantry will strike their tents on Tomorrow at twelve oclock, taking on board the Baggage of such companies of Infantry as is not accomodated with Boats, and drop down the river to Robertsons landing

² This paragraph is not in Jackson's handwriting.

¹ Jackson MSS., Letter-Book B, p. 177. Jackson's correspondence with Wilkinson, of which this is the first letter, was carried on in the politest terms on each side. In fact, it seems that Jackson was reining himself in and that Wilkinson, afraid of creating an unpleasant situation, went even to the point of deference in order to give Jackson what Jackson wished to have. This placid situation was not even disturbed when Jackson got the order dismissing his command under conditions which, he suspected, were created to leave them without funds and the prey of Wilkinson's recruiting officers.

¹ Copy.

² The date in Jackson's copy is erroneously given as Jan. 6, 1812.

³ The expedition was organized as a brigade. It contained the 1st Regiment of Infantry under Colonel William Hall, the 2d Regiment of infantry under Col. Thomas H. Benton, and a regiment of cavalry under Col. John Coffee. In Jackson's General Order, Dec. 13, 1812, Letter-Book B, is a list of the officers from captains up.

where they will encamp on the night of the 7th instant. Captains Newland Renshaw and McFerrin who remains unpaid, will march into Nashville at ten oclock tomorrow A. M. receive their pay and Join their regiments on tomorrow night, at their encampments at Robertson landing, at which place the second regiment will receive three additional Boats, which will be delivered by their colo. to three of his companies and such provisions as the contractor has there stored. on the Eight the Infantry with these additional Boats, will all embark and fall down to the mouth of harpith,⁴ where a compleat supply of Boats will be recd, and a quantity of provisions, at which place the Infantry will encamp untill the major General arives, in the mean time care and industry will be used to have the provision all on board, and ready to sail as soon as the major General arives, too great care cannot be taken of the boats least some of them may sink—guards will therefore be kept up all night to prevent accident.

The captains of the second Regiment, will furnish the contractor with compleat returns of their respective companies where this has not been done that the contractor may furnish, and forward not only the substantial but the fractional parts of the ration.

“THE DEPARTURE FROM NASHVILLE”, A JOURNAL OF THE TRIP DOWN THE MISSISSIPPI.¹

DEPARTURE FROM NASHVILLE.

On the tenth of Jany. 1813. the whole of the army of Tennessee volunteers destined for the defence of the lower country under the command of majr. Genl. Andrew Jackson Embarked.

The morning of their departure was solemn. The citizens of Nashville and the neighborhood displayed every manifestation of respect and sorrow. The concourse of Spectators were unusually great. all the distinguished characters of the country attended. When the Nashville Company of Volunteers, whom the Gen'l. had chosen as his Guards, arrived at his Head-quarters, the march commenced from town to the place of embarkation, attended by Gov. Blount and his secretary. The Judges of the Superior Courts; The Genl. was attended by his principal Officers attached to the army.

When arrived at the Strand, the embarkation did not take place immediately, but was delayed, by having to put part of the military stores on Board the Boats. The citizens remained on the Bank untill every thing was ready for departure. The signal was given by a few Taps of the

⁴ Harpeth River, 40 miles below Nashville.

¹ This “Journal” survives in the handwriting of a copyist. It was not kept by Jackson, but somebody closely associated with him, possibly by Robert Searcy, his aide. When asking for military employment, Benton told Jackson, Jan. 30, 1812, that he intended to write an account of the services he should render; but the “Journal” contains clear evidence that it was not written by Benton; *e. g.*, the entry for Feb. 21, 1813, where it is said that “the General and his family” were invited to dine with Gen. F. L. Claiborne, “but owing to the badness of the weather, none attended but Colo. Benton and myself”. The writer says on Jan. 15, “I wrote the first dispatch to Governor Blount,” indicating that it was written by one of the aides, who were Searcy and Sitler. As Col. Sitler was adjutant-general and only served as aide because Captain Reid could not go, it is not likely that he would have been called on to write dispatches.

Drum and a Cannon was fired, when the affecting scene of Separation took place.

So soon as the cables were loosened, minute Guns were fired as many as seventeen rounds accompanied by the united acclamations of the spectators and those who had just Enbarked. Four beautiful standard of Colours waved in the air, added to the grandeur of the scene. To each round of cannon shot was responded three cheers. The huzzas made the shores of the Cumberland resound, and the high Cliffs re-echo'd the melancholy of the parting scene!

Our Boats Landed in the evening by sun down in company of Colo. Hall Bradley and Martin. We had the Boat that carried the Guards lashed to the General's Commanded by Lieut. David S. Deaderick. In the evening we had a very appropriate and sensible discourse delivered by the Revd. Mr. Blackman Chaplin to the army, to a select company of Officers and Men. Mr. Blackman said it was Sunday, and the time of departure, he thought it his duty to admonish those around him. He concluded by a very affecting prayer for the success of the Expedition, and for the Individual happiness of the General, Officers and men engaged in carrying it on.

Jan'y 11. On yesterday our Boats descended the River about ten miles from Nashville. We had an extreme hard frost last night, and many of us who were not accustomed to being exposed slept badly. The morning burst forth in all the radiance of a clear sun, shining on the white frosted trees, which bended over the Stream of the Cumberland. It was cold, but the Sun soon diffused his warmth.

We halted at major Jonathan Robertson's to put on board some tents that belonged to the Cavalry, also to hasten the departure of Cpts. McEwen and Hewlitt who had been delayed for the want of Boats, and Capt. Moore who had no chimney in his. The General, ever attentive to the Public service, used his personal influence to expedite the departure of these companies. He visited and ordered Capt McEwen to give his attention to finishing the Boats at Robertsons and follow with all possible dispatch after they were done; and directed Capt. Moore to put Brick enough in his Boat to finish the Chimnies. On leaving Capt. Moore, he gave us five or six fires by platoons, which were answered by our cheers and the beat of the Drum.

Tuesday Jan'y 12. 1813.

We started this morning about five miles above the mouth of Harpeth by 8 o'clock in the morning. The Infantry which had embarked on Thursday 7. Inst. from the cantonment near Nashville awaited the arrival of the General at the mouth of Harpeth. There was a great disappointment in not receiving the proper number of Boats for the transportation of the men and provisions. Newsome who had contracted for the delivery of the Boats, failed in his engagement.

Indeed it was said of him that his religious prejudices prevented him from starting with the Boats on Sunday, altho' the public exigency required all possible dispatch. Harpeth was frozen over at its mouth. It

was uncertain when the Boats could be got down. The Genl. dispatched one of his confidential officers Majr. Martin with about one hundred men to bring down the Boats if possible. If they could not be got down, Majr. Martin was directed to march the remaining troops who had no transports, over land to Clarksville, there to join those who had gone by water or receive the further orders of the General.

Colo. Anderson of the regular army arrived this day at the mouth of Harpeth; remained a few hours and proceeded on to Fort-Massac on the Ohio. There was an inspection of Guns by the Brigade Inspector. There was much difficulty in satisfying those who had Rifles to exchange them for muskets and Bayonets. The General has determined to take on an extra-quantity of muskets as it is presumed those men will get tired of their Rifles.

Jan'y 13. 1813. The General and Guards together with the first Regiment and part of the second left the mouth of Harpeth this morning and arrived at Clarksville the same day. Colo. Hall was one of our party from the mouth of Harpeth. Provisions are to be put on board the transports at this place to last them to New Orleans.

Jan'y. 14. 1813. The Troops remained at Clarksville and at the mouth of Red River all this day. They expected to be furnished with the necessary quantity of provisions to serve them to new orleans, but the Contractor had failed in having the flour ready. The General ordered that any flour should be pressed to meet the failure of the sub-contractor. detachments were sent up Red-River and found enough for the supply of the Troops. There was a writ of Habeas Corpus Served on Capt. Hamilton to release a Volunteer named Jolly. The trial was before judge Humphreys. He determined that the man should remain in the service of the united states.

Jan'y 15. 1813

Started this morning at the beat of the Reveille in company with our boats that were at Clarksville We past Palmyra at Eleven oClock in the morning from which place I wrote the first dispatch to Gov. W. Blount. The troops appeared to have a disposition for scattering—several of Capt. Jno. Moore's company were taken in at and below Palmyra. The Boats stopped at sun down for wood etc.

Jan'y 16.

Started this morning about 12 miles below Palmyra. There was an accident happened to Lieut. Glendenin of Capt. Bledsoe's company owing to his letting a candle fall among some powder. About a pound of powder flashed on his face and hands, which burnt him extremely. The circumstance had like to have been still more unfortunate. There was a Bucket suspended with about seven pounds of powder covered with a Handkf. The Handkf caught fire and was blazing toward the mouth of the bucket, but was extinguished by the intrepidity of [blank].

The General was very ill last night with a severe pain in the neck and head. On the morning of this day met the Keel Boat of A Hynes and

Co. It had been detained in the Ohio by the Ice. The General pressed Two hundred and sixty point Blankets out of it for the use of the Tennessee Volunteers under his command. He gave A Hynes. Rects. for them and also wrote to Wm. B. Lewis A. D. Q. master to make payment to Tho. H. Fletcher for them at the Nashville selling prices. As soon as the Blankets were received, The General, attended by Majr. Carroll distributed them among the troops, to all who were in want.

On this day the Genl. dispatched Sergt. Horne, Charles Hickerson and Thomas Patton, to hasten on Captains Hamilton and Jno. Moore who had remained behind without our knowledge when we left Clarksville: sert. Horne was commanded to make them row constantly till they caught up. We made a small halt at Dover to put in wood and then proceeded on all night.

January 17. 1813 Sunday.

Early this morning, we were informed by those on watch, that a Boat was sinking. Majr. Carroll and A. Hynes who were in Bed, arose and went up the River about a half a mile and found it was quarter master Alexander's Boat. Majr. Alexander saved his provisions and Horses and part of his corn and put them on Board Colo. Bradley's Boat. The Revd. Mr. Blackman preached this morning on the roof the General and Guard's Boats; and afterwards attended other Boats for the same purpose. Sergt. Horne arrived this morning with Cpts. Hamilton and Moore. While the Rev'd Mr. Blackman was performing divine service on Board, Capt. Williamson's Boat, the collection being great, the roof gave way, and about a dozen men fell through, to the great astonishment of the Prea[c]her and others.

Arrived at Eddyville a little before sun down. Sent some Letters to Nashville. The Gen'l met with the notorious, Matthew Lyon,² and took him on board a few minutes, gave him as much whiskey as he could drink, and then sent him a shore. Colo. L. is as Voluble, and as great an egotist as ever: Capt. Alexander, who had been detained at Nashville by indisposition arrived. Proceeded on all night without interruption.

Monday Jan'y 18th. 1813. The morning pleasant, being about 24 miles from the mouth of the River. rowed the principal part of this day in order to reach the mouth of the Cumberland by night. About ten miles above Lt. Colo. Bradley Lt. Deaderick and A Hynes left the Boats to go on to the mouth of the Cumberland. They were to have returned and reported the situation of the River, but trusting to the promise of some

² Matthew Lyon was a Member of Congress from 1797 to 1801, while Jackson was also in Congress. In 1801 he moved to Kentucky and represented a Kentucky district in Congress from 1803 to 1811. He was an extreme Republican and steadily professed great friendship for Jackson. Aug. 10, 1818, after the Seminole war, he wrote to Jackson as follows: "Dear General, I have taken up my pen to write to you on business, yet I cannot avoid expressing to you something of the pride I feel in having feebly anticipated the Glory with which you have covered yourself, and the honour and service you have done your Country. You have not disappointed me much, as I ever believed that you only wanted opportunity and that you would always be ready to force luck. In every thing you have been successful and in every thing you have pleased and Gratified your old friend."

men who were in a Keel Boat a mile above to give information to the detachment, that the Ice was running in the Ohio; Lt. Deaderick and A Hynes did not return; which was contrary to the expectations of the General. The Boats not being advised of the situation of the River, had very near to have entered the Ohio in the night among the Ice. The General however landed in the night.

Tuesday Jan'y 19. 1813.

The weather changed last night from moderate, to be excessively cold. The detachment remained in their Boats at the landing this day. The General had the Troops paraded and reviewed them at twelve o'clock. Majr. Robt. Nicholas and Doct. Humphreys dined with us. They were on their way to st. Louis via Fort massac. The Genl. ordered colo. Hall and A Hynes to examine the state of the River in the morning. They reported that it was impracticable for Boats to proceed down the Ohio, without immense danger. The Ice was running in great masses the other side of the Island opposite the mouth of Cumberland. Colo. Bradley also examined the River at the lower point of the Island. He also reported that the Boats could not proceed. Lt. Colo. Pillow arrived. The detachment which were sent after some deserters from the mouth of Harpeth also arrived with them. A court martial is to convene tomorrow for their trial.

Wednesday Jan'y. 20. 1813.

Owing to the continuance of the Ice in the Ohio, the General has determined to make an encampment on the opposite side of the Cumberland so as to be convenient to wood, and for that purpose had the Boats rowed up the River to the place designated by the quarter master. Majr. Nicholas has determined to remain with us until he can go on to st. Louis. The day was employed in the exercise of the troops.

A Court martial sat on three Prisoners who were deserters from Captain Nash's Company. Part of the sentence was to be marched along the line under Guard until they passed in review of the whole of the soldiery. The Prisoners appeared to be very penitent and sensible of their Error.

Thursday Jan'y 21. 1813.

The Ice still continues in the Ohio. The Brigade Inspector has been employed in the exercise of the Troops this day. The three prisoners of Capt. Nash's Company were marched along the lines, as yesterday. They are still Penitent; and the General has determined to pardon them. The remainder of their punishment is remitted.

Friday Jan'y 22d. 1813.

The Ice still continues in the Ohio. The General and others attached to the army are impatient to be on their voyage down the River. The troops have been exercised to day. Mr. Blackman (chaplin) addressed them in a discourse while on the parade ground, tending to promote Obedience and Subordination in camp.

Saturday Jan'y 23. 1813. At the dawn of day the River was examined and there was but little Ice afloat on the surface of the water. Every preparation was going on immediately for departure and by 8 oClock in the morning all the Boats were under ways. McCarter, The Fifer deserted last night and was taken up by Doct. Wm. E. Butler and brought to the Boats same evening. Capt. Williamson lost a private of the name of John Rogers of Nashville. A. Genl. order was issued for him to be interred with the honours of a soldier. When Our Boats entered the main part of the Ohio, the Ice was in much larger quantities than was expected. Arrived at Fort-Massac by night, but was prevented landing there by the Ice, and had to make over to the opposite shore against a head Wind. The wind continued during the Night.

Sunday Jan'y 24. 1813. pursuant to the order of the maj. Genl., the body of John Rogers was taken over to Fort-Massac and interred with the honors of a Soldier. The Scene and Ceremony was impressive and Solemn. "Logan Water", which has been played in rendering the last sad Offices to many a brave and good man, was given to him. After the funereal service was performed, We breakfasted with Colo. W. P. Anderson, remained a short time at Fort Massac, and crossed the River to our Boat.

We intended proceeding on our voyage but was prevented by a storm. Lieut Anthony came on board to take his passage to the Chicasaw Bluffs. Capts. Philips and Armstrong came and stayed all night with us. It rained and our boat leaked very much.

Monday Jan'y 25. 1813. Early this morning the General ordered the Boats to put off We proceeded on down the River till about 12 oClock when put to on account of wind. attended at Colo. Hall's Boat at the trial of Amos McCarter. Could not get to our Boat till next day for the high wind. It rained, hailed and snowed all this day and night.

Tuesday Jan'y 26. 1813.

Started early this morning in Colo. Bradley's Boat and proceeded on all day without interruption. Landed on Cash Island and stayed all night. We had some amusement this day in trying The Chaplin, Maj. Carroll and Revd. Mr Schermerhorn. The amt. of their fines were some Chickens for the use of the Boat. Immediately after our arrival at Cash Island, the Troops killed nine or ten Deer. The snow is deep and the weather excessively cold. We Expect to enter the Mississippi Tomorrow.

Wednesday Jan'y 27.

We made an early start this morning from Cash-Island and were in sight of the Mississippi by day light. The morning was excessively cold. The Ice had accumulated greatly in the Ohio during last night. The Genl. dispatched A. Hynes to go to the mouth of the Ohio, but was prevented by the large masses of Ice floating in the River. He returned to the Boats and on reaching the point we discovered the surface of the mississippi covered with Ice. We landed with difficulty—some of the Boats could not affect a Landing on that side. We remained a few hours at the

point, but perceiving the Ice to increase in the Ohio, and our situation not being eligible, we determined to row over to the opposite side of the River. Part of the Boats were embarrassed by large cakes of Ice in passing to the opposite shore. We gained an excellent harbour at the lower end of a sand bar.

Thursday. Jany 28.

The Ice continues in great quantities in the mississippi. The weather remains in great severity of cold.

The General ordered the Troops to parade on a sand-bar above our Boats. The Brigade Inspector made them perform many manouvers, and caused them to be exercised about three hours. Many of our men were hunting to day. They killed several deer and Turkies. two of them were lost and had to camp out. all night. The River is rising with considerable rapidity.

Friday Jany 29. 1813.

The weather is yet very cold. The General and Troops are impatient of detention. But they cannot war against the Elements. The Ice runs in the River with unabated rapidity.

The General determines that our delay shall contribute to the improvement of discipline. This day was occupied as yesterday in the exercise of the Troops. It is a pleasing circumstance to observe their rapid progress in the science of Tactics. They are emerging from a state of ignorance, to the honourable qualifications of soldiers. The appearance of our army on the field, their order, discipline and marching entitle them to the praise of regular Troops. The River has risen more than four feet since yesterday. It's still rising. The appearance of Ice is much less than in the morning. Great hopes are entertained that we can go on our Voyage in the morning.

Saturday Jany. 30. 1813.

This morning was greeted with the Salutations of Joy. It was as we expected. The River rose about four feet more last night, and the Ice has generally disappeared. There are immense quantities of drift wood floating. We would have made an early start this morning, but the Drummer who had crossed the River the evening before had not returned. some apprehensions were entertained that he was lost in the Ice. We however were enabled to get off by half after seven oClock A. M.

The morning was as cold as the three preceding ones—we cannot account for the disappearance of the Ice. Perhaps it was owing to the great rise in the ohio which checked the current of the Mississippi and prevented the Ice from coming down from the Northern regions of this River. It is presumed the River has risen at least ten feet during our delay below the mouth of the Ohio. On entering the Mississippi, who can withhold his emotions while veiwing the beauties of this august River—this Father of waters! It is the grand Reservoir of the streamlets from a thousand hills! The Rivers from every Latitude of our country, pay their tribute to this mighty Water. The Productions of every climate are

destined to float on its bosom! It is the grand high way to wealth for the people of Western Columbia.

He who has the glory of being an American, must feel gratefull to the Ruler of the Universe for placing his condition in a country where wealth and happiness can flow in a thousand channels. When we contemplate the almost unlimited extent of our Territory—The magnitude of our Rivers—The great Fertility of our soil and the mild Institutions of our Government, may we not let our prophetic imagination take a range, and contemplate our importance in the scale of Nations two centures hence! Ought we not to believe that the God of Nature, intended our civil institutions to be formed on a large scale of Empire, to be in uniformity with his mighty works of Nature? The Rivers, the mountains and the Lakes of America surpass every other country in the world in their extent and greatness.

We had a good sail on this day and we Landed about forty miles below the mouth of the Ohio.

Sunday Jany 31. 1813

Early this morning we were summoned by the General to put off. There fell a considerable snow last night in addition to what was on the ground yesterday. There is still a great quantity of drift wood floating, and but little Ice to be seen this morning. The River rose about two feet last night. arrived in veiw of New Madrid by 4 OClock P. m; some of our company went on shore. passed on two miles below and stayed all night.

Monday February 1. 1813.

Set off early this morning. was hailed from Hamilton's Boat and was told that two men who had gone a hunting were missing. It snowed last night again, but cleared off before morning. The weather still continues with unusual severity. Our progress being now generally southward we expect soon to be out of the reach of Winter. The Troops are well inured to the cold, as there has been no intermission since their rendesvous at Nashville. The River rose about two feet again last night. Our progress has not been impeded by any difficulties to day, and the distance of our sail is estimated at about fifty miles We Landed about dark on an Island.

Tuesday Feby 2d. At about five oClock this morning we were afloat on the River. Our course was directly East, and the beams of light at the dawn of day shewed in the Horizon with golden splendor. We had a good Landing and was pleased to find that the River is still rising. The weather still continues cold.

The Terror and consternation produced by the late Earth quakes on the Mississippi has nearly subsided. Most of those who inhabited the margin of the River fled from their homes. some few of them have returned, but most of their habitations are deserted and sinking into decay. The condition of the people of the Mississippi below the mouth of the Ohio appears miserable and wretched. They are a small remove from the savage state of society; and like them they appear to depend on

Fishing and hunting for subsistence. The cultivation of the soil is but little attended to.

It is fortunate Nature has given those men dispositions to be content with the situation they occupy; as it is proper there should be persons adapted to sustain the dangers of the Frontiers, and are willing to forego the pleasures of society. The minds of those men have never received any rays of Literary knowledge, They are not gratified by social converse. They are strangers to the interchange of the friendly offices of polished society, and the generous affections of Civilised Man.

Arrived at the Flour Island No. [blank] in the navigator, in sight of the first chिकासaw Bluff a distance about fifty four miles this day and Landed for the night.

Wednesday Feby 3d. 1813. Started this morning a little before day light. The morning was pleasant, past the 2d Chिकासaw Bluffs by 10 o'clock and soon arrived in sight of Island No. 35. Mr schermerhorn and A Hynes were in the canoe. A Hynes stopped in Capt. Alexander's Boat, who went on the left side of the Island no. 35. The Genl. was behind. We saw him attempt to take the same passage, but could not affect it.

A scene occurred in passing this Island that aroused every feeling of sensibility. The channel was to all appearance clear of snags, but unfortunately there was one which did not make much show, stove Capt. Wallace's Boat. The Boats were generally near each other. Capt Wallace's Boat began to sink immediately after striking the sawyer. The men were in the utmost consternation. A cry for assistance was heard from every mouth. many persons put off with canoes to give relief. The men on the wreck were waiting with out-stretched arms, begging to be taken into the Canoe's. Each one who went with a canoe, was afraid when they approached the wreck, that the impatience of those in danger, would press into the canoes and sink them. Those in the canoes had to warn the men on the wreck to beware of this circumstance, before they approached them. They told the men that only so many should get into each canoe. By this time the Boat had entirely sunk under water, and the men were nearly knee deep on the roof of the Boat, and the Spectators and the men expected every moment when the dark rolling waves of the mississippi would cover them Forever!

When we beheld the Boat in the swiftest current, a great distance from shore, and the Boat sinking with such rapidity, the Scene was most awfull and distressing. Every one who witnessed the fate that portended those men, mingled their sympathies with the apparent sufferers. Those men were our country men—they were citizens of the same state; they were the Patriots that stepped forth voluntarily at the call of their country to defend her rights; and to have viewed them perish near their colleagues in arms, without the privilege of contending with an Enemy, would have been too distressing. But Providence held the destiny of those men by a hair, and made Capt. Martin the Instrument of their salvation. His Boat was not the nearest by several to the distressing scene; But he was propelled as it were by instinct. His men rowed with Herculean

strength. He reached the wreck just after part of the men were taken by the canoes from the Boat so that she was lightened enough to rise above the water. This kept the men composed, and capt Martin commenced saving the property on board. After taking part of the Property, he determined to row the wreck to shore, which he accomplished by more than common exertions. Capt. Martin has not only the credit of saving the men, but greater part of their property, and also the greater part of their arms belonging to the united states.

It is to be regretted that there should be a man among the volunteers of the disposition of Capt. Newland. His Boat was nearest to the sinking Boat, but instead of his holding out a saving hand, he rowed from the suffering men. I presume that Capt. Newland was afraid to risk an additional number of men, If so, his fears were erroneous. His Boat would have held twice the number of men without danger. Colo. Hall, Dr. Hogg and Mr. Schermerhorn gave the Genl. information of the accident, and assisted him in landing. The Genl. landed some distance below Capt. Martin and the wreck. Colo. Bradley started with many of the Boats and went thro' the pass of the "Devil's race ground", and landed about 3 miles below.

Thursday Feby 4. 1813. The General and some of the Boats hove in sight. They all attempted to Land where Colo. Hall and Bradley were, but two of the Boats could not affect a Landing, one of which was the General's. Soon after Capt. Martin arrived with most of Wallace's men, and the Baggage etc. that was saved. Immediately after we proceeded down the River. How gratefull ought these men to be to that Providence who governs the Universe for their deliverance from such impending danger! Capt Moore took Fifteen of Wallace's men in his Boat.

This morning was clear and pleasant. We begin now to perceive a sensible change in the climate. There is but little snow and Ice to be seen, perhaps after to day there will be none. The men are now infinitely more carefull than they were yesterday. They all apprehend that the same fatality might befall them, that befell Capt. Wallace. We passed this day the most considerable bend known in the mississippi. It is called the "Devil's Elbow" We landed above Fort Pickering opposite Island no. [blank] and stayed all night.

Friday Feby. 5. 1813.

We started this morning before day light. about seven oClock we past Fort Pickering with our colours waving and received a salute by the fire of a Cannon. The morning is clear and pleasant. There was some wind to day, but not enough to make us lay by. On yesterday the Gen'l received a dispatch from colo. Benton who was a few miles above New Madrid on 1. Feby. all his Regiment were generally well. He is endeavoring to join us as soon as possible. His delay has been occasioned for the want of Boats and impeded some by Ice. We landed this day by an hour by sun and stayed all night. The Revd. Mr. Mills is ill with the Fever.

Saturday Feby 6. 1813.

Started a little before day light this morning—past council Island and the Grand cut-Off; The wind impedes our progress. We passed the St. Francis River, and Landed three miles below the Big Pararie and stayed all night. There are some small settlements on the margin of the River at the mouth of st. Francis and extending several miles below. Near where [we] landed was a man who had emigrated from Pennsylvana. He stated he had lost five children since living on this River and the ohio. He raised one acre of corn last year, and his prospects are not much enlarged for this year. His condition is no better than the savages his neighbors. How various are the conditions of men? Imagination traces them from the meanest hovel on the mississippi, to the splendid palaces of cities.

Sunday Feby 7. 1813.

Started this morning before day light. The morning was clear and pleasant. The stars glittered in the Firmament. The morning star, the Harbinger of day, shone with delightfull splendor. Indeed the General appears anxious that we should contemplate its beauties every morning. Passed some Indians to day on the right Bank of the River. Lt. David s. Deaderick is sick. Landed on Island No. 66 and stayed all night.

Monday Feby 8, 1813.

Started this morning at half after five oClock—past white River at half after twelve, and arrived at the Arkansas River at half after four oClock P m. We had a remarkable pleasant days sail of fifty five miles in twelve hours. Past some Indians to Day encamped on both Banks of the River. They were visited by some of our men in order to get some Venison, but they had none. They perfectly displayed the precariousness which attends the savage state of society. Having hardly any thing in their Camps, but a species of Artichoke or Potatoe, which they gave a specimen to one of our men.

The Arkansa or Ozark is a beautifull River. The water has the same appearance as that of the mississippi. It is muddy; and the margin is covered of the same kind of Timber. There is a small farm just below the mouth of this River, which was entirely evacuated. It was said to be the residence of some counterfeiters.

Tuesday Feby 9. 1813.

Started this morning before day lighth. The morning is pleasant and has a white frost. Last night about 8 O'Clock the General received a dispatch from Colo Benton of the 2d Regt. informing him that they were 336 miles below the mouth of the Ohio and were progressing with as much expedition as possible. Majr. West was the bearer, who recd. a Letter from the Gen'l., stayed all night, came on to the great cypress bend and there awaited at the Camp of some men who were making rafts for the arrival of Colo. Benton.

There are many persons engaged in the cutting of cypress Logs, squaring them and rafting them to New orleans, many Rafts are made up of round Logs and sawed into plank near and at Neworleans. Those who

are engaged in it are perfect exiles of society. Nature has fitted them to be associated with the Indians who border on the River in this region of country. They raise nothing from the Earth for subsistence, and have to depend on the uncertainty of Chance for a living. Those who have lived here any time, have all the wildness of Look, and Countenances displaying the same Ferocity as their savage neighbors. There are no Individuals who have claims to the Land. It all belongs to the Government. We landed at Island no. 82 fifty miles below the Arkansas and staid all night.

Wednesday Feby. 10. 1813.

We started this morning before day light as usual. The morning is pleasant. We had the pleasure of seeing a large Pelican killed by maj. Lauderdale. The wings measured from the tip of Each end about Eight feet. The Pouch was very large supposed to hold two Gallons which was fastened to his lower probosis or bill, and the Latter was about Fourteen Inches long. arrived at Island no. [blank] and staid all night about ten O'Clock at night we heard the firing of the 2d. Regiment. We also had two or three cannon shot from a Boat from Cincinnati Commanded by a Colo. in the Regular Army—we could not learn his name, nor see his boat, as he was some distance in the River. Colo Bradley gave notice to the 2d Regt. where we lay.

Thursday Feby 11. 1813.

We started this morning before 5 O'Clock and expected to be joined by the 2d. Regt. but the men had been on fatigue untill late that night, and Colo. Benton did not join us. The Gen'l was anxious to see colo Benton and did not know but he was ahead or put off when the signal was given this morning. He has determined to wait for him this evening.

Passed a keel Boat bound for Nashville containing nineteen Ton of Groceries belonging to John Young. Also another keel Boat carrying some Families and negroes up the Arkansas to make a settlement. Landed early in the evening, and awaited the arrival of Colo. Benton. We staid all night below a beautifull small Island called crows nest Island in the Navigator, by some Stack Island.

Friday Feby 12. Started by break of day this morning. Colo. Benton staid with us last night. The morning is cloudy We had to put to twice to day on account of high wind. We landed below No. 100 Island and staid all night—The wind was blowing very hard. Majr. William Carroll started at ten o'Clock at night for Natchez in skift in order to inspect the Cavalry against the General would arrive there. The night was stormy.

Saturday Feby 13. 1813.

The morning is Windy, and the General has permitted the soldiers to wash their Clothes before their arrival at Natchez. This day has been entirely set apart for that purpose. The Revd. Mr Blackman sets out this morning in the Perioque to go to Warrenton, thence by land to Natchez.

Sunday Feby 14. 1813. The General rose at half past two O'Clock and gave orders for starting; and by three O'Clock we were on our way. We

passed Zazon River this morning, at which place we met with Capt. Smith of the Cavalry and mr Humphry, his son-in-law. The Capt. gave us information about the Cavalry, and their passage thro' the Indian Country. We passed Warrenton and called on Dr. Allen the Postmaster and obtained a newspaper. Passed the settlement of Palmyra, and Landed at Island No. 109. Colo Benton is behind.

Monday Feby. 15. 1812 [*sic*] We arose this Night at half after Eleven and started by twelve oClock. We passed Island 110 and the grand Gulph in the night, it was cloudy, and rained a little before day. About nine oClock in the morning, the weather cleared off and was very pleasant. The Genl. and myself dined at Colo. Benton's Boat. we were met by mr. allen who was sent on by majr Carroll with Letters to the General, who informed, that there was good Landing three miles above natchez. We Landed there a little after sun down and stayed all night.

Tuesday Feby 16. 1813. Immediately after day light this morning, the General went down in a skift to natchez; Before and at his approach to the shore, there were many discharges from a small Field piece announcing his arrival. He went up into town, attended by majrs Carroll and Hynes and breakfasted at Tho M. Winn's. He recd. some communications from Genl. Wilkinson by Capt. Hughs relative to the operations in the lower country.

He wrote a dispatch and forwarded it immediately by the Steam Boat to Genl. Wilkinson, advising him of his arrival at Natchez, and of the number of men composing his army. He also informed Gen'l Wilkinson that he would be happy to communi[c]ate with him about the defence of the lower country and his readiness to march to any named point that his services might be required. The General returned then on board the Transports, which were lying above town about two miles and issued an order for proceeding down to Natchez, containing some strict admonitions to the Troops to observe Order on their March; and at Cantonment. Also to be silent and polite to the citizens of the Country and to observe the same conduct among Themselves.

On our landing at Natchez the strand was crouded with spectators welcoming the largest army that ever appeared in view of Natchez, being about thirty Boats in number. On approaching the shore our Boat ran against a family Boat, done some injury to a skift and alarmed the persons on board. The Company of Guards escorted the Genl up into Natchez to Winn's, where he drank some wine with his friends and returned again to the Boats under the same escort and staid all night.

Wednesday Feby 17. 1813 Early this morning an order was issued for disembarking the Troops and for their march to the Cantonment Washington. The Troops were formed in line on the hill, and marched with the Baggage Waggon in the rear of each Regiment. When passing thro' the city of Natchez we excited very general attention of the inhabitants, by whom we were treated with distinguished politeness; and also by all the Officers both Civil and military whom we met with.

The morning was cloudy and the road bad by the rain that fell last night. We arrived at the Cantonment by four O'Clock—just before our

arrival, the Cavalry under the command of Colo. John Coffee met us near Washington and escorted the Infantry on to the Camp. Afterwards the General reviewed them. Supped with Colo. Purdy.

Thursday Feby. 18. 1813.

But little of our Baggage was brought out from the Boats yesterday. We had no provisions and were in a measure dependant on our friends for eating. Capt. Hughs has been very polite and friendly to us, as well as Colo. Covington of the dragoons. They have taken much pains to make our situation comfortable as possible. The General is not pleased with our encampment. He has visited some places in the neighborhood to day to get ground for another. Some of our men have been taken sick since our arrival.

Friday Feby 19. 1813.

The same anxiety prevails about an encampment as yesterday: but the General has determined to take ground of Doct. Tho. A. Claiborne and has directed an encampment to be laid off there. We recd. an invitation to dine at Mr. Secretary Dangerfield's, and went there accordingly to dinner.

Saturday Feby 20. 1813 Early this morning we were informed by the Ex-Governor Williams,³ that Doct Claiborne was not a Bona fida owner of the Land where he lived, and warned the General that there would be some difficulty perhaps by making the encampment. The General then determined not to go there, and sent directly to mr. Perkins's and obtained leave to encamp on his Land. Preparations are making to go to the new Encampment Tomorrow.

Sunday Feby 21. 1813. This morning was set apart for our removal to the new Encampment, but the great quantity of rain that fell last night and is now falling has determined the General to defer our march till tomorrow. The General and his family, together with some other principal officers of the detachment, received an invitation to dine at Genl. F. L. Claiborne's; But owing to the badness of the weather, none attended but Colo. Benton and myself, who went in part to comply with the wishes of our General to make an apology for his non-attendance. The Dinner was splendid, and every profusion of Virginia hospitality was exhibited. There were several respectable Officers and citizens of the Territory there, among whom was colo. Cowles Mead.⁴

Monday Feby 22d. 1813. On this morning much activity was prevailing in camp, preparatory to our march to the new Cantonment. The roads are yet bad, but the Genl determines to move. Mr. Washington Jackson signified that the managers would be glad to have the attendance of the principal Officers of [*torn from Journal.*]

Tuesday Feby 23d. The General arose early this morning and attended the Brigade qr. master Henderson on business relating to the supply of Forage for the Cavalry. He visited the transports (Boats) before breakfast, and found a large quantity of Corn at the landing. He

³ Robert Williams had been governor of Mississippi Territory 1805-1809.

⁴ Secretary of the territory 1806-1807.

returned immediately after breakfast to Camp. A Hynes returned to the old Cantonment and had all the Baggage belonging to the General and his family removed to our new quarters.

Wednesday Feby 24. 1813.

The weather is cold for the climate, but it is healthfull The General was visited to day by Genl John Adair⁵ and colo. Geo R. C. Floyd and several other Officers and citizens [*torn from Journal.*] provisions furnished by the Contractor. The Infantry has drawn no rations in this country yet. The Gen'l Ordered the Surgeons of each Regiment to inspect the Provisions whose report was unfavorable to the Contractor. He appealed; and the Genl Ordered Colo. Bradley in Conjunction with a citizen to inspect it. Their report was that the provision was good.

Friday Feby. 26. 1813

The Same complaint continues among the Cavalry about the spoiled provisions, altho' good provisions were issued to the Infantry. The General is offended with the sub agent of the contractor. He speaks to him about it and charges him not to issue such again. The sub agent promises not to do so.

Saturday Feby 27. 1813. The General and his family had received invitations to dine with Colo Covington⁶ of the Regt. of Dragoons of the regular army on this day. Owing to the indisposition of the General, he could not attend, but majrs. Carroll and Hynes went with Colo. Jno Coffee of the Cavalry. Received much hospitality from the colo. and enjoyed an elegant repast—also passed the glass in much convivial hilarity after the cloth was removed. Gov. Holmes and secretary Dangerfield⁷ were of the party, together with some other officers of the army.

This niorning the General had an interview with mr. Brandt, the agent of the contractors in this country who being advised of the complaints of spoiled provisions, gave assurances that there should be no cause for the future and apologised for the issues made by mr. Cowan, which were made of old Pork without his knowledge.

Sunday Feby 28. 1813. The Rev mr Blackman preached to the Cavalry to day. Majrs. Carroll and Hynes visited our horses; and the old Cantonment—visited our sick in the hospital. Mr. Easten is Stewart. This Evening the General received a dispatch from General J. Wilkinson reiterating the sentiments contained in his former communications, and expressing a disposition to act with him in harmonious Concert in all measures intended for the public good.

Monday March 1. 1813.

The General and some other officers in pursuance of an invitation recd, from Washington Jackson, went to dine with him at Natchez. A : Hynes was engaged in preparing an answer to General Wilkinson's Letter, and

⁵ Of Kentucky. U. S. senator 1805-1806.

⁶ Col. Leonard Covington, U. S. A., wounded at Chrystler's Field, Nov. 1, 1813.

⁷ David Holmes, governor 1800-1820; Henry Dangerfield, secretary of the territory 1810-1815.

a dispatch for the secretary at war. An order was issued for a Review on Tomorrow, the troops are charged to appear on parade *clean, shaved and powdered*. A note is recd. from Capt H.⁸ the Depy asst. Inspector Genl. proposing a plan of Review. But the General determines to differ from it intirely; and considers it rather an Officiousness, reflecting on our incapacity for a plan.

Tuesday March 2d. 1813.

Considerable Industry is going on this morning in cleaning and brushing up for the Review. The major of Brigade has the whole of the Troops out about half after ten,—and against twelve they are ready for the reception of the General, who accordingly goes out to the Field accompanied by his aid, Colo. Covington, Capt. Holmes, and many respectable private citizens of the Territory.

The General passes along the lines commencing on the right of the Cavalry continuing on to the right of the first and second Regiments of Infantry untill he reaches their extreme left. He is congratulated by Colo. Covington for their good performance. The Gen'l afterwards takes a stand on the most Elevated ground when the Cavalry pass in Review before him. Also the two Regiments of Infantry.

Wednesday March 3d. 1813. This day was set apart for the Inspection of our Troops by Capt. Holmes asst. Depy. Ins. Genl. The inspection of the 2d, Regiment was finished and part of the first. (A: Hynes returned from Natchez; at which place he staid all night. The Officers are Drilled in the morning before the door of General's Tent.

Thursday March 4. 1813.

The Inspection of the Troops Engages most of the attention of the persons in Camp. The first Regiment was finished to day and Tomorrow is set apart for the Cavalry. There is some unpleasant notes from the Asst. Depy qr. m. Genl. concerning forage for the Cavalry; to which the Genl has replied with great severity.

Friday March 5. 1813.

The Inspection of the Cavalry was finished to day by Capt. Holmes. They were mustered and inspected in the open field in the presence of Gen'l. Adair and Colo. G R C. Floyd who dined with us on this day. Genl. Adair conversed on the Expedition of some americans who had [last page of Journal, torn out.]

TO MRS. JACKSON.¹

[January 18, 1813.]

My Love: I have this evening since dark received your affectionate letter by Dinwiddie. I was down at the boat receiving the arms just arrived, and did not get up until dark, when I found the old man waiting for me. He has carefully handed me your miniature. I shall wear it

⁸ Andrew Hunter Holmes, U. S. A.

¹ This letter, and that which follows, appeared in the *Saturday Evening Post* of July 5, 1925, in an article by Mr. John Trotwood Moore, who states that the copies which came to him had been amended in respect to matters of form.

near my bosom; but this was useless for without your miniature my recollection never fails me of your likeness.

The sensibility of our beloved son has charmed me. I have no doubt from the sweetness of his disposition, from his good sense as evidenced for his age, he will take care of us both in our declining years. From our fondness toward him, his return of affection to us, I have every hope, if he should be spared to manhood, that he will, with a careful education, realize all our wishes. Kiss him for his papa and give him the nuts and ginger cake sent him by Dinwiddie.

I thank you for your prayers. I thank you for your determined resolution to bear our separation with fortitude. We part but for a few days—for a few fleeting weeks when the protecting hand of Providence, if it is His will, will restore us to each other's arms. In storms, in battles, amidst the raging billows, His protecting hand can save. In the peaceful shade; in calm; in palaces, His avenging hand can destroy.

Then let us not repine—His will be done—our country calls—the god of battle cries aloud for vengeance—we are the means in His hands to punish the infamous Britons for their sacrilegious deeds. We trust in the righteousness of our cause and the god of battle will protect us. Hence, then, dispel any gloomy ideas that our separation may occasion, bear it with Christian cheerfulness and resignation. I shall write to you often, and I shall always be happy to hear from you. If I can get the arms on board tomorrow I shall sail early on Monday morning. My fatigue has been great, but when I get afloat they will be measurably over compared to what they have been. My expense has been great—surpassing anything I had any idea of.

It is now 1 o'clock in the morning—the candle nearly out, and I must go to bed. May the angelic hosts that reward and protect virtue and innocence and preserve the good be with you until I return, is the sincere supplication of your affectionate husband,

MRS. JACKSON TO JACKSON.

[January 1813.]

My Dear Husband: Your letter of the 18th of January from the mouth of the Cumberland river came safe to hand. It was everything to me. I rejoiced. I was happy to hear you were in health. It was my nightly prayer to Almighty God. My thoughts are forever on thee. Where'er I go, where'er I turn, my thoughts, my fears, my doubts distress me. Then a little hope revives again and that keeps me alive. Were it not for that, I must sink; I should die in my present situation. But my blessed Redeemer is making intercession with the Father for us to meet again, to restore you to my bosom, where every vein, every pulse beats high for your health, your safety, and all your wishes crowned. Do not, my beloved husband, let the love of country, fame and honor, make you forget you have one. Without you, I would think them all empty shadows. You will say this is not the language of a patriot, but it is the language of a faithful wife; one I know you esteem and love sincerely, but Oh! how many pangs, how many heart-rending sighs has your absence cost

me. My time passes heavily and I am not in good health, but I hope to see you once more on this globe, and after this frail life ends, be with you in happier climes, where I shall experience no more painful separation, and I shall be at rest. I feel a foretaste of the joys that are to the virtuous souls.

Our little Andrew is well; the most affectionate little darling on earth. Often does he ask me in bed not to cry, papa will come again and I feel my cheeks to know if I am shedding tears. On Thursday last, he said, "Mama, let's go to Nashville and see if he's there." I told him where you had gone. He said, "Don't cry, sweet mama." You can't think how that supported me in my trials. I wish I were with you—vain wish. Pray, my dear, write me often. It's a cordial—it's a balm to my mind in my lonesome hours. I treasure them up as a miser his gold. I could write more to your satisfaction, could I refrain from tears, but you know how to make allowances for me.

The stock wants there master's eye; all your household regrets your absence; all wishing and praying for your return.

May the Almighty God of heaven shower down his blessings. His mercy on you, assist you in the ways of life, in the ways of righteousness, be your shield in time of danger, support you in the paths of wisdom—the ways thereof in peace afar. Think of me your dearest friend on earth.

JAMES WILKINSON TO JACKSON.

HEAD QUARTERS, NEW ORLEANS, January 22, 1813.

Sir, Understanding casually that you are approaching Natchez with a body of Dragoons, Infantry and mounted Gun Men, destined to this city, it becomes my duty to request you to halt in that vicinity, to report to me your instructions and your force, and, in concert with colonel Covington, the officer in command at Washington, to provide the most comfortable accommodation, for the citizen soldiers of your command, which the country can afford and the regulations of the government may permit.

The only advice I have received from the War Department, or elsewhere, respecting the auxiliary force under your command, excepting your letter of the 5th. instant to the Assistant Deputy Quarter Master, bears date the 21st. and 23d. October, and is now transmitted to colonel Covington to be submitted to you.

There are several reasons which will prevent my calling you lower down the river than Baton Rouge, if the enemy should not invade the country. Vizt. the impracticability of providing for your horses, for any length of time; the monstrous expense of such provision, if to be had; the health of the troops and the stipulation of the government not to keep them in this low country during the warm season: To these may be added the policy of holding your corps on the alert at a suitable point, for giving succor to the feeble and exposed settlements on the Mobile, should the enemy make their first landing there, or at Pensacola, which is very probable.

Although I had received no certain advice of the levy of your corps, I sometime since took the precaution, to warn the contractor to be pre-

pared with a competent supply of provisions, and the Brigade Inspector, Captain Hughes, and the District Paymaster, Lieut: Knight, were ordered to Natchez, the first to muster and inspect, and the last to pay the Volunteers and militia which the Government had required from the state of Tennessee: You will find those officers at their posts, ready to give every aid and facility to your subordinates, in the formation of their Returns, Musters and Abstracts; and if it is in my power to add to the comfort and accommodation of the band of patriots under your orders, it is only necessary to point out the mode to me.

I expect you may find quarters for a great part of your corps, in the late cantonment built by the Second Regiment near Washington, and at that place: Any defect must be supplied by billeting your men, or by encamping or huting. Should you, however, be pressed for quarters, and have only 4 or 500 Infantry, you may order them on at once to Baton Rouge; and, to make room for them, the troops there will be ordered lower down. I shall be anxious to hear from you, and in the mean time, have the honor to be, respectfully, Sir,

Your obedt Servant

JAMES WILKINSON TO JACKSON.

HEAD QUARTERS, NEW ORLEANS, January 25, 1813.

Sir, I have received a letter from his Excellency Governor Blount, of Tennessee; under date of the 5th. inst. wherein he informs me you were about to move from Nashville, with one thousand four hundred Infantry and Riflemen, and six hundred and seventy Dragoons and mounted Infantry, destined to this city; and the requisitions, which you have made, through Governor Claiborne, to the Assistant Deputy Quarter Master and the Contractor's Agent here, have been put into my hands. Without knowing what may be your orders, instructions or the extent of your command, I must regret, that you have not done me the honor to communicate with me; because, being placed in the command of this department by the national executive, I could have better forwarded your views than any other person, and you can find no man more zealously disposed to cherish the band of patriots, whom you lead, than myself: But, under the orders which direct my conduct, my personal honor, my public obligations and the national interests forbid that I should yield my command to any person, until regularly relieved by superior authority.

I beg leave to refer you to my letter of the 22nd. Inst., and must repeat my desire, that you should halt in the vicinity of Natchez, until I may receive the communications required in that letter, and furnish you an answer. At present, Sir, the corps of your command could not find quarters, forage or provisions, but for a few days in this city.

Your letter to the Assistant Deputy Quarter Master at Natchez,¹ notified him of the approach of four hundred Infantry, instead of fourteen hundred, which led to the proposition, contained in my letter respecting the movement of that Corps.

¹ The following letter of Jan. 21, 1813, from Maj. Bartholomew Schaumburgh, deputy quartermaster at New Orleans, to Robert Andrews, assistant deputy quartermaster,

At the same time that the troops of your command should be held in readiness to traverse the country for prompt operations on the side of Mobile and Pensacola, it is important your boats should be carefully preserved for the descent of the river, should the enemy make his attack directly against this city; and, for this purpose, it is adviseable they should be secured on the side of the river opposite to Natchez, in charge of a vigilant officer and a suitable detachment.

With consideration and respect,

I have the honor to be,

JOHN ARMSTRONG¹ TO JACKSON.

WAR DEPARTMENT, February 5, 1813

Sir, The causes for embodying and marching to New Orleans the Corps under your command having ceased to exist, you will on receipt of

at Natchez, will show the reader some of the difficulties that lay in the way of furnishing supplies to Jackson's detachment:

"Sir, The multiplicity of business has prevented me from writing to you sooner. I now acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 5th. and 13th. inst. together with your accounts up to the 31st. Decr. last. They have only been cursorily examined; and therefore cannot now say any thing of their correctness. I should have directed you to purchase two teams had you not already done so. It will be a saving to the U. S. and I believe it will still be better were you to purchase two more, as you will no doubt have a great deal of hawling during the time the militia stays with you.

"The commanding Genl. has communicated to me, that seven hundred mounted men of the Tennessee Militia have arrived at your place. He does not know whether or not mounted Militia have been put in requisition by the Genl. Government, from that state. If they are authorized corps, they are certainly entitled to forage. Their return for forage must be made out agreeable to the form under cover. You should never issue forage to a less number than a company, and you should prevail on the commanding officer, to have his returns made out for at least four days, and the return for the corps should be consolidated.

"As this mounted corps will give you a good deal of trouble, you are authorised to engage a person as forage master, to whom you may give from \$35 to 40\$ per month, and a ration per day. You will also stand in need of labourers, whom you may also engage on the best terms, if you cannot get them for the Militia. You better, before you engage any, apply to the commanding officer for his assistance. If you can obtain them in this manner, it will be a saving to the United states.

"It is necessary you should possess a good deal of suavity towards those people. They should have every thing the law allows them. I send you the regulations of the War office for your Government. No complaints should go on to the Genl. Government, of the neglect or withholding from them their lawful dues by the qr. masters Department. Let me observe to you, that whenever you receive a return for forage, you should always calculate the quantity demanded, *yourself*, and not trust to the qr. master; for you will be held responsible for all deficiencies. Wood should be drawn on the first day of every month. The return for wood, for the *men*, should also be consolidated. The officers may draw on their separate returns, without any other signature than their own. If you have not sufficient quarters for the officers in the Baracks, you must provide them in town or country, agreeable to the regulation. Be careful in obtaining vouchers for every thing you deliver; and for all articles paid by purchase take triplicate receipts. I wish you a great deal of patience and activity in your various duties; and am with esteem," etc.

¹ Secretary of War, taking office this day. Two copies of this letter are found in the Jackson MSS., one dated "January 5" and the other "February 5." The first seems to have been a copyist's error. See Armstrong to Jackson, Apr. 10, 1813. Parton prints this letter with the date Feb. 6, 1813; *Jackson*, I, 377. Feb. 8, 1813, Armstrong wrote as follows: "Sir, The Militia force Organized by Governr. Blount under the command of General Jackson expedited to New Orleans early in the last month, is discharged from further service. The General is required to have delivered over to your directions such articles of public property as have been committed to them."

this letter, consider it as dismissed from public service and take measures to have delivered over to Major General Wilkinson all articles of public property which may have been put into it's possession. You will accept for yourself and the Corps the thanks of the President of the United States. I have the honor to be Sir, With great respect,

Your Most Obedient Servant

WILLIAM B. LEWIS TO JACKSON.

NASHVILLE, February 8, 1813.

P. S. . . . I had like to forgotten in the hurry of writing to inform you that a report has been softly whispered here since you left W. T.¹ that may if generally accredited may have a tendency to injure you; I keep a close look out, and if it becomes necessary, I shall contradict it in that manner which it deservs, with the insertion of piece in the papers with my name affixed. It has been stated to me that you declared previously to your leaving this Country that the same county should not contain both you and Genl. Wilkinson. knowing a statement of that kind to be so contrary to what you always assured me was your intentions, I shall feel myself perfectly authorised to contradict it in the most positive manner. I hold your reputation as dear to me as my own, and you may rest assured that injustice shall not be done to my absent friend. . . .²

TO JAMES WILKINSON.¹

NATCHEZ, February 16, 1813.

Sir, I Reached the vicinity of this city on last evening and this morning I received your several communications of the 6. and 22d. January. I have been much impeded in my progress by the running of the Ice in the Ohio and Mississippi. The second Regiment that was detained for the want of Boats, reached me on the evening of the 13. inst. The Cavalry will reach Cantonment Washington this evening. My Detachment when united, amounts to about two thousand and seventy, fourteen hundred of whom are Infantry. The amount of the sick, (not having recd. a report from the 2d Regiment since its arrival) I cannot at present state.

¹ West Tennessee.

² This letter is characteristic of Lewis, who was most loyal to Jackson and very careful of his popularity. He was also very apt to know and deal with any gossip that affected the reputation of his friend. Major Lewis was Jackson's assistant deputy quartermaster. Replying to this letter on Feb. 21, 1813, Jackson said: "I am not astonished that I should have enemies in my absence, and feel grateful for your friendship on this occasion—you can with Justice and propriety, give the report the direct contradiction. Every officer of my detachment, who ever heard me speak a word upon the subject does know, that I always declared, that I marched with the true spirit of a soldier that I came to fight the battles of my country, and not to contend for rank but to harmonise, that if any dispute should arise between me and the Genl, the Publick service should not be interrupted thereby, if I had the power to controll it, but that the genl and myself would settle any dispute if any should arise without injury to the publick services or disturbance to the publick."

In a letter to Lewis Cass, written probably in 1845, Lewis said that his acquaintance with Jackson went back to "some two or three years anterior to the declaration of war against England in June, 1812". See "Major Lewis on the Nomination of Andrew Jackson", by J. S. Bassett, Am. Antiquarian Soc. *Proceedings*, 1923, in which Lewis's letter is given complete. It is given in an abridged form in Parton's *Jackson*, II. 17-23.

¹ Jackson MSS., Letter-Book B, p. 119.

So soon as the cavalry reaches me, I will communicate to you the strength and condition of my detachment, and will enclose to you a copy of my marching orders. The substance of which is to proceed to New Orleans and there await the orders of Government. But from the communication I have just received from you, will disembark my Infantry and await the orders of the Government here. In the meantime I will be happy to communicate with you on the public safety and defence of the lower country, and will move my Troops to any point best calculated for this object. My wish is to keep them employed in active service, as Indolence creates disquiet. I have marched with the true spirit of a soldier to serve my country at any and every point where service can be rendered.

I will be happy to receive your communications frequently.

With consideration

JOHN ARMSTRONG TO JACKSON.

WAR DEPARTMENT, February 16, 1813.

Sir, Herewith inclosed you will receive a duplicate of an order addressed to you at New Orleans. You will have delivered over to the Commanding Officer at Fort Massac all munitions and property belonging to the United States, which have been put into the possession of your detachment.¹

I have the honor etc.

TO JAMES WILKINSON.¹

CANTONMENT NEAR WASHINGTON, February 20, 1813.

Sir, I had the honour to acknowledge your orders of the 6th. and 22d Jany. on the 16. instant. Yours of the 25 January reached me on the same evening. Before the receipt of yours of the 25, and agreeable to your request and advice contained in that of the 6th. and 22d. Jany, I dropped my Boats to the landing, and ordered a disembarkation of the Troops on the morning of the 17th. instant.

From a conversation with Capt. Hughs and Colo Covington (from whom I have received every mark of attention and Politeness) I intended to have fixed my Encampment at the Cantonment built by the 2d. Regiment; but a view of the place and the necessity of keeping my Troops together for the purpose of discipline, determined me to pitch my Tents on the west of Washington on land owned by Mr Perkins. This Scite promises health and affords a supply of wood and the best water of the country, added to this an open field for the exercise and discipline of the Troops. So soon as they are encamped on this ground, I will have them mustered and inspected. The Enclosed from no. 1. to 5 will give you the information required in yours of the 25 January and no. 6 will shew the Strength and condition of the detachment under my command.

¹ To Jackson, fairly overflowing with patriotic zeal, the brief notes of the Secretary of War must have been discouraging. They could not have been more formal and less appreciative of the patriotism of the West Tennessee men.

¹ Jackson MSS., Letter-Book B, p. 123.

I have taken the precaution pointed out by you in yours of the 25 Jany. by leaving a sufficient Guard with the Boats under the command of a discreet Subaltern Officer in the Bason at natchez, finding impossible to have landed on the right Bank of the River from where they lay. Added to this the difficulty of crossing the Troops over to them on a sudden call to embark and descend the River determined me to keep them tied to the left Bank. Your Views in requesting the detachment under my command to halt here perfectly meet my own, and will warrant me in the departure from the Order of his Excellency Gov. Blount, which directed me "to descend to New orleans and there await the orders of the President of the united States."

It was understood in nashville at the time I received orders to march, that you were at Fort Stoddart. The notification and requisition therefore was made on the Contractor and quarter master through Gov. Claiborne² as the surest and best channel to reach them.

The Detachment under my command shall be kept in compleat readiness to move to any point at which an Enemy may appear at the shortest notice and to co-operate with you in all measures efficiently to defend the lower country. To this End, my eyes are turned to the south East.

I have the honor to be

TO WILLIAM B. LEWIS.

HEADQUARTERS NEAR WASHINGTON, M. T., February 21, 1813

Dear Sir. I approached the vicinity of Natchez late on the evening of the 15th. instant, and by express from major Carrol who I had sent ahead to meet the cavalry, and forward me any communications from the Post office Natchez, I recd, two letters from Genl Wilkinson of the 6th. and 22d. January which induced me to put to shore about 2 miles above the town. These communications were of the most friendly kind, advising me of the scarcity of forrage below, and the propriety of landing at Natchez for the health of my troops and the advantageous position from which to make a movement to any point that an enemy might shew a front. These reasons urgent in themselves, and perfectly meeting my views, with a belief that the[y] would Justify, a deviation from the orders of the Governor which directed me to proceed to New-orleans, I determined to drop down to Natchez and disembark my troops; for this purpose on the morning of the 16th. I dropped down to Natchez and tied to the shore where I recd another letter from Genl Wilkingson of the 25 ulto reiterating his reasons in stronger terms and advising and requesting me to disembark my troops and encamp them at or in the neighbourhood of this place, which I accordingly did on the morning of the 17th. and marched them to the cantonment washington where I met the Cavalry, who had arived the evening of the 16th. in good health. finding the cantonment washington in a state of decay, the houses rotting down, and a collection of as much filth that with one weeks sun would create a plaige I have laid out an encampment on a beautifull plain about a mile west of washington and 4 miles from Natchez, to which place

² Of Louisiana.

this day I should have removed my troops, was it not for the torrent of rain that has and is now falling. This place affords a plentiful supply of wood and good water and promises health to my troops. I experienced seven days detention by the running of the ice in the ohio and cumberland one day by the loss of Capt Wallace's boat which went down in three [minutes] to her roof, but by the exertions of the officers, all the men were saved, and all the Baggage, a few musquetts, bayonets and Boxes were lost. we lost on our passage two men out of the second regiment, none out of the first. The Detachment are as healthy as we could expect, in fine spirits and under good subordination, and has improved more in their discipline for the time and opportunity than any troops ever did before.

I recd. your letter of the 8th. instant on the 16th. and beg of you to accept my thanks for your attention to the arms returned, you will retain the soldier left in the hospital, for the purpose of keeping the arms clean advise me of his name and to what company he belongs by the earliest opportunity. . . .

TO WILLIE BLOUNT.

HEADQUARTERS NEAR WASHINGTON, M. T., February 21, 1813

D'r Sir: On the evening of the 15th. January, I approached Natchez and it being late put to shore for the night having two days before dispatched major Carrol to Natchez for any dispatches that might be there and to meet the Cavalry, from major Carrol by express at 6 oclock I recd. two several communications from Genl Wilkinson advising of the scarcity of forage below, that the horses of the cavalry and mounted infantry must suffer, if we proceeded on to Neworleans and advising me to halt my detachment at Natchez and encamp my troop in its vicinity, also pointing out the prospects of our march towards mobile, and on that event, our position in this Neighbourhood more eligible for a movement, and the health of our troop, made it desirable that they should be halted here. I in persuance of his advice and from other weighty considerations, that I conceived would Justify me in a departure from your order, determined to fall down to Natchezs and disembark my troops, on the 16th. I dropped down to Natchez where I recd. another letter from him, still in stronger colours advising me to disembark my troops here, which I did on the morning of the 17th. and marched them to cantonment washington, where I met the cavalry and mounted infantry who had reached that place on the evening of the 16th. The cantonment being entirely out of repair, wood scarce, the old houses rotting down, has determined me to pitch my tents about one mile west of washington and four miles from Natchez in a handsome plain, wood and water convenient, at which place I shall remain for further orders keeping my Boats in readiness to embark in a moment and descend the river if required.

The troops are as healthy as could be expected, the second Regt. lost two men by death only, the first none.

I was detained by the running of the ice, four days at the mouth of cumberland and three days at the mouth of the ohio. I was detained one

day by the sinking of a boat which struck a sawyer and went down in three minutes to her roof, the men and greater part of the arms were saved, and the chief of their cloathing and provisions. in due time you shall have a report of the loss thereby sustained.

My troops are in fine spirits and good subordination and I hope if we meet an enemy will support the honor of their state, I am Sir with every sentiment of respect yr mo ob serv

TO MRS. JACKSON.

NEAR WASHINGTON, M. T. (" 4 MILES FROM NATCHEZ ")

February 22, 1813.

My Love. On my approach near Natchez, on the night of the 15th Instant I wrote you, It was then uncertain whether I should disembark my troops at Natchez or proceed on to Neworleans, on the morning of the 16th. I took a small craft and went down to Natchez, where I recd. advices that determined me to disembark my troops, and form an encampment near Natchez. on the morning of the 17th. I marched my troops to cantonment Washington, where I formed a Junction with Colo Coffee's Regiment, who had reached that place on the preceding evening, and found them all in good health and spirits. I am forming an encampment on a beautiful plain, that affords a prospect of health a supply of wood and water about four miles from Natchez. how long I may remain at this point I cannot tell. This will entirely depend upon the appearance of an enemy, and the probable point of attack. any letters you may write me direct them to Natchez. Should I leave the neighbourhood before the[y] reach me the[y] will be forwarded after me. All my Detachment, are now with me, and hea[l]th with a few exceptions prevades the whole. I am happy to have such orderly men. they are easily commanded improve in discipline, and if we should meet an enemy I have no doubt will support the honor of the state to which they belong. We have no news here of an enemy. But, my heart bleeds, for the disaster that has lately befel Genl Winchester in the North West. If true; what an ocean of blood, from the chocest viens of the Western sons has been spilt. It appears that fate has destined our best heroes to perish in those deserts, or can these misfortunes arise, from want of Judgt. incaution, or is it from a fixed destiny of heaven.

I regret exceedingly the fate of Genl Winchester.¹ had he fallen bravely as he did fall, with victory on his side I should have rejoiced. But fall even bravely in defeat always in an ungratefull world leaves stains and stings behind. Such brave and good men as him deserved a better fate. I am anxiously to hear from you and my sweet little Andrew, Capt Butlers letter advised me you were both well. May heaven grant a continuation of that blessing on you both untill I return.

¹ Brig.-Gen. James Winchester was defeated and captured at the battle of Frenchtown, Jan. 22, 1813. He lived in Tennessee and was a brigadier-general of militia in Jackson's division. He was in captivity until 1814 when he was exchanged and assigned to duty under Jackson, who entrusted to him the defense of Mobile.

I would be glad to hear how my overseer conducts, whether he has come up to his contract and whether he has complied with his promise in his attention to you. Colo. Purdy and Mrs Purdy desires their compliments to you they will set out to Nashville in a few days. please say to Colo. Ward and Mr Sanders, that I will write them as soon as I can obtain sufficient information of the marketts, to Justify me. corn now selling at five bits pr bushel. good sifted meal, for from 75 cents to a dollars, but no contract can be made for a large quantity. But it is my oppinion that meal will be in May an excellent price, and also corn.

Make my compliments to Colo Hays and family Capt Butler and Rachel, to Patsey and tell her William is in good health, and to all friends, tell Peggy howde for me, and kiss Andrew, and believe me to be your affectionate husband.

JAMES WILKINSON TO JACKSON.

NEW ORLEANS, February 22, 1813.

Sir, I had the satisfaction to receive yesterday by the Steam Boat, your letter of the 16th. inst. and congratulate you and the corps of your command on your safe arrival at Natchez.

I have been left without information respecting your destination or Instructions, further than the communications from the war department to his Excellency Governor Blount, in the month of October last, which Col. Covington has been requested to submit to your examination and the Governor's communication to myself of your intended departure from Nashville, But from the tenor of your letter, I perceive you are instructed, "to proceed to this city and await the orders of Government." It necessarily follows, that however singular the circumstance, we are to act independently of each other, in the department, which had been formally and officially assigned to my command, by the executive of the United States, anterior to my departure from the city of Washington. Yet, Sir, the novelty of the case will not I trust, produce any injury to the public Service, because I shall not pretend to exercise any authority, with which I am not explicitly invested, But I shall cordially cooperate with you, in whatever may be deemed necessary to the cause of our common country; in full confidence that I shall experience from you, the same spirit of harmonious concert.

It is highly important to the government of the United States, and, I do conceive, deeply interesting to own characters, that we should be prepared to repel the attacks of the Enemy, at whatever point, and at every peril and hardship, to retrieve the character of our arms, which has been deeply tarnished by the events of the last campaign.

While the maritime superiority of the enemy puts it in his power, to land at Pensacola or Mobile, or to make a descent on the coast, at various points, between the latter place and the River Tesche, I think your position in the vicinity of Natchez preferable to any other, on the score of accommodation, Forage, Subsistence, Health and military merits, until the views of the Enemy may become manifest; because by keeping your

corps on the alert, and carefully preserving your boats, by a suitable guard, on the opposite shore of the River, you will always be in readiness for a prompt movement, across the country to the side of Mobile, or to descend the Mississippi to this quarter. These, Sir, and the impossibility in the present state of our magazines, to subsist either your men or horses below Natchez, are the chief motives which induced me to advise you to halt at that place.

I shall receive with much pleasure the copy of your marching order and the report of the strength and condition of the corps of your command, which you have promised me, because it may be necessary for my Government; and should you think proper, I will cheerfully exchange with you, copies of all orders we may respectively receive from the general government. I forbear to trespass on you further at this time, because you must be much occupied in providing for the accommodation, comfort and Health of the patriot soldiers Intrusted to your care; and would to god! it were in my power to contribute effectually to either, in a country without means and without resources.¹

I have the honor to be respectfully, Sir, Your obedt. Servt.

¹ Courteous as this letter is it takes on a slightly different tone when one reads the following extract from Wilkinson's deputy quartermaster, Schaumburgh, at headquarters, to the assistant deputy quartermaster, Andrews, at Nashville, Feb. 25, 1813:

"Your draft for \$2000 in favor of Mr. Tichnor, dated the 10th. of February intended for the purchase for *forage* for the Tennessee Cavalry came to hand and is paid. From a communication of the Secy. of War to the Governor of the state of Tennessee a copy of which was transmitted by the Secy. of War, to Mjr. Genl. Wilkinson, and by him submitted to my perusal, I see nothing of Cavalry required by the General Government from the State of Tennessee. The order merely required a Brigadier Genl. and 1500 Infantry and Rifle men. This circumstance made me say to you in my letter of the 21st of January if the mounted Corps which is said to be on the road from the state of Tennessee to this country is an authorised corps, they are certainly entitled to *forage*. In consequence of this observation it became your duty to enquire of Genl. Jackson whether the corps of mounted men under his order was authorised by the Genl. Government, which enquiry I hope you have made before this. For should this corps not have been ordered by the Government, I should most certainly not put myself at liberty to make such large disbursements, as the purchase of forage for so many horses in this country will require, I have applied to the commanding Genl of the department for orders and information on this subject. He says he has Received no instructions from government relative thereto and declines giving me any orders on the ground that it appears to him from a letter of Genl Jackson, that he (Genl. Jackson) was not under his orders. I am of course at a loss what to do. I know if I make any disbursements that are not authorised by law my accounts will not be passed, I therefore direct you immediately after receipt of this (should you not have done so already) to wait on Genl Jackson and request him to be so good as to give you in writing an assurance that his corps of cavalry has been regularly ordered into service and that he will hold himself responsible to the U. S. for all the expence this corps may incur, as far as it respects forage, or as Genl Jackson is an Independent commander, and in such case is no doubt invested with power or authority to raise funds and make disbursements, it would seem more regular that he should order every thing necessary for the cavalry to be purchased by his own quartermaster who I presume must be authorised to draw on government—all I desire is my personal safty and next to it I feel anxious that every accomodation should be furnished the Volunteers of Tennessee which I know also is the desire of Maj Genl Wilkinson. I am so strongly impressed with the importance of this question that I send you an express by whom you will without delay transmit me the result of your explanation with Genl Jackson." (See Jackson MSS., Letter-Book B, p. 210.) If Wilkinson had been sincerely anxious to co-operate with Jackson he would have been more ready to assume responsibility to see that Jackson's cavalry had forage.

MRS. JACKSON TO JACKSON.¹

February 28, 1813.

My Dear, I received your affectionat Letter of The 15 of this instant it was a weelcom mesenger to me it bore the tidings I so often implored Divine Mercy to grant. I was sorry to find you had receivd no Letter from me. I sent one by mail Erly in this month. I hope you will git it. I have nothing meturiel to write and a vollume Cold not Containe all my Chat. I Could Entertaine you with it an [age] what a Vacuum is in my soul you are absent [mut.] The fullness thereof Cannot make me happy [mut.] are malencholenly my restless and hope thou [mut.] keeps me alive it supports me that I [mut.] I have our Little andrew he is [mut.] Does not Look Like when you [mut.] is not going on as will as I Could [mut.] [Dunwo]dey² is not an industerous m[an] [mut.] one stroke himselfe But if he [mut.] Shall be glad [the ne]gros are [mut.] or all a Live we have Lost man [mut.] the Looks well Dunwoda is m [mut.] Colo Winns—this has been the [mut.] I Ever saw and the most unhappy of all [mut.] you. have Been absent monthes at a tim you [alw]-ays tell when you would be at home but now i[mut.]

the Lord is with you he will take Care of you [mut.] Stockley has Disapointed me sever'al times he has Been starteing this three weeks you named in your Last that you Did not know whither I had received or not all your Letters one from the mouth of this river I got and this of the 15th—nothing on Erth Can give me aney pleasure now But your Letters. I reade them with the tanderness and affection not to be expresst with my pen as often as you find a Leasure moment from Every Public business spend that with me as often as I [mut.] am present with you—if the almighty [mut.] [take]s Care of the good and virtuous you will be [in hi]s Care may his Choyest blessings forever on [you] keep protect be your Counciler be your [mut.] [in] time of dainger send a kind gardian angel [to guar]d your sleepeing hours if my prayers [and] my tears Can avail you will be well [mut.] Every blessing attend you untill [mut.]th your present farwell My Dear [mut.] your affectionate wife untill death [mut.] A J

RACHEL JACKSON³TO JOHN ARMSTRONG.¹

NATCHEZ, March 1, 1813.

Sir, I had the honour of writing to you from Nashville on the 4th. of Jany. that I would march on the 7th. The Greater part of the Troops embarked on that day and I set out myself on the 10th., of which I have no doubt you have been advised by Gov. Blount. We were impeded by

¹ This letter is badly mutilated, but so few of Mrs. Jackson's letters are preserved that the editor does not feel that it should be omitted.

² Overseer at the Hermitage.

³ The letter has a postscript, but it is so badly mutilated that it is illegible.

¹ War Dept. files, 1812. Also in Jackson MSS., Letter-Book B, p. 137.

our passage by the running of the Ice in the Ohio and Mississippi seven days and three or four days more by other accidental circumstances.

On my arrival at Natchez I received two several communications from Genl. Wilkinson, advising me to halt in the vicinity of Natchez. That if I proceeded lower down the River, it would be utterly impossible to supply the Cavalry with Forage. That the health of the Troops would be endangered, and that by making an encampment near Natchez and securing my Boats by a safe Guard, I could be ready to Embark and proceed down the River to any point where our services might be required. Or if it should be necessary to make a movement by land, our present situation is the most Eligible, whether our destination be the Floridas, the Banks of the lower Mississippi, or towards the Creek nation, as we are about Equidistant from all those places. I will be happy to render any service to our country where an Enemy may present himself or our service be required.

But if there should be no pressing emergency, our present situation is certainly most desirable—Because it promises health among our Troops, a plentiful supply of Forage for our Cavalry, and a convenience to the contractors to furnish provisions for the Infantry.

Permit me to mention that we are in great want of medicines for the use of my Detachment. We are in a country where we may calculate on much sickness, particularly as our Troops have never been inured to the Climate. It is therefore my duty to insist most anxiously that the Government furnish me with those articles of medicine and hospital Stores which are indispensable for the Sick. At the approach of the warm season, I fear there will be some difficulty to prevail on my Troops to remain in this country after their having received the assurances of the Government that they would not be kept here during that time. Their fears and anxieties are alive lest the same mortality might happen to them, that befel Wilkinson's army in 1809. They have seen the Tombs of eight or nine hundred of the soldiers of that army at the Cantonment near Washington. It has caused them to fear the Climate more than an Enemy.

On the event of this country being entirely free from the apprehension of invasion, which from present advices from New Orleans there is not much probability, would it not be important to the Government to turn this section of the army to the frontiers of Canada? I observe by the papers from Kentucky that a considerable portion of her Troops will be discharged about this time, as also those of the state of Ohio. Would it not be important to the service, that we could assist in supplying the vacancies occasioned by those discharges. I presume the Detachment under my command was ordered to this country in anticipation, that the Government would be authorised by a Law of congress to occupy the Floridas. But private advices say that such a law will not be passed and that the object of the Expedition will be lost.

I have been under some Embarrassment by not receiving any orders to regulate my conduct since leaving Nashville. By Gov. Blount I was directed to proceed to new orleans But Gen'l. Wilkinson advised me to halt here for the reasons before stated; but have never had the honour of

receiving any orders from the Department of War. I will forward by next mail monthly Returns of the strength and condition of my army. In the meantime I have the honour to be, with high consideration . . .

TO JAMES WILKINSON.¹

HEADQUARTERS, NEAR NATCHEZ, March 1, 1813.

Sir, I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your favour of the 22d Feby and have the pleasure of stating that I forwarded by Capt. Thomas, copies of sundry orders which I received before leaving Nashville and also a statement of the strength and condition of the troops under my command, all of which I hope may reach you safe. It will give me particular pleasure to interchange copies of any orders or advices that I may receive from the department of war. As yet I have not recd. any information from that Department.

Permit me to give you assurances of my hearty Co-operation in the defence of the lower Country; and as you possess every information as to its Topography, I will take any position that you may advise for its efficient defence. I will moreover use every exertion in my power to regain to my Country its lost reputation. You have justly considered that the health of my Troops will be better preserved by remaining in the vicinity of Natchez. It would be pleasing to me that they may be permitted to remain here, unless their services are required to repel an Enemy. Their constitutions are glowing with health and vigour, and they will be fit subjects for the Fevers and other diseases of this Country.

I will be happy to continue to communicate freely and frequently with you.

I have the honour to be . . .

JAMES WILKINSON TO JACKSON.¹

NEW ORLEANS, March 1, 1813.

Sir, I am honored by your letter of the 20th Instant, with its enclosures, for which be pleased to accept my thanks. Put faith in a soldiers word when I tell you, that altho' the experience of many years convince me, the wisest organisation of military bodies will admit but one head, I meet you with cordiality, on the ground of mutual concert and cooperation, as far as the obligations of duty and the orders of our Government may permit me. Your orders clearly justify you in acknowledging no authority but that of the President of the United States; and it is equally clear that your halt at Natchez is warranted, by every consideration of regard to the patriotic band you command, and the virtuous cause you have volunteered to serve, under circumstances which "try Men's Souls."

Were I authorised to approve, I should say that under similar circumstances, I would have adopted the course you have pursued, in the dis-

¹ Jackson MSS., Letter-Book B, p. 135.

¹ The original letter is in the Jackson MSS., and a copy is in Jackson's Letter-Book B, p. 184.

position of your corps ; for you estimate justly the importance of keeping it together, and too much praise cannot be bestowed on men, who, in the cause of their country, voluntarily exchange the comforts of domestic ease, for the frosty bed and flimsy canopy ; But Sir, let me advise you to be regardful of your Health, for disease begets discontent, and a sickly camp afflicts every feeling and enfeebles every faculty, I speak from the experience of 1777 in Canada and at Tyconderoga, and from successive scenes, down to the late mortality on the lakes. I would we could find action, for that will contribute to Health and insure content, But for this we must depend on the Enemy, and in the mean time, we must practice patience, the second virtue of a soldier.

Col. Covington who is placed in charge of the national arsenal at Washington Cantonment, will receive by this mail and will communicate to you my Ideas, of the course which I conceive should be pursued, for the accommodation of your Corps, and the avoidance of difficulties, in the settlements of public accounts, with which I have had heretofore much trouble. Heading an Independent corps, It follows, necessarily, that you should possess power adequate to its rightful and necessary accommodation in all things ; and therefore the most plain and, to me, the most acceptable course would be, that your separate staff under your own distinct orders, should provide whatever may appertain to the Quarter Masters and medical Departments, while the Army contractor will necessarily be subject to your orders. But should you find any difficulty in the way of this proposition, Then let the permanent public agents provide and furnish, under your authority to your staff, taking their accountable receipts to the Department of war.

While I feel a proper solicitude for the correctness of my own conduct, and experience has taught me caution, I have no disposition to split Hairs or make difficulties ; For the march of two Thousand Free men, a thousand miles in the dead of winter, for the public defense, is a novel scene, which must call forth the sympathies of every Patriot Bosom, and intitle the actors to extraordinary indulgence. I regret your Dragoons are not armed, because I have not the means to supply the defect, for I assure you, we have not in all our stores fifty swords, altho' I have again and again written for five hundred. Cannot you convert those of that corps who are unarmed, into mounted Gunmen, until Cavalry Equipments may arrive ? I believe we have some musquets at Washington and altho' destined to another service, you have but to confer with Col. Covington to obtain them.

With respect to fixt ammunition for your musquets and Powder and lead for your Rifles, I am happy it is in my power to promise you an ample supply, but you must have patience for the next passage of the Steam Boat, as it is the safest and most expeditious mode by which it can be sent to you.

A few words more Sir, and I will terminate this trespass ; The law under cover will account to you, for the attempts which have been made, to Inlist into the Regular army from the Volunteer Corps ; I understand

those attempts are offensive and have put a stop to them, as far as I dare, in the inclosed order.²

I conclude by beseeching you to suffer no want, accommodation or convenience, in my power to remedy or furnish; the character and the conduct of your Corps, such as it comes to me, from all persons and all quarters, deserve every thing from their country, and as far as my means extend they shall not be disappointed.

With much consideration and respect, . . .

TO ROBERT ANDREWS.¹

CAMP JACKSON, NEAR NATCHEZ, March 3, 1813.

Sir, After perusing your note of this day's date and reflecting on the novelty of the request, and that too coming from the asst. Depy qr. master Genl. of the united states Colo. Shaumburg, who has been as well as yourself notified by me of date "Nashville Jan'y 5. 1813 that the Detachment under my command consisting of Fourteen Hundred Infantry and six hundred and seventy cavalry and mounted Infantry destined for new orleans, would leave that place in the present week" and notifying him and you that the requisite supplies for this detachment be furnished without delay on their arrival makes it necessary and proper before I answer these *unusual and unmilitary interrogatories* to call upon you for a copy of the deputy Quarter master General's instructions to you and also a copy of his letter to you on which your note is predicated, and by and under what instructions you have been thus far furnishing supplies to the cavalry? Whether it has not been under my notification to yourself here? or instructions from Colo. Shamburgh? on my notification to him. When this Information is given I will give your interrogatories a proper answer. For your own satisfaction, which perhaps wants experience (not so with Colo. Shamburgh I will barely observe, that I command no officer, from a Colonel down to a captain, who does not hold a commission signed by the President of the United States, and ordered into service by competent authority.

If this had been doubted by Col. Shamburgh, he had sufficient time to inform himself after my notification.

² The order, Mar. 2, 1813, is in Jackson MSS., Letter-Book B, p. 187, and is as follows:

"G. Order. The enlistment of volunteers into the Regular service is not to be attempted, without the consent of the commanding officers of those corps: Yet every exertion is to be made, by all legitimate means, to fill the ranks of the established corps. The District Paymasters are to furnish the necessary recruiting funds, taking the proper receipts, from the recruiting officers.

"The corps of militia from the Mississippi Territory, who turned out, on call of their country, are to be discharged, by their commanding officer Brigadier Genl. Claiborne, when that officer may think proper: Lieutenant Knight, the district paymaster is to pay the corps to the day of its discharge; and Maj. Genl. Wilkinson feels it his duty to offer his warm thanks to those meritorious citizen soldiers for the promptitude with which they took arms in the cause of the nation, and the good conduct they have observed while in service. He doubts not that on any future call, they will manifest the same spirit; and he wishes them every happiness on their return to the bosom of their families.

JAMES WILKINSON."

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 154. Captain Andrews was assistant deputy quartermaster.

There is one thing you may assure Colo. Shamburgh, that the Government wants no underwriters; and he must be either very ignorant, or think me so, to ask such a question. Being ordered by the president of the united states into its service for the defence of the lower Mississippi, I expect supplies from the quarter Masters for my cavalry. When the quarter Master refuses to furnish, I will adopt such means for the procurement of them as necessity may require, until I can advise the secretary thereof.

I am sir Respectfully

TO ROBERT ANDREWS.¹

HEAD QUARTERS, CAMP JACKSON, March 4, 1813.

Sir, Your failure in calling on me last evening agreeable to your appointment makes it necessary for me this morning to send the Brigade Major, with my note of yesterday, prepared for you which will be deliver'd by him to you, and by whom sir I expect to be furnished from you with your Instructions in full recd. from Colo. Shamburgh, and all other instructions which relates to the supply of the troops under my command, as well as a copy of Colo. Shamberghs letter on which your note to me of the 3d Inst. was predicated. I have barely to observe that all officers, with whom I have business to transact, I shall expect punctuality in their appointments.

I am sir respectfully

TO JOHN COFFEE.

GREENVILLE, March 6, 1813¹

Dear Colo. I recd. your letter this morning, that made my heart sore that you were without supplies, and that I had it not in my power to relievee, I have been studying all day, I have a little money. on the one hand the sick must be taken on, on the other your wants. I had determined to divide my funds put them in your hands and detain thirty pack horses and risque all with the sick and push you on. On this ground I directed major Carroll to send you the order. I wish you still to send me the horses and duplicates, as expressed in the order and see me yourself. Send with the pack horses thirteen or fifteen bushels of corn in the ears.²

¹ Jackson MSS., Letter-Book B, p. 156.

¹ Greenville was in 1813 the court-house town of Jefferson Co. It does not appear on the map at present. The contents of this letter seem to show that it was written after the army was on the return march, in which case the date given seems to be wrong.

² The following letter from John Snodgrass to Governor Blount, Natchez, June 13, 1814, is of interest at this point: "His Excellency Gov Blount, I hold a Draft drawn by Gen'l Jackson for hauling done on his March from this to Tennessee. On application at the War Office, I am directed to apply to your Excellency, Should be happy to infer what method to pursue in order to get the money. There is a number of Drafts unpaid in this Territory."

TO MRS. JACKSON.

HEADQUARTERS CAMP JACKSON NEAR WASHINGTON March 7, 1813.

My love, When I wrote you last mail I was labouring under a distressing cough proceeding from a violent cold, which had fell upon my lungs, and had assumed inflammatory symptoms. a free use of the Lancet by William relieved me, and I am nearly restored to my former health. I should have then named it, but I knew it would have given you pain. I am still without advices of our future destination. There is no enemy that I can hear of in this quarter—of course nothing for us to do here. The troops are healthy, and George Martin doing very well, and so is Stockly Hutchings.

Mr Abraham Green is now with me. He has lost both his daughters, and is preparing to move to Tennessee in a few weeks. your sister Caffery he tells me is in bad health anxious to get up to Tennessee, should I return direct to Tennessee will take her on with me. If I should not will if Possible, aid her in getting up. certainly there can be but little family affection existing if one sister cannot be taken from the Jaws of sickness, and (of course before long if left where she is) the grave. I am so pressed with attention to the duties of my station that I have but little time to spend in the sweet converse of writing to my bosom friend. You must give my compliments to all my friends, and kiss and bless my sweet little andrew for me. Tell *patsey* and *Polly Coffee* that their lords are well and fat, god bless you goodnight.

P. S. Mr Blackman sends his best wishes to you, so does Majors Haynes and Carroll.

TO JAMES WILKINSON.¹

HEADQUARTERS, NEAR NATCHEZ, March 8, 1813

Sir, I had the pleasure of receiving your favor on yesterday, under date of the first instant. I am sensible of the correctness of your observations contained in the first paragraph of it, and I am pleased with the frankness with which you speak of our respective commands.

As to the supplies from the quartermasters department, the usual and only mode of drawing them is clearly defined by the law creating that department. The Quarter master Genl., The deputy qr master Genl. and their assistant deputies, plainly shew that all supplies for an army must be drawn from them. The Regimental and Brigade Quarter masters attached to an army, are for the purpose of receiving, receipting for, and distributing such supplies as are wanted and directed by the commanding officer of the detachment. This is my understanding of the laws establishing this department.

It has been the plan pursued by me in obtaining, all supplies heretofore, and is the only one that has system, and can prevent confusion in the settlement of accounts. It has been the plan pursued by me since I have been in the limits of the department of Colo Shaumburgh, and I intend to pursue this plan until the supplies are withheld from me, thro' the regular

¹ Jackson MSS., Letter-Book B, p. 14.

channels, and then I must adopt such irregular ways, as will ensure them until I can advise the Secretary at War.

I have directed my quartermasters to sign receipts in the usual form. Being ordered by the President of the United States, for the defence of the lower country, and advised that the officers of the proper department would furnish all legal, and necessary supplies, I cannot feel authorised to direct my quartermasters to sign any other receipts than those in the usual form. In the meantime accept my thanks for your very polite and friendly tender accomodations to my detachment as far as your power extends. I am truly sorry that swords for part of my Cavalry cannot be obtained, and thank you for the offer of muskets in the place of them.

Being taught at a tender age to know that a soldier without pride, never rendered beneficial services to his country, and a soldier without arms was like a Beau in a ball room without shoes, each being unprepared for action, I therefore took the precaution before I marched from Nashville to arm such of my Cavalry with good muskets who had not swords. There is no uniformity in the arms of the troops, part are composed of muskets and part of swords. My wish in asking for swords was to have uniformity in their arms, as it is very unpleasant to transfer men, from one Capt to another merely for the want of uniformity of equipments, particularly as they volunteered under the privilege of choosing their own officers.

I am happy that it [is] in your power to furnish the requisite supplies, of ammunition for my detachment. It is important to have it, in case of any sudden emergency, that no delay be occasioned for the want of it. I have noted your order respecting enlistments, and read with attention the enclosed law. The order is a proper one, and may prevent young and inexperienced officers from running into error and danger. The act enclosed refers to detached militia under the act of congress of April 10th and has no bearing or relation, to the Volunteers who have entered themselves under the acts of Feby. 6th and July 6th 1812. These are as much enlisted as any troops of the united States and as I understand the law, are expresly forbidden by the rules and articles of war, to be enlisted into any other corps and the officer knowing them to be such is liable to all the pains expressed by that article. . . .

I have the honor to be

JAMES WILKINSON TO JACKSON.

NEW ORLEANS, March 8, 1813.

Sir, I had the honor yesterday to receive your favour of the 1st. Jany. and agreeably to my engagements I enclose you a copy of a note received from the Secretary of war by yesterday's mail, which exhibits every word I have received on the interesting subject. It is our duty to be satisfied with every arrangement of those whom we are bound to obey, and the unlooked for measure, before us, is no doubt founded in sound Policy; it appears to me to be the Harbinger of peace, a blessing which you Sir, and the Gentlemen of your command have manifested a willingness to

purchase for your country, at the points of your swords. I had indulged hopes that we would have shook hands at Mobile and Pensacola, where it was my intention to have given you the command of all the troops in that quarter, but our superiors have determined otherwise and we are bound to be content.

Altho' you have not had an opportunity to render service to the nation, on the field of Battle, you have manifested unequivocally your disposition to do so, and have established a claim to public thanks; and you have it still in your power, to render a most acceptable service to our Government, by encouraging the recruiting service, from the patriot soldiers you command, in an appropriate General Order. I shall be proud to understand in what particular manner, your volunteers are to be discharged, and shall be happy to contribute every thing in my power to their accommodation and comfort; for your own part I anticipate seeing you on the General Staff of the Army, which the Tenor of our late correspondence makes a desirable thing to me, as I believe it would be profitable to our country. With high consideration and respect, I have the honor to be Sir,

TO JOHN ARMSTRONG.¹

CAMP OF VOLUNTEERS NEAR WASHINGTON, M. T. March 15, 1813

Sir: By this days mail I recd. yr. letter bearing date of the 5th. Jany. war department 1813. This was previous to yr. being in office at the head of that department which induces me to believe, that their must be a mistake in the date, otherwise it must be an unofficial act, as the official acct. of yr. taking possession of that office appears to be of date the 3rd. Feby. 1813.² Allways obedient to the orders of my superiors and the will of the government when made known through a proper organ, I shall in persuance of the above advice, immediately deliver over to the Q. Master of this department all public property in my hands that can be spared from the convenience and health of my troops on their return to Nashville, it being the place where they were rendexvouzed by the orders of the president of the United States, and to which place I shall march them, so soon as the necessary supplies can be had for that purpose. If it is intended by yr. letter or order which runs thus "The causes for embodying and marching the corps under yr. command to New Orleans having ceased to exist, you'll on receipt of this letter consider it dismissed from public service and have delivered over to Majr. Genl. Wilkinson all articles of public property that have been put into its possession. If it was intended by this order that we should be dismissed eight hundred miles from home, deprived of arms, tents and supplies for the sick, of our arms and supplies for the well, it appears that these brave men, who certainly deserve a better fate and return from

¹ Copy.

² Armstrong was nominated for the office of secretary of war Jan. 8, 1813, confirmed and commissioned Jan. 13, 1813, and entered the duties of the office Feb. 5, 1813. The dispatch to which Jackson referred was dated erroneously. A duplicate in his papers has the correct date of Feb. 5, the day Armstrong entered upon the duties of his office.

their government was intended by this order to be sacrificed. Those that could escape from the insalubrious climate, are to be deprived of the necessary support and meet death by famine. The remaining few to be deprived of their arms pass through the savage land, where our women children and defenceless citizens are daily murdered. Yet thro that barbarous clime, must our band of citizan soldiers wander and fall a sacrifice to the Tomhawk and scalping knife of the wilderness our sick left naked in the open field and remain without supplies without nourishment or any earthly cumfort. Was this the language of the act calling on the citisans to rally round the government of their choice, which brought this band of heroes the best citisans and wealth of our country into the field, and whose attention to order discipline and harmony forbode ample services to their country, who tendered their services to march and support the Eagles of their country to the hights of Abraham on the North, or to the burning and unwholesome climate of the South. These men had no constitutional bounderies but that of their insulted Government, its rights privaliges and its laws. Yet this order is given by a friend of the war measures, an old revolutionary officer, who knows the privations of a soldier who exercised his talents (not at a very prudent moment) in their behalf at the close of the last war. The same hand Yes, the same hand writes an order to consign to distruction a well organised detachment of near two thousand men, well disciplined for the time (I say none better) fit for the service, willing to march anywhere and that too Eight hundred miles from home. I annimated those brave men to take the field. I thank my God they are entitled to their arms to defend them from the Indian scalping knife and believing as I do that it is by such patriots as I have the honor to command that our country and its liberties are to be saved and defended, that a well organized militia is the bulwark of our Nation, I have no hesitation in giving the lie to the modern doctrine that it is inefficent to defend the liberties of our country, and that standing armies are necessary in time of peace. I mean to commence my march to Nashville in a few days at which place I except the troops to be paid and the necessary supplies furnished by the agents of Government while payment is making, after which I will dismiss them to their homes and their families.³

TO JAMES MADISON.¹

WASHINGTON, MISS., March 15, 1813

Sir, It gives me pain at all times to record things that must tend to weaken the support of government under the present pressure of the war, and when the misfortunes of our Country and the loss of our military reputation, requires every nerve to support the contest in which we are engaged.

At a time when the Bosom of every lover of his Country beats high in its support, and indeed [induced] him [to] step forward in its defence

³ In the copy the letter ends here abruptly.

¹ Copy.

and support the government of his choice, at a time too, when those who were not for us must be against us. At this very time and with the best possible motives springing from the purest streams of Patriotism, the best blood, wealth and reputation of West Tennessee voluntarily stepped forward to support the Eagles of their country in the midst of a Just and necessary war declared by the constituted power of the Government. The tender of our services was Made thro' the Executive of the State of Tennessee. The flattering reply of Yourself thro' the Secretary of war to Gov. Blount and by him communicated to me and the volunteers under me was dated

WAR DEPARTMENT July 11th. 1812.

Sir, I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 25th. June the tender of Service by Genl. Jackson and the volunteers under his command is Received by the President with peculiar satisfaction and in accepting their services, he cannot withhold an expression of his admiration of the zeal and ardour by which they are animated.

Signed.

W. EUSTIS.

Agreeable to this flattering acceptance of our Services we prepared for the field at the call of our Government, to defend our rights and repel our Enemies without constitutional Scruples of any boundaries, except the will of our Government. The Detached militia from my Division of West Tennessee under the act of Congress of April 10th. 1812, were ordered to be organised and held in readiness subject to the orders of Govr. Harrison.² This order I had promptly executed. The Detachment of 1400 men, the full quota from my Division were organised, Mustered and ready for the call of Govr. Harrison as required by the orders of the Secretary of War, These being held in requisition for appropriate service. Govr. Blount on the 11th. of November 1812 called on me for the volunteers tendered by me and which were held in readiness under the and acceptance by You of which I have no doubt his Excellency has duly advised you. The 10th. of December was the day ordered for their rendezvous at Nashville it ill comports with my Situation as there Genl. to say any thing in their praise. But it was the proudest day of my life it was the proudest for West Tennessee.

The Weather was inclement. The Brave the Patriotic volunteers faced the snowy blast. They forgot the cold in the love of Country no Murmur no Disorder was heard. It was Columbia's true sons who had walked forth, awaked by the infringement of their independence, bequeathed to them by their Revolutionary parents, Sunk to the Grave in procuring this precious patrimony who were assembling under their Eagles. We Remained there for our equipments rumors of Invasion pushed on us to the Defence of the lower Mississippi before the supplies arrived. Without Hospital stores Blankets and but four rounds of powder and Ball we hastened to the place of our destination New Orleans where I was to await Yours orders. My letters of the 1 Inst. to the Secretary of war will shew you the advices Received from Genl. Wilkinson That Occasioned me to Disembark my Troops at Natchez and remain here

² William Henry Harrison, governor of Indiana Territory.

for Orders. On this day I receivd. the Inclosed astonishing order. I cannot Beleave [this] thing was ever written by your directions or Knowledge. Why I cannot beleave it is after inviting us to rally round the Standard of country in its defence, accepting our Services as tendered, and ordering us to the lower Mississippi (an inhospitable clime) you would Dismiss us from Service Eight hundred Miles from our Homes, without Money without supplies and even strip our sick of every covering, and surrender them victims to Pestilence and famine, and if any of my Detachment escape this there arms are to be taken from them. They have to pass thro' a Savage wilderness and subject to all these Depredations. I cannot Beleave that you would reward thus, the tendered support of the purest patriots of America, to beleave it would be to beleave that you were [lost] to all sence of humanity and love of Country.

At a time too when our united force required to regain a lost Nation at Character and a lost Territory. The copy of the order I send you certified. It bears date a Month anterior to Genl. Armstrongs coming into office I presume it is a Mistake of the date.

After taking into consideration the deplorable situation in which our men would be placed by being discharged here, I have determined to March them directly on to Nashville. It has been the usage of country heretofore in other parts to Discharge detached Men near there homes and I have no doubt Government Sanction this Measure. If they were left in this Country without protection and without funds Tennessee will Loose many of its valuable Citizens. I hope there will be funds provided at Nashville for the Discharge of this detachment on its arrival.

I am with consideration and Respects

TO JAMES WILKINSON.¹

CAMP JACKSON, March 15, 1813

Sir, I had the honour of receiving your Letter of the 8. Inst with its enclosure, containing directions for me to deliver over the public property to you, which is in the possession of my Detachment. The order will be complied with, except a small reservation of Tents for the sick and some other indispensible articles. I acknowledge the order was unexpected but I coincide with you in sentiment, that those who are bound, must obey. The circumstance of my long march to this country, and so soon after our arrival, to be ordered back, appears too much like trifling with our patriotic intentions to serve the Government.

I am sensible of your friendly disposition towards my detachment and duly appreciate it. The Express goes to New orleans for Funds for the asst. Depy qr. master, will you be good enough to aid in the procurement of them, and in facilitating his return. My march will be delayed without them. When my troops are discharged at Nashville, it will afford me peculiar satisfaction to forward the recruiting service.

Altho' I am perhaps partial to the men whom I have the honour to command, yet I think they have military worth enough to be distinguished under any other commander. I feel in common, with you Sir, a great

¹ This is a copy, in the handwriting of Major Hynes.

interest for our beloved country and every measure where I can be of service, shall receive my hearty cooperations.

The Express being in waiting I have only time to tender to you the sentiments of my high consideration.

TO WILLIE BLOUNT.¹

CAMP JACKSON, March 15, 1813

Dear sir, I had on yesterday my feelings more awakened, than I have ever had before. It was on the receipt of the enclosed extraordinary Order from the secretary of War, ordering the dismissal of the Detachment under my command.

The order was addressed to me at the city of New orleans, presuming that I had marched my Detachment there according to your order. What do you think of the justice of Government to make a requisition of so many men, have them assembled in an inclement season, and marched more than a thousand miles amidst Ice and snow and the dangers of the River, and then desert them without making provission for their return? Would you be willing for those brave and patriotic men, whom I have the honour to command, to be deserted in a strange and inhospitable country, where there are no resources to support them and where they would be a prey to the diseases of this unwholsome climate?

The measures of Government are dictated by policy, more than generous motives. If our brave countrymen had been discharged here, there would have been a fine harvest for petty recruiting officers to have taken advantage of their necessities, which would constrain them to enlist, in order [to] get the means of subsistence. If we have not rendered the Government any important services, it was their own fault in not pointing out an object for us. We have shewn our willing dispositions to serve them, by making many sacrifices of our domestic comforts. Yet they abandon us in a strange country, and have ordered us to be divested of all public property. There is no reservation, not even a tent for the canopy of a sick man's bed.

I have however from the necessity of the case determined to keep some of the tents and to march the men home in as good order as possible, and I will make every sacrifice to add to their comfort. I have required of the contractor here, twenty days rations which take my men to Colberts,² and I must trust in providence and your exertions to furnish them with supplies from there to Nashville. If I fail in those, there is one alternative left which altho' it might alarm those who are enjoying plenty and comfort at home, yet it will be resorted to by soldiers who think that their country is not gratefull, and who are pinching under lean gripe of hunger. Provisions I must have and hope you will save me from the unpleasant necessity of procuring them *vie et armis*. Will you be good enough to concert measures with the contractor and asst. Depy qr. master about furnishing supplies sufficient for our march from Colberts to

¹ Copy.

² George Colbert's in the Chickasaw country, on the road from Natchez to Nashville, where it crossed the Tennessee River. See p. 226.

Nashville. Arrangements will also have to be made for the payment of my troops when they arrive at Nashville.

I have the honour to be with sentiments of my Friendly esteem yr. obt. sevt

TO MRS. JACKSON.

CAMP JACKSON, March 15, 1813.

My love, On last night by mail from Neworleans I recd advices from the war department that our services was no longer wanted, and I shall march with my detachment so soon as conveyance for my sick can be had, and portage for my provisions. I hope to order the line of march in a few days, my duty my feelings, and Justice to those brave fellows who followed me at the call of their country, deserve more from their Government, than what they have recd. They at least deserved, by the orders of their goverment, to have recd. every necessary comfort for the sick, conveyances that would insure them a safe return to their family their country and their homes. This has not been the case, it is only by and through me, that these things can be the sick shall be taken back as far as life lasts, and supplies shall be had, altho their Patriotism has been but illy rewarded by an ungratefull officer, (not Country) it is therefore my duty to act as a father to the sick and to the well and stay with them untill I march them into Nashville. I shall use industry, but that must be with caution not to founder my troops when they first set out. I recd yours by Stockley Hays last night, and one from my sweet Andrew, I am happy if life lasts that I shall shortly see you. I am sorry my overseer does not act with industry you may say to him I will soon be at home, and expect my farm and stock in good order. I have but little leisure, nor will I, untill I am ready to march, kiss my little andrew for me tell him his papa is coming home—give my compliments to all friends, and receive from me the tenderest Esteem of an

affectionate Husband

JAMES WILKINSON TO JACKSON.¹

NEW ORLEANS, March 16, 1813.

Sir, I was yesterday honored by your letter of the 8th inst. and regret that the policy of Government should not permit the maturation of our association in arms; because I believe much public good would have grown out of it.

I am sorry any misunderstanding should have taken place with the Dep. Qr. Master General; because he is a well intentioned and correct officer. His difficulty arose from the tenor of his instructions, and the obligations by which he is bound, to obey the commanding officer of the Department alone; who being placed in trust for the whole, is responsible for the whole, and must necessarily controul the whole. This is the broad rule of service, and it must govern, so long as power and responsibility are inseparable. I hope, however, no inconvenience has arisen from a adversity of opinion.

¹ Jackson MSS., Letter-Book B, p. 215.

In consequence of the receipt, by yesterday's Mail, of the enclosed copies of the secretary of war's letters to you of the 6 and 16th. ultimo, which I take the liberty to transmit you, I have considered it my duty to issue the Genl. Order which you will find under cover,² to prevent any difficulties or unnecessary delays with the paymaster or contractor, being convinced the Executive will justify every usual measure, which may be adopted for the accommodation and comfort of the patriotic citizens of Tennessee, on their return home. I beg leave to offer you and them, Sir, my best wishes for health, pleasant weather, an agreeable march, and a happy meeting with your friends and families.

I have the honor to be, with much consideration and respect, sir,
Yr. Obt. servant,

TO JOHN ARMSTRONG.¹

HEAD QRS. NEAR WASHINGTON, M. T. March 22, 1813.

Sir, My letter of the 15th. instant informed you that I had received yours of the 5th. Jany, 1813. I have now the honor to inform you, that I received under cover from Majr Genl. Wilkinson of date March 8th your notification to him, without date, but postmarked Feby 8th, 1813, which runs as follows.

Sir, The Militia force organized by Govr. Blount under command of Genl. Jackson expedited to new orleans early in the last month is discharged from further service. The General is required to have delivered over to your directions such articles of public property as have been committed to them. Signed, John Armstrong. Your notification to me received as above, and having no "Militia force organized" under my command places me in a delicate situation. I have the honor to command only an organized volunteer corps enrolled and tendered to the President of the United States under the act of Feby 6th, 1812, and whose services with my own were accepted and made known to me through Governor Blount, by the President under date, War Department, July 11th., 1812, and all the officers under my command down to a Captain have been commissioned by the President of the United States on the 21st. of november, 1812, in pursuance of his authority under the act of congress

² Wilkinson's general order, Mar. 15, 1813, shows that he interpreted the secretary's order of Feb. 5 to mean that the Tennessee troops were to be mustered out at Natchez. It was in the following words:

"The President having been pleased to discharge from further service, the patriotic intrepid Volunteers of Tennessee, encamped near Natchez, under the Orders of Major Genl. Jackson, they are to be mustered up to the day of their discharge, and in addition to the pay due them, are to receive from the District paymaster the usual allowance for mileage in returning home, and the Contractor will furnish provisions for the same period.

"The Asst Dept. Qr. Master Genl. is to receive and receipt for whatever public property, Genl. Jackson may order to be delivered to him, and will have the same put in order and well secured.

"(Signed) JA. WILKINSON, Maj Genl."

¹ A rough draft and a copy exist in the Jackson MSS., the former in Jackson's handwriting, the latter in that of Major Reid. The original from which this text is taken is in War Dept. files, 1813. The letter was published in the *National Intelligencer*, June 13, 1828.

of July 6th, 1812. Hence the words in your notification to Genl. Wilkinson "organized Militia" cannot be applied to the detachment under my command. But from your communications to Governor Blount, Major Genl. Wilkinson, and your unofficial note to me of Jan'y 5th, 1813, I infer that the wishes of the government are that the detachment under my command is to be discharged. I have therefore ordered their return to Nashville, Tennessee. Their being no direction for the payment of the troops, or their supplies on their return home, by you directed from a perusal of the law on the subject I find I have been correct and anticipated the intention of the Government in ordering supplies of provisions, and conveyance for the sick and their necessary baggage to Nashville, where they will be discharged. The law runs thus "that whenever any officer or soldier shall be discharged from the service he shall be allowed his pay and rations, or an equivalent in money for such term of time as shall be sufficient for him to travel from the place of his discharge to the place of his residence, computing at the rate of twenty miles to a day. There being no direction to pay the troops here, no compensation directed to be given to them in lieu of rations, I have ordered the contractor and Quarter Master, as you have been advised in mine of date the 15th. instant, to furnish the necessary supplies for my detachment on their return to Nashville. I have been detained here since the 18th instant by the Agents of Government, but in justice to Mr. Brandt I would observe that every exertion has been used on his part to expedite our departure. I have however been notified that the necessary supplies will be ready against the 25th. instant, when I shall take up the line of march for Nashville, at which point, or some other within the state of Tennessee, I hope they will be directed to be paid off, and the paymaster be furnished with funds for this purpose. I have a hope (altho' not ordered to a theatre of war) that my detachment merit as much from our Government as the detached Militia from this Territory who are ordered to be paid and discharged at Baton Rouge. Your note of the 5th. Jan'y 1813, directs that two thousand well organized volunteers, under the acts of Congress of Feby 6th and July 6th, 1812, are to be dismissed at new Orleans with out pay or a compensation for rations. Is this your impartial rule? and this remand to whom? Men of the first character, patriotism and wealth of the union; who left their comfortable homes and their families for the tented fields, to support the Eagles of their country at any point ordered by the constituted authorities.

TO JAMES WILKINSON.¹

CAMP JACKSON, NEAR NATCHEZ, March 22, 1813

Sir, About two O'clock, P. m. this day, I received yr. letter of the 16th. inst. with its enclosures; and am truly sorry that the originals have not reached me. I still more regret to see so many blunders creep into the Secretary's communications. The paper stated by him to be a duplicate, altho' substantially the same, is not a copy; and further, the

¹ Jackson MSS., Letter-Book B, p. 216.

date of the original, of which he says he sends a duplicate, bears date "War Department, Feby 6, 1813." The original is in his own hand writing, or every letter, word and figure a forgery. I cannot help smiling when I read the Secretary's note, a copy of which you send me, bearing date "War Department, Feby 16, 1813," expressed as if wrote at a date to overtake me at Massac; when on the evening before its date, I had reached the vicinity of Natchez; and on the 4th of Jany. I had wrote him from Nashville, advising him that in a few days I should march; and he was advised by the Governor, as he writes me, that on the 7th. of January my troops did march. This gauze is too thin, too flimsy to hide the baseness of the act, even from my dull apprehension. But as I have not received from the Secretary the originals, of which your enclosures are copies, and he not having notified me, that we were to be paid off any where, the law allowing me so many days to return; and as I have sent on my Aid-de-Camp this morning, before the receipt of yours, to Nashville, to procure supplies to meet me at Tennessee, I shall commence the line of march on Thursday the 25th. inst. Should the contractor not feel himself justified in sending on provisions for my Infantry, or the qr. master, waggons for the transportation of my sick, I shall dismount the Cavalry; carry them on, and provide the means for their support out of my private funds. If that should fail, I thank my God, we have plenty of horses to feed my troops to the Tennessee, where I know my country will meet me with ample supplies.

These brave men, at the call of their country, voluntarily rallied 'round its insulted standard. They followed me into the field—I shall carefully march them back to their homes. It is for the agents of Government to account to the state of Tennessee, and the whole world, for their singular and unusual treatment to this detachment. The feelings of the whole state is alive and awakened. The administration must render a justifiable reason, why they have singled out this detachment, whose tendered service they so flatteringly accepted, as victims of their destruction; and why they have not been discharged in the usual way.

I tender you my thanks for the Genl Order issued, a copy of which is enclosed, for directing that to be done, which the law secures to be done some where. But as the secretary at War has given no directions to me on this head, I cannot now detain my march. I have notified the President, of date the 15th. instant, and forwarded it by last mail, enclosing him a copy of the singular order I had received. (I am persuaded he never sanctioned it.) and stating to him that I would march my men to Nashville, and there await his orders for the discharge of my detachment. I know from advices received, our services will be wanted in the North West; and no act of the agents of Government, can withdraw our attachment from our Government, however we may be induced to despise the baseness of its agents. These reasons will govern me in taking up the line of march on the 25th. inst. supplies or not.

Accept a tender of thanks for your offered friendship to the Detachment I have the honor to command. I am with the highest consideration of respect, . . .

JOHN ARMSTRONG TO JACKSON.

WAR DEPARTMENT, March 22, 1813.

sir, I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your dispatches of the 1st. and 7th. of March *last*.

No additional testimony was required of the high degree of respectability of the Volunteer Corps under your command, nor is there a doubt of the important services they would have rendered, had the Executive policy of occupying the two Floridas been adopted by the National Legislature. Your offer of them for Northern service is a new proof of your zeal, and of their spirit and patriotism, and will be taken into consideration by the President.

My order of the 6th. of February for the liberation of the corps from further service, was made under information, that the winter had intercepted their progress southward at the mouth of the Cumberland, and that there was a probability that it might overtake you at Massac. On the contrary supposition a second copy was sent to Genl Wilkinson at New Orleans.

I need not say that this order is to be construed agreeably to the provisions of the Volunteer Act, which entitle each man, who has served one month to a stand of Arms etc. The 22d section of the Act of the 11th. of January 1812 will have regulated the expenses of their return. The Pay Master of the Army will be directed to have funds ready to pay them off on their arrival in Tennessee, where you may expect also a new order of march should your offer of Northern service be accepted.

I have the honor etc.

TO ROBERT ANDREWS.¹

CAMP JACKSON, NEAR NATCHEZ, March 23, 1813.

Sir, I had the honor, on the 14th. instant, to notify you that orders from the War Department, made my return to Nashville indispensable; and for that purpose, made a requisition on you for forage for my Cavalry, and transportation for the sick and their baggage. This you immediately entered on, and has amused me with due readiness in your department, for my taking up the line of march. I have also to inform you, that I have received no communications since that date, from the War Department; and any irregular information, I mean to pay no respect to. It is your duty, under the law, immediately to comply with my requisitions; and I hope the supplies will be immediately furnished. Having this morning been informed that you have refused to employ waggons, I have, therefore, to require and command you to furnish the supplies required of you by my requisition of the 14th. instant; or state, in writing, your refusal; and furnish me with a full and complete copy of your instructions, on which your refusal is grounded. I have barely to state to you, that there is no orders from the secretary of War to me for the payment and discharge of my troops here; and that they will neither be mustered, paid, or discharged until they reach Tennessee, any other irregular ideas to the contrary. Major Carroll waits on you

¹ Jackson MSS., Letter-Book B, p. 218.

with this note for your written answer. I am, and have been waiting for your supplies for some days. On Thursday, the 25th. inst. I shall take up the line of march; or sooner, if my supplies are in readiness. I am with due respect,

ROBERT ANDREWS TO JACKSON.¹

CANTONMENT, WASHINGTON, March 23, 1813

Sir, Yr note, bearing date this day, has been handed me by Major Carroll. I acknowledge having recd. orders from you for procuring forage for your cavalry at different posts between this and Tennessee river, and also for the transportation of the camp equipage etc of your detachment to the same place. I immediately entered upon the execution of an order, and in the course of a few days as many waggons and teams were engaged as you deemed requisite, altho not to the number specified in the order. These teams or the greater part of them would have been in camp ere this, but that a rumour prevailed of your having prolonged the period of your march. As to the supplies for your cavalry—after their March from their present encampment I candidly confess that I have made no provision for any, in consequence of my inability to procure the necessary funds in Natchez and farther because if I could have done so, I should have been reluctant to draw on the D Q. Master Genl. (who always appears to have entertained some doubts as to your corps of cavalry being ordered into service of the United States by the competent authority) for so large a sum as would have been necessary without informing him previously of such my intention, and receiving his instructions thereupon.

Having recd. from Genl. James Wilkinson commanding this district, thro. the medium of Colo L Covington, a Genl. order announcing yr. discharge from service, it becomes my duty to inform you that after such official communications that it is not in my power to furnish the transportation required, or to lay in the supplies for the cavalry unless I receive instructions from the commanding Genl. to that effect. An express was sent down to New Orleans with dispatches to Genl. Wilkinson and the deputy Q. Master Genl. with copies also of yr. orders upon the subjects referred to in this note. The express will probably return to morrow or next day, when all the information, which I may receive, relative to your orders, shall be immediately communicated to you—with the greatest respect I am Sir.

Yr. Obt. Servt.

I inclose a copy of Genl. Wilkinsons order.

GENERAL ORDERS.¹

March 24, 1813.

GENERAL ORDER.

The Colo. commanding the Cavalry will order an escort of thirty men, commanded by a commissioned officer, to take such waggons as has been

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 219-221.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 223.

furnished by the Asst. D. qr. master, to Natchez; and load one half of them with provisions, at the Contractors store, near the church, Natchez, and the other with corn for the Cavalry, from the Asst D. Qr. master. If there is not a sufficient quantity of corn there, the waggons to be loaded with provisions for the contractor, and halled to Camp Jackson.

TO ROBERT ANDREWS.

WASHINGTON, MISS., March 24, 1813

Sir, you will please without delay, settle and pay to the quarter master of the Regiment of Cavalry under my command, all arrearages due them, agreeable to your due bills in the hand of the Regimental quartermaster. It appears from your letter to me of date 23rd instant, that you will not furnish any supplies, to the Cavalry after the[y] move from the present encampment, you will see the propriety (as you hold compleat returns for forrage) of settling up and paying to the quartermaster of the Regiment of Cavalry the ballance due on these returns, as pr your due bill. I hope no difficulty will occur in the settlement of this account, as it would be unpleasant to me, to have to forward your due Bills to the proper office, and detain a payment of the whole forrage account untill this is settled and paid particularly as the situation of the Cavalry now require every means of their own, (publick forrage being withheld from them on their return) to enable them to pass the savage wilderness. I have a hope that no difficulty will occur in the settlement of the account, and if you have not funds you can give a bill for the amount, which will enable the quarter master to purchase and draw upon you for the amount of your Bill and when he consumes the whole amount in purchases, he can give the last creditor on the purchase your Bill.

You will please to attend by yourself and agent at camp Jackson on the morning of the 25 instant and receive the Tents, and such other public property as is in my possession.

I am Sir respectfully yr mo. ob. serv.

TO ROBERT ANDREWS.¹

CAMP JACKSON, NEAR NATCHEZ, March 24, 1813.

Sir, Your note in answer to mine of this day is received by Major Rose, on the subject of arrea[ra]ges of forage due the Cavalry, in which you observe that you have "consulted Colo. Covington sometime since on this subject, who informed you that it had never been allowed to pay in any other way but in kind; which in this country would have been impossible." To which I answer, that the amount in kind or in corn is what is wanted. That it is in your power to obtain the corn that is due, and it is but justice that the Cavalry should have the deficiency in long fodder not received, made up in corn. This is in your power; and as the returns are made out for complete rations for fodder, you will, by these returns, draw from the public, the full contract price for that, that has never been received. It is, therefore, proper that you should furnish the defi-

¹ Jackson MSS., Letter-Book B, p. 222.

ciency, if not all in kind, corn in lieu of fodder. If this is not done, as I advised you before, I shall feel myself compelled to forward on accounts to the proper Department, to stop the payment of these accounts, until a credit is endorsed for that amt which never has been issued. I am respectfully²

TO JOHN ARMSTRONG.¹

CHOCTAW AGENCY, March 30, 1813.

Sir, I recd. yr. letter of the 16 Feby 1813, post marked at the city of Washington Feb 23. and at Knoxville March 2. this evening in the choctaw nation 16 miles north East of Mr. Cravens at the line.

I have got on so far tolerably well with my sick and I expect to reach Nashville in twenty five or thirty days, at which time and place I expect the proper officers will be furnished with the necessary funds to discharge the detachment under my command. I have delivered all public property to the Ajt. D.y Q Master Cantonment Washington that could be spared from the convenience of the sick.²

TO JOHN ARMSTRONG.¹

CHICKASAW NATION 28 MILES SOUTH OF THE AGENCY,

April 8, 1813—at night.

Sir, I have the pleasure to inform you, that I have thus far advanced towards Tennessee, with the detachment of volunteers under my command, the cavalry one hundred and fifty miles in advance. My sick, altho without hospital stores or medical supplies, (except such as I have been able to procure my self) are conveyed by Eleven baggage waggons, a few pack horses and the horses belonging to the officers of the line. They are mending fast. Should government have any orders to execute at Maldon or its vicinity about the 30th. proximo, I shall be happy to execute them at the head of my detachment, provided I can be informed of their wishes about the 25th. Inst. at Nashville or before discharged. The force could be augmented if necessary. I have a few standards wearing the american Eagle, that I would be happy to place upon the ram-parts of malden.

Health and respects

² Jackson used his own credit to raise money to take his sick and wounded safely to Tennessee. A note for \$1000, which he owed to James Jackson, as late as Oct. 27, 1813, seems to have been made to meet this obligation.

¹ War Dept. files, 1813. Also in Jackson MSS., Letter-Book B, p. 223.

² The following due bills issued by Jackson on his return march to Tennessee are in Jackson MSS., Military Papers, I., folio 121:

"April 1st. 1813. Good to the contractors for one peck meal—Andrew Jackson major Genl"

"Good to the contractor for twenty pounds of Biscuit—Andrew Jackson major Genl april 2nd 1813"

"Good to the contractor for Six pounds of fresh Beef Andrew Jackson april 3rd. 1813"

"Good to the contractor for 10 lb. flour 6 lb. beef and ten lb biscuit April 5. 1813 Andrew Jackson major Genl"

"Good to the contractor for fifteen pounds of flower—Andrew Jackson major Genl april 11th, 1813"

¹ War Dept. files.

TO WILLIAM B. LEWIS.¹

"CHICKASAW NATION 13 MILES SOUTH OF THE AGENCY,
April 9th 1813—9 oclock at night."

Dear Sir: I this moment recd a letter by the Post rider from Major Haynes, who states, you will do nothing or furnish no means for the Conveyance of the sick from the Tennessee to Nashville. This to me is unaccountable, and are these brave men who at the call of their Country, rallied around the standard for its defense, be left a prey to the Vultures of the savage wilderness? is this the reward of a virtuous administration, to its patriotic sons, or is it done by a wicked *monster*, to satiate the vengeance, of a combination of hypocritical Political Villains, who would sacrifice the best blood of our Country, to satiate the spleen of a villian who their connection with in acts of wickedness they are afraid to offend, and will you lend a helping hand to aid their wicked machinations of an Armstrong a[nd] W—n [Wilkinson] &&, by withholding from us that which by law we are entitled to? I hope not Where is the governor? will he too sit silent and see his own citizens, that he organized that met with his plaudits for their patriotism, thus surrendered as a prey to the wolf in an howling desert?

The supplies I call for I am entitled to by law, the bills I have drew on you does not amount to the amount of the due bills, of the Ast D. q. Master of the Mississippi Territory, these I expect to be accepted and paid. My sick I will have on regardless of the neglect of the agents of Government. I shall make a full and fair statement of facts, as it respects the treatment of the agents of government and it would fill me with extreme pain and regret, to have [to] number you, with such a set of public agents. When I give publicity to the documents I hold in my possession, it will make every honest man possessing humanity shudder. I know your situation, and I hope you know, that I would be the last man on earth, that would request you to do an act inconsistent with your duty and the agents of government are bound to pay my requisitions; and I hope they will be furnished. I am as usual

Yr sincere friend

P. S. I have not rode 20 miles, the field and Staff are and have been on foot and the sick mounted on their horses, without hospital stores or medicines for the sick, only what I have procured, through my own means; attempted to be dismissed, without pay, 800 miles from home; no provisions for the sick; they to be stripped of every particle of covering, and left a pray to famine and pestilence. But the *Bloody Buoy*² was arrested. The Tyranical stroke was attempted in open violation of the law, they are entitled to pay and rations, or a commutation in money in lieu of the ration calculating, one day for every 20 miles. As the money was not offered, and so I never recd. a communication official from the war department until I got into the Choctaw Nation, I am entitled to

¹ Southern Hist. Assoc., *Publications*, II. 11 (1898).

² *The Bloody Buoy* was an anti-French, anti-Democratic pamphlet published by William Cobbett in 1796; hence, perhaps, any machination that could be called Federalist.

the means of taking me to where my men can be mustered paid and discharged. This Justice requires and I will have, and I will try whether the public agents or myself has the right of Judging.

WILLIAM B. LEWIS TO JACKSON.

NASHVILLE, April 9, 1813

My dear friend. I regret very much it is out of my power to meet you at Columbia as I intended. Governor Blount says he is not authorised to act in this case, consequently could not authorise me to act. As soon as that information reached me (Gov. Blount is still at Knox.) I set myself about raising money by subscription for the purpose of sending on waggons to transport the sick and their baggage. I [have] been successful enough to raise [about] \$600 dollars, which I hope will be sufficient to afford some alleviation to the unfortunate sick. Any thing I can do to meliorate their situation will be cheerfully accorded. Capt. Kingsly says he is not yet authorised to pay the Volunteers, and if he was he has not funds—he appears to think it unnecessary to march the troops to Nashville to be discharged. I have therefore recommended their being discharged at Columbia unless you have public property that ought to be deposited with the Asst. D. Quarter Master. I wish to see you if possible, come by this place and bring Coleman with you.

your friend

JOHN ARMSTRONG TO JACKSON.

WAR DEPARTMENT, April 10, 1813.

Sir, I have this day had the honour of receiving your letter of the 22d of March last. I enclose a copy of mine to you of the same date. You will perceive by this, that there was no disposition to treat the corps under your command with any degree of harshness or disrespect. Had the order of the 6th. of February found your corps in New Orleans it was incidental to the duties of the Commanding Officer of the port to have seen them paid—the belief however was that the order would have overtaken you before you had been far advanced towards your destination, and at a point where payment could not be made.

I have the honour etc.

ANDREW HYNES TO JACKSON.

NASHVILLE, April 15, 1813.

Dear Genl, I was extremely happy in seeing Mr. Armstrong to day, who was the bearer of your Letter of the 9. inst., by which I have learned your rapid advancement towards home. I congratulate you and all those with you on the safety of yr journey thus far. I hope no difficulties may intervene to prevent your and their speedy arrival and happy meeting with your friends. There will be no chance of payment for the Troops, untill Capt. Kingsley gets his instructions from the war office. I transmitted his Letter to me on that subject by the Post Rider. Perhaps you have not recd it. I now send you another copy.

I wrote a Subscription Paper to raise money for the employment of Ten waggons immediately after the asst. dep. qr. master said that he could not act, and Mr. Lewis carried it round town and almost every body subscribed to it.¹ There are near one hundred and fifty subscribers. It will be a small portion to each man to pay. Mr. Woods went out to Columbia and sent them on with the provisions in them under the care of Mr. Compton. I hope they have reached Tennessee River in proper time. Colo. Coffee has ordered his Cavalry to Rendezvous at Clover Bottom on the 24. instant.

I have seen Mr Grundy since my return. He regrets that there should be any imputations of misconduct alledged to him about the discharge of the Volunteers. He asserts that their discharge was determined on by the Cabinet and the order issued several days before he knew it, that application was immediately made to Mr. Monroe by a note addressed to him by Mr Grundy to know the causes of their recall. Mr G. has permitted me to take a copy of this note which I will submit to you when we meet. I hope you may be blessed with health, comfort and as little trouble as is possible, untill you reach Home.

Yr friend

TO DAVID HOLMES.¹

NASHVILLE, April 24, 1813

D'r Sir: When I marched from your Territory, I did intend to keep you duly notified of my progress, but the want of Candles in the night, and the attention to the sick in the day, prevented me, and the only letter I was able to write you was from the Tennessee, advising, you of my arival at that place, meeting supplies, and that I would return your Tents in the hands of the Infnt, so liberally and humanely furnished for a covering to my sick. I have now the pleasure to inform you that on the evening of the 19th. I reached columbia there meeting major Hynes, who I had sent on and finding from him that there was no orders from government for the payment of my troop I there halted on the 20th. and discharged the 2 Regt of Infantry and part of the first—on the 21st. proceed with the Residue and reach Nashville on the 22nd. instant (a distance of 45 miles) and on that day discharged the Residue of the Infantry and the guards, and on this day is to meet the cavalry 9 miles distant and muster and discharge them. I have the pleasure to inform you, that this moment I have recd advices from the war department, which goes to shew that if we were for a moment neglected by the government we were not forgotten, and that the return of my detachment to Tennessee, as I have marched them fully meets the wishes of government they are directed to be paid and all expences of the return march. This will surprise your D. q. master, and astonish the officer who ordered recruiting officers to my encampment, to enlist my brave fellows, then in

¹ Compare W. B. Lewis to Jackson, Apr. 9, 1813. Lewis gave Hynes no credit for assistance in raising the subscription. Hynes's name does not appear in the list of Jackson's officers in the General Orders of Dec. 13, 1812.

¹ Copy.

the service of their country. Inclosed you will find the waggoners recpt for the tents returned by him. Those in the hands of the cavalry will be sent to you in good order by the first safe conveyance.

Be pleased to present me to Mr Dangerfield and lady, Major Freeman if with you Capt Guildart lady and family, including my friend Miss Stark, and accept for yourself, my best wishes.

TO JOHN ARMSTRONG.¹

HERMITAGE, May 10, 1813

Sir: This will be handed you by Colo. Thos H. Benton, Commandant of the second regt. of Tennes[ee] volunteer Infantry, who having [been] detained here since the 22nd ultimo for the determination of the president, on the further service of the Detachment of Volunteers under my command, from the delay of communications on this subject a belief has arisen that our services to the north west will not be called for by the President. Colo. Benton having abandoned a profitable profession, for the tented fields, and having determined during the continuation of the present war to continue in the field of Mars, If Government will give him employ in her armies, goes on with this view to the city of Washington. did I think any thing was necessary to be said on the fitness of Colo. Benton to command it would be here added. his uniform good conduct, his industry and attention to the dicipline and police of his regiment speak more for his fitness than words, and a personal acquaintan[c]e with Colo. Benton will soon decide on the capacity of his mind, relative to tactics and military operations.

I have recd advices from Natchey stating that the asst D. q. master of that department has refused to pay the waggoners, employed [by] him to hall the sick of my detachment and the necessary Baggage to the Tennessee river, and he states to the waggoners, as I am advised by letters from the waggoners that he is instructed by Colo Shamburgh not to pay them. I have to ask that instructions be given for this expence to be paid and that no other circumstances will be permitted to arise, further to embitter the minds of the Detachment. they took the field with promptness they have and do stand ready to obey the call of their government for the tendered northwest service. They merit more attention than they have recd, their minds from the privations the[y] have suffered, from the agents of government withholding from them their Just and necessary supplies are sufficiently disgusted, and if the agents of government, are thus permitted to act with impunity the disgust will become so general in the west, that the administration will loose that united support that it uniformly recd, in this state. in this believe a candid man I refer you to Colo. Benton for information you will find him capable of giving it on every subject.

I am Sir with due consideration and respect

¹ War Dept. files, also in Jackson MSS.

THOMAS H. BENTON TO JACKSON.

WASHINGTON CITY, June 15, 1813.

Dear sir, I have been three weeks in this city, and had intended to have written to you by each successive mail, but put it off from one day to another in hopes of getting a definitive and satisfactory answer on the subject of the transportation. You had already had so much vexation on that subject that I was unwilling to add to it by letting you know that there was any thing like delay or uncertainty to attend the payment of these accounts. A satisfactory answer I have now received; but not until this very day (Tuesday 15th. June.¹)

Soon after my arrival here I presented your letter to the Sec. of War. Two or three days afterwards I called upon him, to receive his answer, and give such information as he might require. He was particular in his inquiry whether the Dep. Q. M. General at New Orleans had refused the payment of the draughts which you had drawn in favor of the waggoners. I detailed to him the reasons which I had for knowing that, notwithstanding those draughts had not been presented to him, yet that Mr. Andrews in refusing to pay them was acting in conformity to instructions which he had received from Col. Shambourg. The answer which he gave me was verbal, to wit; that the claims would have to be transmitted to this place, and to pass through the Accountants office. The delay, to say the least of it, that would have attended this mode, made it far from being satisfactory; and I determined to give the business a more serious turn. I then addressed to the Sec. a formal note, stating my objections to the mode he had proposed, and suggesting another, which would keep clear of the accountants office, and come at once to the justice of the case. A copy of that note was enclosed. I took care to require his answer in writing. This note was delivered to the chief clerk of the war office on the day of its date; and I called soon after for the answer. The clerk informed me that the Sec. had carried out my note to consider of it on the Sunday following at his leisure; and now on this day, having called again at the war office, I received from him the note of which I enclose you a copy; so that at least this agent is ordered to pay.

Things go on but slowly here. The tax bills, tho reported, have not yet been taken up: but they will be passed I conceive by considerable majorities. The Senate have been sitting for three weeks with closed doors. It is very well known that they are engaged on the subject of Mr. Galltins appointment. The scuffle is to get Gallatin out of the treasury; and to do that, a strong party in the Senate, perhaps the majority, require his resignation of Secretaryship before they confirm his nomination of ambassador.

¹ The day before this letter was written, June 14, occurred Col. William Carroll's duel with Jesse Benton, brother of Thomas H. Benton, in which Jackson acted as Carroll's second. When he learned of it, Benton was very angry. He felt that Jackson should not have taken part against Jesse Benton while he, Thomas, was trying to get Jackson's accounts settled in Washington. He expressed his sentiments freely. Gossip carried his utterances to Jackson and the result was an encounter in Nashville on Sept. 4.

Hampton has passed on to the north; Wilkinson is ordered there also, but is very slow in going. The third regiment from New Orleans is also ordered there. Davie and Ogden have refused their appointments. Dinsmoor is here, upon what business I do not exactly know, but expect that he is called to some account for some of his official conduct, perhaps touching the passports.

The President enquired after your health in terms of particular kindness. Your Volunteers are spoken of here in the most honorable terms. Those who were so friendly to us at Natchez have extended their good offices even here, and tra[n]smitted the best accounts of our conduct. I understand from some of the members that they intend to take advantage in the first suitable opening, and to press you for a Brigadier Generalship.

I have no prospect of immediate active service. The best prospect I see is to be sent back to recruit a new regiment; of which it is proposed that John Williams of Knoxville shall be Colonel; myself Lt. Col. Carrol Major, and Geor. West 2d. do. I undertook to convince the Sec. of War that two regiments could be raised sooner than one. When I gave him all my reasons he said he thought so too; but there was but one regiment but what was appropriated to other states. By the present regulations two regiments make a brigade; two brigades make a division etc. so that, if two regiments had been allotted to our state, a General would have been appointed of course. . . .

ANDREW HYNES TO JACKSON.¹

NASHVILLE, July 16, 1813.

Dear General, Your favour by your Boy of to day is recd., together with the enclosures which are put into the Post Office.

With respect to the rumors that are in circulation of ill natured expressions of Colo. Benton toward you, I have but little knowledge. Yet I have heard thus much, that he, on his return from Washington was represented to be very wrothfull against you for your friendship to Majr Carroll in the affair with his Brother Jesse. I Probably should have heard more, had I been in the confidence of the colo's Friends, but moving in the Sphere that I do, I have never come within the Circle of his Slander, nor would any of his minions dare retail it in my presence without being checked.

The Colo. has kept himself remarkably close since his return. he has scarcely been in town, and I have never had an opp'y of a single word with him. His august consequence is not calculated to procure him many real friends, altho' he may have some Sycophants who will be panders to his ambition. I would extremely regret that the Colo. would be so far lost to himself and all Sense of Honour and Gratitude as to forget that he is indebted to you for the consideration in which he is held in society. I am unwilling to believe that any man could be so stamped with ingrati-

¹ This letter well illustrates the gossip of a backwoods community. After writing much that would excite Jackson's anger against Benton, Hynes concludes by urging him to take no notice of it.

tude as to turn traitor to this Patron and to be the Reviler of Him, who brought him out of obscurity into fame and consequence in the world. Ingratitude has always been considered among all nations and in all countries the basest of crimes. Yet there can be no punishment for it, except the honest indignation of all good men. A man who is ungratefull, renounces all moral obligation, and is capable of committing every Species of iniquity.

You I know can foresee that there are persons behind the curtain, who would be willing to make any body an instrument to act as a kind of *Autoumaton* to excite and promote disaffection toward you in order to keep themselves from danger. I would not take any notice of the Idle rumors that are floating in this Slanderous world. They can do no harm, when the source from which they originate is known, but will recoil on their authors. Your standing in society is like the Rock in the Ocean. It may be assailed, but it cannot be moved. The swift winds of Slander may blow, and the rough billows of Detraction roll, yet you are steadfast and no impression is made. You can stand secure within [your] self and look with contempt on [the pe]tty rascality of designing men. . . .

Sincerely yrs

✓ To THOMAS H. BENTON.¹

HERMITAGE, July 19, 1813.

Sir: When I first extended to you the arm of Friendship, I never expected to substitute the language of reproach instead of Friendship. But late rumors and information has reached me of some conduct, expressions and threats of yours as they relate to me of the basest kind. It is always due to Friendship, Justice and propriety that credit should not be given to reports, altho' coming thro' the most respectable channels, untill the person who is said to be the author is called upon for an avowal or disavowel of them.

I have therefore to call upon you to say whether you did not leave my house on the 10th. of May in perfect Friendship with me carrying with you a letter from me to the secretary of war to promote your welfare and your views? Have you not on your return and since spoken disrespectfully of me, and when chided by my Friend who said he would write to me, Did you not say to him that you rode a good Horse, would soon be with me and give me personally the information of your conduct and language to save him of the trouble? And have you given me any Such information since your return? Have you threatened to make a Publication against me since you left my House on the 10th. of May? Has any act of my life towards you since I took you by the hand in Friendship and appointed you my Aid de Camp been inconsistent with the strictest principles of Friendship? And if any, in what did it consist? and lastly have you or have you not threat[e]ned to challenge me.² I am Sir respectfully yours

¹ Copy.

² This sentence is inserted in Jackson's handwriting. The rest of the letter is in the handwriting of a clerk.

THOMAS H. BENTON TO JACKSON.

FRANKLIN, TENN., July 25, 1813.

Sir, Your letter of the 19th. instant was delivered me this day. The following general statement is intended to cover the whole of your enquiries.

On my way to Washington city, 10th. May, I passed your house, at your request, and received from you, unsolicited, a letter of introduction to the Secretary of War, more honorable to me than my merits had deserved. That I was friendly to you at that time, and for more than a month afterwards, is evidenced by the fact, well known to you, that on Monday the 14th. day of June, the day on which you superintended the shooting of my brother, I was in the war office in Washington city, exerting my very poor abilities according to your wishes on a subject which lay very near to your heart. If you want any other evidence of my disposition towards you at that time, you can get it by applying to the gentlemen in congress from this state.

On my return I heard of my brothers duel with Mr. Carroll and of your agency in that affair.¹ What I have since said on this subject may be reduced to three or four heads.

¹ Oct. 4, 1824, General, then Governor, Carroll made the following statement in regard to Jackson's part in the Carroll-Benton duel, putting it in the form of a letter to Andrew J. Donelson:

"Sir, Having been requested by Captain A. J. Donelson to make a statement of the conduct of General Andrew Jackson who acted as my friend in a duel between Mr. Jesse Benton and myself, which took place in June 1813, I submit the following, which, in every important point is strictly correct.

"I had been challenged by Littleton Johnston a young officer of the army, and for reasons which it is unnecessary to detail, I refused to meet him. Not satisfied with my refusal, he applied to Mr. Benton to act as his friend and be the bearer of a second challenge to me. With a knowledge of my having declined to meet Johnston, he came to Nashville, and delivered a second challenge from him (Johnston) to me, on receipt of which, I stated to Mr. Benton that I would give him an answer the next day. Mr. Benton having a knowledge of the circumstances of the affair between Johnston and myself, I thought it probable that he was disposed to make himself the principal. I therefore determined to inform him by note, that I would not fight Johnston, but that if he would volunteer in his behalf he should be accommodated with a meeting. I then went to General Jackson's and informed him of what had passed, and requested the favor of him to hand to Mr. Benton the note which I intended writing to him. The General stated that he could perceive no cause of quarrel between Mr. Benton and me; that he would come to Nashville on the following day for the purpose of bringing about an amicable adjustment of the affair, and accordingly he did come to town, and at my request, delivered to Mr. Benton [the] note which I had prepared before his arrival, and of which the following is a copy.

"NASHVILLE June 11th. 1813

"Sir, I presume you are apprized, that I would not have any thing to do with Mr. Johnston in the way he requested, and your coming forward as his friend, after having this knowledge, makes it probable you have volunteered in his behalf. If so, you can explain to Genl. Jackson, your object and your wishes, and it will only rest with your self the line of conduct you intend to pursue hereafter as no communications from Johnston will be attended to by me.

"I am etc

"WM. CARROLL

"On delivering the note to Mr. Benton, General Jackson, as I was then informed, stated to him he was under no obligation to fight me; and advised him to consult with some experienced gentleman, who would doubtless give him the same advise. This he

1. That it was very poor business in a man of your age and standing to be conducting a duel about nothing between young men who had no harm against each, and that you would have done yourself more honor by advising them to reserve their courage for the public enemy.

2. That it was mean in you to draw a challenge from my brother by carrying him a bullying note from Mr. C. dictated by your self, and which left him no alternative but a duel or disgrace.

3. That if you could not have prevented a duel you ought at least to have conducted it in the usual mode, and on terms equal to both parties.

did do, as I was afterwards informed by a gentleman he consulted on the subject who gave to him the same opinion. However, after most of the day had elapsed, he handed to General Jackson a note in the following words.

"NASHVILLE, 12th. June 1813

"Major Carroll

"Sir, I consider the note you sent me as dictated in the spirit of hostility, and moreover I consider your conduct with regard to Mr. Johnston as unjustifiable; I therefore deem it necessary to request that you will cause the necessary preparations to be made for a decisive settlement of the affair in which we are engaged. You will please to inform me as early as possible as I shall be in complete readiness by twelve O'clock to morrow. I have the honor to be etc

"Major Carroll

"JESSEE BENTON

"He was informed by the General, that I would meet him; and it was agreed between them, that on the day next but one, at twelve O'clock, the friend of Mr. Benton and General Jackson should meet in Nashville, for the purpose of agreeing upon the rules which were to govern the parties in terminating the affair. The matter having progressed so far, I conceived it to be my duty to adopt such measures as would place me on equal grounds with my adversary, who was known to be a first rate marksman with a pistol; and, as I never had shot much, I concluded, that he would have no advantage if the distance was short, and therefore determined on ten feet. This determination I made known to General Jackson, who said, that having been challenged, I had the right of selecting the distance; but as I had equally the right of naming the time of meeting, I could in a few days learn to shoot well, and therefore he thought that there could be no great objection to the usual distance of thirty feet. Finding that I was disposed to adhere to the distance first selected, the General proposed that it should be increased at least to fifteen feet. After making an experiment by shooting a few times, I decided not to alter the distance I had at first chosen. I mention this circumstance, because General Jackson has been *incorrectly* charged, with advising the selection of a short distance with a view of making the combat a desperate one. At the time appointed, General Jackson and the friend of Mr. Benton met in Nashville, and rules and regulations for governing the parties in bringing the affair to a close, were drawn up and signed by them. And, altho I had an undoubted right to fix the time of meeting, yet, that was conceded by the courtesy of Genl. Jackson to Mr. Benton; and he did appoint for that purpose six O'clock the next morning. In further proof of the conciliating disposition of the General, he called on me twice, the same afternoon the rules were agreed to, (at the request of Mr. Benton and his friend as he informed me) to get me to consent to an ex[t]ension of the distance to which I would not agree. The next morning we met at the place appointed; and after our pistols were loaded, Mr. Benton and my self took our positions, ten feet from each other, standing back to back. After being asked if we were ready, and both answering in the affirmative, the word *fire* was given when we wheeled and fired. Mr. Benton was severely wounded, and myself slightly. At the time the word *fire* was given, and at the moment of wheeling, I observed, that Mr. Benton came round with great quickness to a very low squatting position. Such a manoeuvre being unexpected, I inquired of General Jackson, on leaving the ground, if it was correct or honorable. He replied that it was not; but, that he thought Mr. Benton was mortally wounded, and that it would be improper in us to say any thing about it; that if he died the disgrace of his conduct ought to die with him; and if he lived, the thorns and difficulties of life would be sufficiently numerous without the addition of those, which the publicity of the matter would certainly throw in his way.

"The foregoing statement contains all the material circumstances that I recollect at present. I will just add, that throughout the whole affair, so far from General Jackson's attempting to excite a quarrel, his advice to me was of the most conciliating and forbearing character.

"Respectfully . . .

4. That on the contrary you conducted it in a savage, unequal, unfair, and base manner. *Savage*: Because the young men were made to fight at ten feet distance, contrary to your own mode, to what is usual among gentlemen, and against the remonstrance of my brother. *Unequal*: Because the parties were made to wheel; an evolution which Mr. C. perfectly understood, but which my brother knew nothing about, and against which he earnestly objected. *Unfair*: Because you concealed the mode of fighting from my brother put off the duel on a frivolous pretext from friday until monday; and in the mean time secretly practised Mr. C. to whirl and fire ten feet at a small saplin, until he could strike the centre of it at every shot. *Base*: Because you avowed yourself to be the friend of my brother while giving to his adversary all these advantages over him. In consequence of all which my brother was drawn into a duel against his wishes, and fought under circumstances wherein the chances, according to Mr. Carrols calculation, and your own must have been the same, were *twenty to one against him*.

I know your answer to all this: "Mr. C. would have it so." To which I reply: From your known influence over Mr. C. you might have managed the affair as you pleased; if not, you were at least a free man, and might have quit him if you did not approve of his course. To this effect, but in language much stronger, I have expressed myself when speaking of this matter.

You have been pleased to remind me of the services you have rendered me. I needed not the admonition. The same persons who carried you evil reports, might, if I am not mistaken, also have told you that I remembered the numerous acts of kindness you had done me, and regretted that I had not been able to make you any return. But because you had been my friend I could not sit, and smile assent upon your [cowardly] act, when I saw you doing what you could to break the heart of an aged and widowed mother, and hurrying into his grave a young man, a brother, whose life ought to have been preserved for the comfort of his family and the service of his country.

My subjects of complaint against you are limited to two: your conduct towards my brother; and the communication which it is *believed* that you made to the war office, and in which, as one of the Tennessee Volunteers, I was implicated in a charge of mutiny. If you did represent these troops as unwilling to fight under Wilkinson, without making an exception in my favor, you have done me a serious injury, and took a liberty with my name which the best of friends should not take with each other. For it was known to you that notwithstanding my prejudices against Gen. Wilkinson and the evil I had spoken of him, that yet I was satisfied of his right to command us; and as a military subaltern should render to him respect and obedience. That this point might be cleared up between us, I addressed you a note on the day after my arrival from Washington city: a note which you have not condescended to answer, or to notice in any shape.

The balance of your interrogatories may be quickly answered: I have not threatened to tell you my sentiments, except in the event of your

calling upon me. I have not threatened to make any publication against you, except in the case of my brother, and that idea I relinquished from a total repugnance to going into the news papers. I have not threatened to challenge you. On the contrary I have said that I would not do so; and I say so still. At the same time the terror of your pistols is not to seal up my lips. What I believe to be true, I shall speak; and if for this I am called to account, it must even be so. I shall neither seek, nor decline, a duel with you.

Respectfully etc

TO THOMAS H. BENTON, A FRAGMENT.¹

HERMITAGE, July [28 or later] 1813

. . . . It is the character of the man of honor, and particularly of the *soldier* not to quarrel and brawl like the fish woman. I defy the world to say that if an injury or supposed injury had proceeded from my hand, that I was unwilling to repair it. If in an error (as all men are fallable) on *friendly* explanation I hasten to acknowledge it. But if driven by any of the wicked passions to the alternative of acknowledging a falsehood, doing a dishonorable act, or appealing to the last resort of men of honor, I never did, nor never *will* hesitate on the subject.

But in relation to the mode of fighting, which you so much complain, it is well known I acted as the friend of Major Carrol, and this your brother knew in every stage of this affair. When he challenged my friend according to the universal law of honor, my friend had the right to choose his mode, time and place of fighting, nor is it true either in *fact* or *honorable* presumption that my friend made this choice through my agency. It is presumable he knew the manner of fighting for which he was best qualified and would consequently make choice of it. It is the first time I ever heard a challenger complain of the manner his adversary had chosen to fight, or that he could not get round to meet his enemy. The range of the ball, the fire of the pistol at the same time, Major Carrol being wounded, all show he did get round, and I make no doubt your brother has informed you how and in what manner. It is true they stood back to back before the word was given, a mode not unusual and a precaution thought necessary to prevent firing before the word, as such accidents had happened. As to the distance, it is well known that it is as various as the different qualifications of the persons challenged. When I profess to be a man's friend I never abandon him, on trifling occasions, and much less in an affair of honor, when he thinks proper to pursue his own mode of fighting. Nay, I should account it my duty consecrated by the hallowed dictates of friendship to offer my friend all the advice in my power for preservation of his life consistent with the laws of honor and propriety. As it respects this particular affair under description, had Major Carrol left the distance to me after having heard and understood the qualifications of the two persons opposed to each other, I should

¹This is only a fragment of a letter. It seems to be part of Jackson's reply to Benton's letter of July 25, and was probably written late in that month. The original is in the possession of Mrs. Rachael J. Lawrence.

have recommended him to have fought at a short distance. It was reported and acknowledged that your brother was a first rate marksman at the distance of ten paces. Major Carrol is as remarkably defective. Hence then the necessity of bringing them to a short distance to place them on an equality with each other. To the extent of my influence it certainly became my duty to see that he, my friend, should be on an equality with his antagonist. In no other way could this be done except reducing the distance that marksmen usually select, to something like the same number of feet that they would choose in paces.

Nothing was concealed from your brother that could with propriety have been made known to him. The whole transaction on our part was ² our answer.

on one or the other of two grounds and no other viz. that you are sensible of having done me injustice, or a demand of such satisfaction as one man of honor usually thinks he has a right to ask of another. This sir I have a right to expect from the Military Commission which you now possess. This sir comports with the magnanimity of a soldier, if in error to say, or promptly to demand of me satisfaction for any injury you may think I have done you.

I am yours, etc.

WILLIE BLOUNT TO JACKSON.

NASHVILLE, August 14, 1813.

Sir. I have been notified by the Secy. War¹ that the General Government, satisfied of the hostility of a portion of the creek nation, has determined that it is necessary to order a campaign to be carried on against a portion of the creek Indians to punish them for their hostility; and that fifteen hundred of the Militia of Tennessee are relied on to compose a part of the force to be employed, tho' as yet he has not given me orders to have them raised, requesting information first when they could be assembled, and whether it would be advisable for the Georgia and Tennessee Corps to act in concert, or not, upon the expedition. I have given him my ideas on these heads, and have suggested the propriety of his ordering five thousand men from this state to be called out, to act with others relied on, in preference to calling out only the fifteen hundred,

² At this point in the manuscript the page comes to an end and a page seems to be missing.

¹ Armstrong's letter to Gov. Blount, July 13, 1813, is as follows: "Information through various channels have reached the government, of the hostility of a portion of the Creek nation, and of the necessity of breaking it down by some prompt and vigorous measures. Those which suggest themselves as most efficient are, the embodying a portion of the Tennessee militia who (as circumstances may direct) shall act separately against the Enemy, or in concert with another corps of militia drawn from Georgia. It is believed that fifteen hundred men from each of these states, and the 3d Regiment of United States Infantry will be competent to this object, and the more so, as the Creek nation is understood to be pretty equally marshalled against itself. If a union of the corps be thought necessary, it should be made in the Cherokee Country and by concert between yourself and Govr. of Georgia to whom a copy of this letter is sent. Your Excellencys ideas on this last subject, and an intimation of the time at which the detachment may be assembled will be acceptable".

relying as I do very confidently on the promptitude of our militia in attending to the call of Government in either case: I have further stated to him, that they would to the number of five thousand, rendezvous within twenty days from the receipt of his orders to have them embodied, after being furnished and supplied etc. Had I been notified of the proportion of Infantry, Cavalry, Mounted men, Volunteers etc calculated upon by Government to compose the detachment, the whole number could in a very short time, have been ready on our part to take the field—however under the expectation that orders thus explicit will shortly be received, I hope and believe, that every attention will be given throughout the state towards being prepared to act at a moments warning, let the force required be what it may; and the more so, in consequence of the “authentic information of a meditated attack on our frontier to be made by the creeks” which information I have just received from Col. Benjamin Hawkins, Agent of the United States, resident in the Creek Nation, and communicated at his request to me, through Governor Mitchell of Georgia,² by express.

In consequence of the receipt of the above information thus formally made and communicated to me, it becomes my duty to order that defensive measures should be immediately taken throughout the State, the better to guard against evils which might otherwise be experienced from the Creek Indians, in the event of their making an actual attack on any part of our frontier as now, by them meditated.

You are therefore required without delay to put your division of Militia in the best possible state for defence, by notifying them of said meditated attack by the creeks, “and by requiring of them to be ready to act as the militia law of this State authorizes in such cases, and by ordering them, or any part of them at a moments warning to repel any attack or invasion that may be made or threatned by near approach within any part of the limits of your division, and to treat the invaders as enemies to our peace. And in the event of an attack made, or of your certain Knowledge of the approach of the enemy towards and threat’ning an invasion of our territory and found within our limits, you will instantly order out, embody and march a competent force not only to repel them, but you will chastise them as common enemies any where within our limits, or without the limits of our State if within reasonable distance of our frontier; provided a knowledge of circums[tances] should dictate to you the propriety of such further [action] in order the better to secure the safety of our frontier inhabitants.

You will without delay upon the receipt of information of the approach of an invading enemy, communicate it to me, together with such orders as you may or shall from time to time issue. And you will also cause regular muster rolls of the men engaged in service under such orders to be made and transmitted, together with an account at stated periods, of expenditures made or to be made for all necessary supplies of equipments and provisions which I feel confident will be made by your orders

² David B. Mitchell, governor of Georgia 1809-1813, 1815-1817.

to the regimental Quarter Masters, in the most judicious and economical manner, and so as best to promote public good, and the safety of the frontier of your division.

The policy of the United States towards friendly tribes of Indians is such as will dictate you the propriety of treating those well whom you may find professing friendship and who acting according to their peaceable habits for some years past have a right to expect good treatment, such should be well treated, unless a departure from their former good conduct should teach the Propriety of treating them otherwise. I am very respectfully Your Obt Servant.

CERTIFICATE OF JAMES W. SITLER.

NASHVILLE, September 5, 1813¹

I certify that on the morning of the fourth of September I was standing on the steps of Talbotts Hotel when Genl Jackson and Col Coffee passed by; they went to the post office; on their return, they passed Mr Jesse Benton on the pavement in front of Talbotts house; Jesse Benton stepped into the Barr-room-door, Genl Jackson in the passage door, as he (Jackson) stepped in to the door he spoke to Col Benton, (who was either in the passage or on the back portico), Now defend yourself, you damned rascal and drew a pistol from under his coat; (Jesse Benton had passed through the bar-room to the door that opens into the passage, from which place he shot at the Genl) immediately after the Genl spoke there, were, three or four pistols fired in quick succession, by the Bentons and Jackson. I ran into the passage and found the Genl laying in the back-door, and Jesse Benton with a pistol in his hand, in the act of *shooting or striking*; when I caught hold of the Genl drew him from under the pistol and placed him on his feet; at this time Mr Hays had laid hold on Benton; Col Coffee did not fire till Genl Jackson had been shot down, he then fired at Col Benton who was standing on the back portico.

THOMAS H. BENTON'S ACCOUNT OF HIS DUEL WITH JACKSON.¹

FRANKLIN, TENN., Sept. 10. 1813.

A difference which had been for some months brewing between General Jackson and myself, produced on Saturday the 4th. inst. in the town of Nashville, the most outrageous affray ever witnessed in a civilized country. In communicating this affair to my friends and fellow citizens, I limit myself to the statement of a few leading facts, the truth of which I am ready to establish by judicial proofs.

1. That myself and my brother Jesse Benton arriving in Nashville on the morning of the affray, and knowing of General Jackson's threats, went and took our lodging in a different house from the one in which he staid, on purpose to avoid him.

¹ This statement is endorsed, "James Sitler, certificate, Sept. 5, 1820. Affair with Benton".

² The printed original of this text is in the files of papers in the Tenn. Hist. Soc. Coll., Doc. B1, no. 107, B.

2. That the General and some of his friends came to the house where we were/had put up,/and commenced the attack by levelling a pistol at me, *when I had no weapon drawn*, and advancing upon me at a quick pace, *without giving me time to draw one*.

3. That seeing this my brother fired upon Gen. Jackson when he had got within eight or ten feet of me.

4. That four other pistols were fired in quick succession; one by Gen. Jackson at me: two by me at the General: and one by Co. Coffee at me,— In the course of this firing General Jackson was brought to the ground; but I received no hurt.

5. That daggers were then drawn. Col. Coffee and Mr Alexander Donaldson made at me, and gave me five slight wounds. Capt. Hammond and Mr Stokley Hays engaged my brother, who being still weak from the effect of a severe wound he had lately received in a duel, was not able to resist two men. They got him down: and while Capt. Hammond beat him on the head to make him lay still, Mr Hays attempted to stab him, and wounded him in both arms, as he lay on his back parrying the thrusts with his naked hands. From this situation a generous hearted citizen of Nashville, Mr Sumner, relieved him. Before he came to the ground my brother clapped a pistol to the body of Mr Hays to blow through him, but it missed fire.

6. My own and my brothers pistols carried two balls each; for it was our intention, if driven to our arms, to have no childssplay. The pistols fired at me were so near that the blaze of the muzzle of one of them burnt the sleeve of my coat, and the other aimed at my head, at little more than arms length from it.

7. Captain Carrol was to have taken part in the affray, but was absent by the permission of General Jackson, as he has since proved by the Generals certicate; a cetificate which reflects I know not whether less honor upon the General or upon the Captain.

8. That this attack was made upon me in the house where the judge of the district, Mr Searcy, had his lodging So little are the laws and its ministers respected! Nor has the civil authority yet taken cognizance of this horrible outrage.

These facts are sufficient to fix the public opinion. For my part I think it scandalous that such things should take place at any time, but particularly so at the present moment when the public service requires the aid of all its citizens. As for the name of *courage*, God forbid that I should ever attempt to gain it by becoming a bully. Those who know me, know full well that I would give a thousand times more for the reputation of *Croghan* in defending his fort, than I would for the reputations of all the duellists and gladiators that ever appeared upon the face of the earth.

THOMAS HART BENTON.

Lieutenant Colonel 39th. Infantry.

JAMES ROBERTSON TO JACKSON.¹

CHICKASAW AGENCY September 16, 1813

gentl Jackson from my hart I am sorry for your misfortune as to your person, and as to the loos the publick will sustain for the want of your service in my opinion is uncalculable—what a pitey it is that men who clame some sheare among the brave and honorable that thay should forgit thare creator. Colo Benton had past through Nashville two or three days before I left it and I understood had spoaking very rashley respecting you. my son the Dr. others told me that he had heard you say or was told you should have said that you would not take aney notice of what he might say or write exsept personally presant—this was very pleasing to me. my son expressed the same and said you had gained much creedit in takeing such a Resulation. I had heard Jessee Benton while lying wounded, make maney unjest and imprudent expressions, but I had not the most distant idia that the Colo would have gon on as I unders[t]ood he did, if thare conduct is such as is Represented, shorley thay can not have maney frends. and from the manner I under[stood] Jessee attempted to assasinate you, he sartainly has forfited all clame to that of a gentelman. and ought not to be consided as such. I under stand it is your left arm that is broak—if you should git able to write without dificalty which I hope you will ples to let me heare from you. I am so wonderfully uneasy to heare the plan of the camppain against the creeks, and who commands I can not harbor the smallest hopes that you will [be ab]le. shorley by this time the trupes are in move[men]t the government will not suffer those barbarans, to masacrce at thare wanton pleasure much longer. we consider our selves in a critacal situation heare. and as the Chickasaws have not had no anser to thare offer of service thay now appear much more indepent respecting the ware. and them as well as the chocktaws have doubts wheather the u s will not put up with the conduct of the creeks and give peice if asked for. I conclude with my best wishes for your speedey recovery, while I am your most Humbel Servant

GENERAL ORDERS.¹

NASHVILLE, September 19, 1813.

General Orders

The late attack of the Creek Indians on the almost defenceless frontier of Mobile settlements the taking of Fort Mimms, and the indiscriminate murder of all the inhabitants, amounting to upwards of three hundred, not even sparing the women and helpless children found therein call a loud for retaliatory vengeance. Those distressed citizens of that frontier who have yet escaped the Tomahawk implored the brave Tennesseans for aid. They must not ask in vain. We must nobly and promptly yield it. They are our brethren in distress and we must not await the slow and

¹ General Robertson, now agent to the Chickasaw Indians, was one of two men who led the first settlers to the Cumberland region. He was highly respected in West Tennessee; and this letter shows that he held Jackson in great esteem.

² Jackson MSS., Letter-Book C, p. 9.

tardy orders of the General Government. Every noble feeling heart beats sympathy for their sufferings and danger, and every high minded generous soldier will fly to their protection, untill a regular campaign can be marched against those inhuman blood thirsty barbarians.

To afford the most speedy relief the regiment of Cavalry of the Tennessee volunteers who are already armed and equipped will instantly march with such volunteer rifle companies as can be ready to march with them to increase their number to 900. or 1000 men. The residue of the detachment of Tennessee Volunteers will hold themselves ready to follow with those troops ordered by the Governor into the field.

It is therefore ordered that the Colo. of the regiment of Cavalry of the Tennessee Volunteers tendered and excepted under the acts of February 6th. and July 6th 1812 with his regiment rendezvous on the 24th instant at Camp Good Exchange near Nashville there to receive the arrears of pay due them fully equipped and in readiness to march by the most direct route to Fort St. Stephens.²

WILLIE BLOUNT TO JACKSON.¹

NASHVILLE, September 24, 1813

Sir, In addition to the two thousand men required by my order of this date to you to be raised in the 2d. Division for the purpose of repelling a threatened invasion of the state by the Creek Indians you will order Col. Coffee with 500 of the cavalry corps under his command now raised and at rendezvous, into service for the purpose of aiding the people of the Mississippi Territory in repelling attacks made on them by the Creek Indians, which number of 500 completes the quota of men to be raised in the 2d. Division under the provisions of the Act of Assembly of this state passed this day, authorising the Executive to call out etc 3500 to aid the Inhabitants of the M. T. to defend the frontiers of this state against the threatened invasion by the Creek Indians, and to act against the Creeks in their Nation. This number, 500 will be supplied under your order by the A. D. Q master and the contractor. You will also direct the A. D. Q master and contractor to furnish the necessary supplies to those mounted men and cavalry who have voluntarily

² The Creek Indians showed signs of hostility even before war was declared against Great Britain on June 12, 1812. A band of their younger warriors was with the force that attacked and defeated the whites at Frenchtown, Jan. 22, 1812. On their return they killed two families of whites on the banks of the Ohio. The older men in the Nation were for peace but they could not restrain the young men, who had listened favorably to the appeals of Tecumseh. In anticipation of trouble the authorities in Washington made plans to send into the Indian country 1500 militia from Tennessee and as many more from Georgia, which, it was believed, could defeat the Creeks, with the aid of the Third Infantry regiment of the regular army operating up the Mobile and Alabama rivers. (See *ante*, Governor Blount to Jackson, Aug 14, 1813.) Before this plan was matured the hostile Creeks took things into their own hands. Aug. 30 they attacked Fort Mims, near the lower Alabama River, and killed 250 of the occupants. The war flame was lit and the pacific element in the Nation had no further control.

¹ Jackson MSS., Letter-Book C, p. 11. Tennessee was raising 5000 men for the campaign. 1500 were levied in obedience to the call already received from the Secretary of War. The legislature had called out an additional 3500, making 5000 in all. Of this number one-half were to come from West, and one-half from East, Tennessee.

joined Col. Coffee (number not known) to aid the people of the M. T. in the defence of their frontier. And you will also when at rendezvous at Fayetteville, or at such other place as you may deem proper proceed to organise any unorganised corps that may appear at rendezvous under your order of the 24th. to rendezvous them as a part of the 2000 men required by the act of this state of this date for me to organise. I must expect you to do this as it is not in my power to do it in person being obliged to attend the Legislature now in session.

Respectfully

TO JOHN COFFEE.¹

HEADQUARTERS, NASHVILLE, September 25, 1813

Order

The Colonel Commandant of the volunteer Cavalry will forthwith detach by companies or Batalions as soon as paid under command of a Lieutena[n]t Colonel and Major Lodderdale, who are to reach Huntsville by forced marches. Let it be rumered so that it may reach the Creeks that this force is to march for the protection of Mobile,² and that it is the whole force organized. Your Order of March will be delivered to yourself tomorrow under a belief you will be able to march on monday with the whole detachment

WILLIE BLOUNT TO JACKSON.¹

NASHVILLE, September 25, 1813.

Sir, Having recd. advices that the Governor of Tennessee had been required by the secy. War prior to the 26th. of Augt. to detach, organize and march fifteen hundred Militia of this State to cooperate with the Georgia Militia and the regular Troops in subduing the hostile part of the Creek Nation thereby to support the friendly Creeks, and to put down any hostilities which may appear among the Southern Indians, I do, in anticipation of the receipt of said order hereby require you to detach and organize in and from the 1st. Division of Militia of this State fifteen hundred men as the Militia laws of this State directs for the above men-

¹ Copy.

² Carrying out this ruse Jackson, on the following day, sent Coffee the following order: "Colonel Coffee will proceed forthwith with his Regiment of volunteer Cavalry and mounted Riflemen, that have attached themselves thereto, to Fort St. Stephens on the mobile river by the way of Huntsville Madison County Mississippi Territory, at Huntsville you will make a halt, and form an incampment at such point, or place as will be best calculated for the protection of the frontier, and there remain until it can be ascertained whither the Indians are in force in that neighbourhood, and until the volunteer infantry and militia ordered into service can reach the borders of that frontier, From Huntsville you will proceed by the nearest and best rout to fort St. Stephens and when you reach that point, you will report yourself to the commanding General of that District, or on that Frontier; you will be carefull and vigilant to prevent ambuscade or surprise on your march, Strong guards by night and carefull Spies and patrols by day can alone prevent this: If danger presents itself let me suggest the propriety of marching in three colemns, the right and left at least sixty yards distance from the center, Whilst at Huntsville you will communicate with me by express before you proceed on your march agreeable to this order."

¹ Copy.

tioned service; cause them to rendezvous without delay in the vicinity of Knoxville, and march them via Turkey Town to the Creek Nation to cooperate with the forces above mentioned; to be composed of such proportions of Infantry, Cavalry and mounted men as you judge proper. You will call on the U. S. contractor for Provisions. You will appoint an A. D. Q. Master and call on him for ammunition and other necessary supplies in his Department. You will appoint a Muster Master or Inspector and call on him to muster the Troops into service, and direct him to transmit duplicate rolls to the War Department; keeping a copy himself.

You will also call out organize, rendezvous and march without delay one thousand Militia and volunteers from the 1st. Division, one third of whom may be cavalry and mounted Infantry, to act with the above mentioned fifteen hundred against the hostile Creeks and their Allies in their Nation; to repel an approaching invasion to be made by said Creeks, and to afford aid and relief to the suffering citizens of the Mississippi Territory, as authorized by a law of the General Assembly of this State. You will call on the above mentioned Contractor, and A. D. Q. Master for necessary supplies in their respective Departments. . . .

TO DAVID HOLMES.

NASHVILLE, September 26, 1813

D'r Sir: The enclosed proceedings will shew you our feelings here on the late attack on your frontier and the prompt Interest we have taken for the aid and defence thereof.

The distressing scenes on your frontier with information of an intended and meditated attack upon our own, has roused the patriotism of our Legislature who met on the 20th. and has passed a law authorising the governor to order into the field for the defence of your Territory, the Defence of this State and to carry a campaign into the heart of the Creek nation 3500, exclusive of the number authorised by the Genl Government, which will make the force from this State 5000, and has appropriated 3,00000, to meet the expence thereof

I am under marching orders, and I shall be in the field on the 4th. proximo. the late fracture in my left arm will render me for a while less active than formerly. Still I march, and before we return if the General Government will only hands off, we will give peace in Israel. from three expresses which reached us yesterday and day before stating the imminent Danger of the frontier of Madison County M. T. and the near approach of the Creeks thereto, I have ordered Colo Coffee to Take Huntsville in his rout. three hundred of his regiment with a number of mounted men, by force marches, are ordered to Huntsville. they will reach there tomorrow night. the frontier are much alarmed and breaking up to prevent which the above order is given.

The express of yesterday says they are drawing their force from the mobile, and concentrating them on the hickory ground (2000 assembled) to give us a stroke, if this should be true we will give peace to your

frontier on the Hickory plains, supplies is the only thing that can retard my movement. I hope the contractors will exert themselves. There is no quartermaster supplies on hand. every thing to be procured when danger is at our doors this is much to be regretted. What force is on your frontier, and what its peril—this information by return mail would be desirable. I have the honor to be with much respect yr mo ob serv,

TO JOHN COFFEE.

Confidential

NASHVILLE, September 26, 1813

Sir: Inclosed you will receive marching orders you will understand that these are to be Shewn to your officers, but you are not to proceed from Huntsville untill you receive further orders from me. When you reach Huntsville you will endeavour, by some confidential individual to find out where the body of the creeks are collected, and as soon as recd. communicate the same to me. Colo. Perkins will aid you in obtaining this information. Should I receive any information by next mail from Mobile I will communicate it by express. On the 6th. of next month I shall be at Fayettevills, where I shall expect to hear from you. I am verry respectfully yrs. affectionately

TO JOHN COFFEE.

NASHVILLE September 27 [?], 1813

Sir: Since the Issuing of your order of march and the confidential order, the letter from the Chocktaw linguister of which the inclosed is a copy has been recd., from which you will, discover that the whole Creeks are in motion. I have not confidence in this statement, nor do I believe the Creeks will abandon their country without a struggle, but still good policy, will dictate the propriety of giving it credence so far as to take a position, that if the information should turn out correct, that they may be interrupted on their march. you will therefore when you reach Huntsville, should you find the frontier of that part of the Territory sufficiently guarded make a movement, and take a position on the south bank of the Tennessee in the neighbourhood of the Colberts or bear creek,¹ the point left discretionary with you, and push your patrols in every

¹ George, Levi, and William Colbert were prominent Chickasaw chieftains and lived in northwestern Alabama, in what is now Colbert County. George Colbert had the ferry where the Natchez-Nashville road crossed the Tennessee River, near the lower end of Muscle Shoals. It was very profitable to him and he grew rich in lands, cattle, and money in bank. His ferry charges, says Warden (*Account of the United States*, III. 15), were \$.50 for a man on foot and \$1.00 for a man mounted. He was said to have received a large sum in 1813 for ferriage of Jackson's expedition returning from Natchez. He also kept a tavern and Butterick, who stopped there in 1817 (see Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, VIII. 73), said that Colbert, whom he miscalled "Tallbot," was much concerned lest his one daughter, who had many white suitors, should fall prey to a fortune-hunter. The three Colberts proved friends to the whites when the Creeks attacked the settlements in 1794. See *Am. State Papers, Indian Affairs*, I. 456, 539, 652 and 697.

direction, and employ the Chikesaws with som[e] confidential man of your detachment to obtain the true situation of the creeks, and their movements. This Position will give confidence to the chikesaws and choctaws and they will more freely give you any information they possess. let me remark that having confidence in your prudence and Judgment, you are left to deviate from this order, if in your Judgt the good of the service requires it. I send on James Russle, you will get some confidential person to go on with him into the creeek nation, to penetrate the same untill they can obtain certain information of the movements of the creeks and the positions they occupy. I shall send on Capt Strothart² through the cherokee nation with instructions to proceed untill he can get information whether the creeks are about to abandon their Towns, or not. I will send on Colo. John McKee to the chocktaw Towns, there to procure such information by runners from that Town as he can and communicate the same to you by express, which must be forwarded with dispatch to me. you will keep me well advised of the movements you make, and the information you receive of the situation and movement of the creeks. I shall reach Fayetteville on the evening of the 6th. or morning of the 7th. proximo and where you will adress me.

Yrs. respectfully

TO JOHN COFFEE.

NASHVILLE, September 28, 1813

D'r Sir: This will be handed you by Mr James Russle, who I have engaged as a spie. I have had some conversation with Major Gibson on this subject, I have full confidence if he could be spared, he would bring correct information but if others equally fit and confidential can be had, I know the major from the number of troops attached to your regt. can be illy spared. you will push on the spies. information is necessary and must be had. I leave you to make out Russles instructions. When you reach Huntsville consult with Colo. Perkins on the best rout and channel through which correct information can be had. have the mounted gunmen attached to your regt. mustered and organized into companies and Batalion, and this Batalion commanded by your own field officers. I have thought much on this subject, and I am certain there will be more harmony this way than any other. But if you think otherwise I leave you a discretionary power in this particular, Just reminding you if you should get into the field officers a captious disagreeable man, it would render your command disagreeable when harmony ought to exist. Since writing the above I have been favoured with the perusal of a letter from Fort St. Stephens from Mr Gains. I enclose you an extract, you will therefore march to Fort St. Stephens, as soon as you can consistant with the safety of the frontier of Madison County. your arival at Fort St Stephens will give confidence to that frontier, and you can form a Junction with me at some point hereafter to be named. from the manner and causes you

² Probably Capt. John Strother.

have been ordered into the field, upon mature reflection I think it proper that you proceed with as little delay as possible to fort St. Stephen. It will delay my operations, but it will insure payment to the troops under your command and secure the lasting thanks of the government. you can reach that point in fifteen days. Colo. McKee¹ will be with you, and may want a Lt. command[er] to remain at Pitchlynn. If this can be spared it will be well for the protection of the publick property there. I have a hope there will be a sufficient guard for the frontier and that you can move on without delay. you will in the mean time push on Russle with a confidential person with instructions to report to me. you will by express keep me constantly advised of your movements, and the information you possess with respect to the movements of the creeks. Affectionately yours

P S. preserve this, as there is not tim[e] to copy it.

RETURN J. MEIGS TO JACKSON.¹

HIGWASSEE GARRISON, September 30, 1813.

sir . . . I am requested by Genl Cocke to inform you that in case your column shall need bread stuff that on intimation thereof, you can be furnished with a quantity from this post on your requisition. The flour is here and an excellent covered boat that can descend the river to any point which you may think proper to designate.

I hope Sir that your health will be such as to enable you to serve your Country in the Military movements and that every thing will be so happily conserted as that our enemies may be made to feel their efficient effect.

JOHN COCKE TO JACKSON.¹

KINGSTON, October 2, 1813

Sir, Your favor of the 28th. ult was this moment recd. by Majr. Outlaw. Agreeable to your requests I have ordered to Ditto's landing all the bread stuff that can be Spared at this time. I presume you will receive about 150 Barrels of flour. I will order more as soon as it can be procured. Genl. White will be at Highwassee garrison, and attend to all orders you may think proper to give. I shall be engaged a few days

¹ Col. John McKee was United States agent with the Choctaw. His agency house was situated on the Pearl River, 170 miles above its mouth. (See Major Howell Tatum's Journal, *Smith College Studies in History*, VII, 93.) It was on the Natchez-Nashville road. John Pitchlynn was a leading chieftain and supported the whites.

¹ Jackson MSS. Letter-Book D, p. 11. Meigs was Cherokee agent with headquarters at Hiwassee, in Tennessee. General John Cocke commanded the East Tennessee detachment moving on the Creeks through the lands of the Cherokee.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 12. Major-General Cocke commanded the militia from East Tennessee. Governor Blount's orders spoke of the two detachments proceeding in cooperation. But it is evident that where Jackson was concerned such a course was impossible. He was a commander by nature. Cocke seems to have realized that he would assume a subordinate relation if he joined with Jackson. He decided to remain separate and carry out plans of his own. The result was a quarrel with Jackson and poor success on the part of the 2500 East Tennessee troops.

organizing the Detachment required by Govr. Blount from my Division. The light Dragoons and mounted Infantry under my Command will march when you command them with all possible dispatch. I suppose I will be ready to march in ten or twelve days. I believe 1000 Barrels flour can be had immediately. I will send it on to Ditto's landing without delay.

I am etc

JOHN COFFEE TO JACKSON.

HUNTSVILLE October 4, 1813

Genl Jackson, I am Jerking Beef and the contractors are doing all they can to procure bread, which is very difficult to do, flour is not to be had and old corn so scarce that I believe my Regt. will take all they can procure. I have advised the contractors to go immediately to kill drying new corn, for your troops, perhaps it would be well for you to advise them on that subject, and stimulate them to be in a state of forwarding for I find the movements of an army intirely depends on the exertion of the contractors—they will do all they can no doubt. Messrs. Reeds and Mitchell have got the contract for your supplies.

I cannot give yet the strength of my Regt. as Col Hays has not completed the musters, but he has advanced so far as to give a tolerably correct idea. I suppose it will be 1200, including officers¹ the Col will finish his muster rolls today, and will then start on to Fayetteville, to meet the troops at that place. by him, I will give the precise strength of my Regt. I have been able to procure about 80 muskets here, which will complete the arms wanting for my Regt.

DAVID HOLMES TO JACKSON.

WASHINGTON, M. T., October 5, 1813.

Dear Sir, The present force in service on the eastern frontier may be estimated at about fourteen hundred men. It consists of the volunteers under Genl. Claiborne, about six hundred—the 3rd. U S Regiment commanded by Lt. Colo. Russell, the same number, and a battalion of well appointed Dragoons, consisting of four complete troops, which I had assembled after the news of the massacre at fort Mims reached this place. A part of the volunteers the whole of the 3rd. Regiment and the Dragoons are at Fort Stoddert. The two last mentioned corps marched from here on the 18th. ulto. At Fort St Stephens there are about two hundred men.

The settlers in the fork between the Tombigbee and Alabama, and most of the inhabitants east of Pearl river have abandoned their farms and fled to the different forts for protection. I am in hopes that the reinforcements of the 3rd. U S. Regt., and the Mississippi Dragoons will be enabled to drive the Indians from the settlements, and to protect the Country from further aggressions. When joined by your troops I shall

¹ Later in the day Coffee sent a second note saying the total number mustered in was 1277 and that men were "flocking in every hour".

rest satisfied as to the issue.¹ I will immediately write to Genl. Flournoy, and request him to instruct the contractors and Quartermasters to be prepared to afford every facility within their power. . . .

ENROLLMENT OF A COMPANY.

October 6, 1813.¹

We the undersigned do enrole ourselves in Captain Patterson Company for the present Tour of Duty under the same Rules and Regulations of other Companys now under the Command of Col. Coffee provided said Tower should not Continue longer than three months given under our hands this 6th. Day of Oct. 1813.

[Indorsements.]

Joined the Capt Patterson Colo Coffees Regt.

1813 Mustered into Service the 5th Octor 1813 by James Terrill M. P. Andrew Patterson M Roll Militia and mounted Men Total 41

The within Compy. was mustered in the Service of the U. States from the 4th. Debr. 1813 for three Month[s] if not sooner Dischd., or as the Law may direct Robert Hays Asst. Inspector Majr. Genl. Jacksons Division.

JAMES WHITE TO JACKSON.¹

HIWASSEE GARRISON, October 6, 1813.

Sir, I arrived here two days since with a detachment of my Brigade near eight hundred and fifty strong more than four Hundred and fifty Infantry the Ballance Mounted Infantry say near three hundred and near one hundred Cavalry all well Armed not a want of more than twenty Guns there is besides this force two hundred men from Genl Coulters Brigade close by us and a number more coming on. I have formed my detachment into two Battallions the foot in one the Mounted Infantry in another. I am directed by Genl Cock to correspond with you. I am informed by old Mr. Rily the bearer that his son has a Quantity of gun Powder at Huntsville would it not be well to secure it as the Indians are in want who is to assist us in the expedition "there is a Boat load of flour Purchased by Genl Cock which can be sent to Ditto's landing when it may be wanting all the supplies that can be obtained here will be provided ready to decend the River at the shortest notice" procure all the lead you can as it is not plenty here. Collo Meigs shews every disposition to give aid to the friendly Indians and encourages the expedition. I shall

¹ Governor Holmes refers to troops raised in Mississippi Territory who, with the 3rd Regiment of regulars, were sent to operate against the Creeks on the lower Alabama River. Their base of operations was Fort St. Stephens, on the Tombigbee, 120 miles north of Mobile, at the head of schooner navigation.

¹ This paper seems to show that at least some of the men made terms on enlisting. It is signed by 41 names and is in Jackson MSS., Milit. Papers, II., fol. 135.

¹ The original is in the McClung Hist. Coll., Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville, Tenn. The editor is indebted for the copy to Mr. A. S. Salley, jr., the efficient secretary of the Historical Commission of South Carolina, of Columbia, S. C. James White was brigadier-general of East Tennessee militia.

take every opportunity to write and advise you of my strength and situation.

TO JOHN COFFEE.¹

CAMP BLOUNT ² October 7 1813

9 Oclk at night

Sir: I arrived at this place, this evening, about 4 Oclk, in good health and beter spirits. It is surely high gratification to learn that the Creeks are so attentive to my situation, as to save me the pain of traveling: I must not be outdone in politeness, and will therefore endeavour to meet them on the middle ground. I lament that on my arrival here, I did not find either so many men as I had expected, or them so well equipped. This evil however I shall endeavour to remedy as speedily as practicable; and in a few days I hope to realise my wishes.

I cannot believe that the Creeks have, at this time, any serious intention of an attack upon our frontiers; and yet I would not have you entirely disregard the information you have received. But whether they have such an intention or not, it seems to me that a rapid movement, into their own country, will be the most effectual means of discomfiting their measures. So soon as I can organise a force sufficient for the undertaking, and procure the necessary supplies, I shall certainly commence it. Your co-operation will then be indispensably necessary; and for that reason I wish you to occupy some eligible position in the quarter where you now are, until you receive further orders from me. In the meantime I wish you to receive, and to treat with great kindness, all such spies from the Creek nation as may offer you any communication. Let them not be discharged until my arrival. We must have the truth; and whilst *that* shall be duly rewarded, false information must be severely punished. I shall move from this place to Ditto's landing; but *when*, I really have it not in my power to inform you. I agree with you however entirely that the sooner I can be there the better.

By advices this moment received from Capt Strother (dated Lowry's 5th. Oct) it appears that the enemy are in force at three points, the lowest of which is at the Hickory ground,³ where they have erected a fort; and that *that* portion of them destined against us amount to about 3000. The whole force at Hickory ground is stated to be 4000, which is their principal reliance. Having become tired of waiting our approach, it is said they have commenced moving up their country with an intention of attacking the Freindly towns, at Coweta.

In order to make a distinction between our freinds and our enemies it is arranged by Capt Strother with the Cherokees, that our freinds shall wear white plumes in their hair, or Deer's tails. Altho the letter from

¹ Copy.

² Near Fayetteville, Tenn., eighty miles from Nashville. Thirty-five miles further south is Huntsville, Alabama, and fifteen miles south of that was Ditto's Landing on the Tennessee River. At the time Huntsville was the outpost of settlements.

³ Near the junction of the Coosa and Tallapoosa Rivers. Tradition said that the Creeks held the place sacred to their race and believed that no white man could tread the ground and live.

Strother would seem to confirm the reports which you have received, yet it has not altered my opinion as to the course to be pursued. Be good enough to send to me here, all such men as may apply to you to be received. I should prefer them as Infantry; but in some capacity or other I must have them. At any event let them come and see me. You will appoint Majr. Shaw adjutant of the mounted Riflemen.

TO JOHN COFFEE.¹

HEADQUARTERS CAMP BLOUNT October 9, 1813

Sir: This will be handed you by James Russle who I have authorised to get two confidential men such as he can get and may choose and proceed across Tennessee to the Black Water and Blackwarior town and procure information of their strength, their Movements, and Where they have collected their stock and Negroes from which we can form a correct opinion of their design and whether they contemplate a Movement of their families, and if they do, to what point. I shall Move forward with part of my troops so soon as I can Make the proper arrangements. In the Mean time push the confidential spies on, to some point that they can from their own view, or information, obtain correct information and keep Me advised of every information you receive. Can or cannot, a confidential half breed cherokee be hired to go on and obtain the real situation of the creeks? If this can be done let a liberal premium be offered to be paid on the return of the ex-spie or spies and the information being proved to be correct, a less premium for the attempt. I shall be with you in a few days, and if it can be substantially ascertained that the information last recd. is correct we will be with them by forced Marches ere long; And in twelve hours I will be with you should you advise me that the Indians are advancing, or are embodied in large force at any Point, with all the disposable force here. Press the contractor to be prepared with 25 days provissions on the event of a Sudden Movement and to have all the provissions in his power. In haste I am respectfully yrs etc.

Confidential.

JOHN STROTHER TO JACKSON.¹

[n. p.,] October 9, 1813.

.....
An old citizen of the Cherokee nation by the name of Gunter,² gave me the following information—viz. From Turkey-Town to the Newfawl Town 60 miles from thence to the Natchez Town 12 miles from thence to Wahecamer [?] 25 miles from thence [to] the Wiwakee Town 23

¹ Tenn. Hist. Soc., Coffee MSS.

² Jackson MSS., Letter-Book D, p. 31.

² This Gunter was an Indian trader, whose family name survives in Guntersville, at the southernmost point on the Tennessee. Edward Gunter, in Alabama Territory, was allowed 640 acres of land in the treaty made with the Cherokee in 1819. The Indian towns mentioned lay between the Coosa and Tallapoosa. Turkey Town was on the Coosa, ten miles northeast of the site of Gadsden. Newfawl Town was near the Tallapoosa. Natchez Town seems to have been on Natchee Creek. Wiwakoe Town was probably Wiwohka. Wahecamer has not been identified.

miles from thence to the Hickory ground 25 from thence to the old French Fort ³ 3 miles making in the whole 148 miles, from the Turkey Town. The French Fort was formerly built of bricks, and my informant states that he understands, the Creeks have repaired it. That it stands on a high commanding eminence on the bank of the Coosa river and about one quarter of a mile from the Alabama or Tallapoosa river—from this point to Pensacola is 280 miles. The above rout from Turkey Town to the Hickory ground passes over an open broken Country. No large swamps to cross; but many reedy branches.

From the Hickory ground to the junction of Allabama and Tom Bigbee is about 260 miles. My informant states that he lived four years at and in the neighborhood of the Hickory ground. Dick Brown's about 25 miles from Ditto's landing with a party of 20 or 25 men, is willing to be employed as pilots and spies, from Dittos landing to the Turkey Town or to the Ten Islands (twenty miles below) as he may be directed. I am induced to believe that much dependance can be placed on this man and his party. It is to be observed that each chief calculates on commanding his own party under the direction of the Commander in chief of our Army only and such confidential men as he may from time to time to be with them. With respect to the rout immediately from Ditto's landing I will do myself the honor of communicating my information thereon verbally.

I am etc

GENERAL ORDERS.¹

CAMP BLOUNT, October 10 1813

The Division under my command is organized as follows, The Tennessee volunteers under the acts of Congress of the 6th of February and 6th of July 1812 consisting of the first and second Regements of Infantry and the volunteer Regiment of cavelry, being heretefore organized into a Brigade with the mounted Riflemen attached to colo Coffees Regiment of Cavelry shall compose the first Brigade and be commanded by Brigadier General William Hall. The detached Militia consisting of two Regements, the first commanded by Colo John B. Wynn, the Second commanded by Colonel Thomas McCrory shall compose the Second Brigade and be commanded by General Isaac Roberts.

On the morning of the 11th. instant at nine oClock A M. the tents will be struck and the line of march formed. The order of march will be pointed out by the Adjutant General and quarter Master General At ten oClock the line will march.

The Commandants of Regements will leave such confidential officers as they can confide in, to bring up the men coming on in the rear, with the least possible delay.

By order of the Majr Genl.

JNO REID and
ROBT SEARCY
aid D Camp.

³ Fort Toulouse, 1714.

¹ Copy.

TO PETER EARLY.¹HEADQUARTERS CAMP BLOUNT 30 MILES NORTH OF HUNTSVILLE,
October 10, 1813.

Sir: I have the Honor herewith to forward you a letter from his Excellency Governor Blount, which will advise you that myself with major Genl Cocke, are ordered to take the field, with each a Detachment of 2500 men, to act against the hostile creeks. My advance is now on the frontier of Madison County, on the north Bank of the Tennessee river, my spies are pushed on into the creek country, and on tomorrow I shall move on with such Troops as are now collected here to form a Junction with my advan[c]e leaving a confidential officer, to bring up the Troops now in the rear. My force now organized and in the field is Two thousand, unless detained for the want of supplies. I shall Cross the Tennessee on the 15th. instant, and immediately push on my Troops to the Turkey Town on Coosey river at which point I expect to form a Junction with the advance of Genl Co[c]kes Division. This is my present intended rout, which will be persued unless, my [s]pies should realize the rumors that has reached me, that they hostile creeks are about to move their families across the Mississippi river on this proving to be true I shall endeavour to interupt and cut them of. This rumor I do not believe to be true other information on which I more rely is that they Hostile creeks are assembled near the Junction of the coose and Tallaposa, and intend to meet me in the open plains called the hickory ground. Should my spies find them in this quarter I shall soon give them a meeting. In the mean time I should be happy to be advised of your position, your strength and intended movements, and at what point in the creek nation we can form a Junction. The creeks must be destroyed and in order to effect this secure a permanant peace on our southern frontier, and to give perfect security to the M. Territory, Pensacola must be taken possession of. . . .

TO JOHN COCKE.¹

CAMP BLOUNT, NEAR FAYETTEVILLE, October 10, 1813.

Sir. your letter of the 2nd. instant in answer to mine of the 28th. ultimo is just at hand. I am happy to find that your advance is at high Wasee,² and thence that you will be in readiness to move with your whole force in 10 or 12 days from the date of your letter. I shall move my troops from this place on tomorrow leaving a confidential officer to bring up the rear, my force in the feild with Colo Coffees Regmt. in advance is upwards of 2000. Colo Coffee being on his march to fort St Stephens, from information receivd. by his spies and friendly creeks causd him to halt until he heard from me, he by express gave me the information he had recevd. and I have ordered him to take a position to cover madison County until I come up, from these different sources it is communicated that the hostile creeks have concentrated their forces near

¹ Governor of Georgia.¹ Jackson MSS., Letter-Book D, p. 2.² The Hiwassee River joins the Tennessee forty miles northeast of Chattanooga. In 1813 its banks were Indian country. The Cherokee agency was located here.

the Junction of the Coosa and Tallapoosey rivers, and intends to invade our country if we do not invade theirs, and that they have made a movement with the intent to attack Huntsville and Fort Hampton.³ It is therefore necessary that we make a prompt movement. I have to request that you will push on your present disposable force and form a Junction with me at Turkey Town, and forward on to dittos landing all the bread Stuffs that Can be obtained and spared from the Supply troops you will by the return of this express advise me of your strength and what day you can meet me at Turkey town with your advance and their strength and by what rout you will forward your supplies to that place. If you have recd any information from the creek country on which you can rely of their strength and position and intended movements, please to communicate it.

I have the honor to be

TO WILLIE BLOUNT.

[CAMP COFFEE,¹ October 13, 1813]

In consequence of the express received from Col Coffee on the morning of the eleventh, I left Camp Blount about ten Oclk A. M. of that day; and learning on the march, (not officially, [but] from men in whom it was believed that confidence might be placed,) that Major Gibson whom Col Coffee had sent out as a spy had been killed by the hostile Creeks, and that the Col and his regiment were in immediate and imminent danger we moved on to his relief with such rapidity as to reach Huntsville, a distance of 30 miles, at 20 minutes after seven P. M. Learning there that the intelligence which had hastened us, was false, we came on the next day more leisurely, and arrived at this encampment last night.

We have suffered considerable uneasiness in consequence of the tardiness of the contractors in furnishing the necessary supplies; but things appear now to be going on better; and we are assured by them, that we need henceforth entertain no apprehensions upon the subject of supplies. If they fulfil those assurances I shall leave this place between this and sunday. But three hundred of our men still remain without arms; and surely it cannot require a long time for West Tennessee to supply the deficiency. Agreeably to the tenour of your instructions to me, I have sent on expresses to the commanders of the forces from E Tennessee and of those from Georgia, carrying your letters, and requesting their speedy co-operation. I shall at all times advise you of my advances, and my intended movements when opportunities may offer.

WILLIE BLOUNT TO JACKSON.

NASHVILLE, October 18, 1813.

Dear Genl., By last mail I recd. a letter from Judge Toulmin inclosing the deposition of a Mr. McCombs who had been at Pensacola from

³ Fort Hampton was on the northern side of the Tennessee, at Muscle Shoals, where the Elk River joins the Tennessee.

¹ At this time Coffee was encamped on a bluff on the south side of the Tennessee River, opposite Ditto's Landing. Jackson later named the place Camp Coffee.

Apl. last to about the middle of Sept. and he in his deposition accounts for the delay of the Creeks in their attack on our frontiers then after its being determined at Pensacola in June or July last that they should invade our state, and the time set for doing so which was some time last month, the Governor there sent messengers into the Nation advising the Creeks to delay a short time, that he the Governor was not ready neither could he be until the British should send on the presents and supplies from the Bahama Islands—since the messengers started to the Nation a Schooner has arrived at Pensacola with the presents etc. from the Bahamas and now I suppose the Creeks and Spaniards will soon be in motion to execute their plan but I hope you and Genl. Cocke will inforce yours first. I have to regret with you that certain volunteer Companies of armed men were not recd. at Fayetteville. I hope that several have however joined you since your departure from that place as several companies have been by Colo. Bradley, Wynne and myself encouraged to join you. I have written to Geo. S. Gaines, Judge Toulmin and Genl. Flournoy¹ that Col. Coffee with 800 or 1000 mounted men were on their march to their relief, that 5000 men from this State were in motion against the Creeks and that some thousands from Georgia would join you—letters from Highwassee of the 12th. say that there was 1500 or 2000 men there from Et. Tenn. and that 800 Cherokees would be with you, but of these things you are better informed than I am as my information is not direct from any officer there. . . .

JAMES ROULSTON TO JACKSON.

[n. p.,] October 18, 1813

Deer General, With Reluctance and Disgrace I have to Inform you that after I Brought my company of Volunteers to Dittoes Landing I could not Prevail with more than six of them to Cross the river to perform the campaign, I Do not Pretend to Vindicate any thing about the Business. Onley state that this is the last command that I shall Ever Pretend to take. The Excuse was they had Enrol[e]d themselves for a tower of three months and they would not Go the campaign.¹

READ, MITCHELL, AND COMPANY TO JACKSON.

DITTO'S LANDING, October 18, 1813.

Sir, It is not possible for us to procure flour or meal in this country sufficient to supply your army on its march through the Creek nation, we have just been informd by a friend of ours who resides in East Tennessee that flour cannot be had in that country, it would be the extreme

¹ Wilkinson was recalled from the 7th Military District in the spring of 1813, and the command fell to Brigadier-Gen. Thomas Flournoy. Later in the year Major-Gen. Thomas Pinckney, commander of the 6th District, the south Atlantic coast, was given additional authority over the 7th, Flournoy serving under his authority. In the spring of 1814 Flournoy resigned and New Orleans was left temporarily without a high officer in command. George S. Gaines and Judge Harry Toulmin lived in southern Alabama. Toulmin at Wakefield, near McIntosh's Bluff, on the Tombigbee River.

¹ This is the earliest recorded appearance of mutiny in Jackson's force.

of folly and unpardonable in us to hold out the idea to you that we could supply you while on the march, when Sir, the means are not within our reach; every exertion has been made by us to comply with your requisition; our deposits at this place will be by to night sufficient to complete it; and in order to facilitate your movements we will issue it on the opposite side of the river although our district does not extend beyond the limits of Madison County or the Bend of Tennessee; the state of our funds, the scarcity of meal or flour, and the price of the ration not being sufficient to indemnify us for such additional expences as will be incurred in issuing on the march all forbid us to undertake it; we assure you Genl. that if it was possible for us to go through with it, that we would not hesitate in making the engagemt.¹

With much respect

TO CHIEF CHENNABEE.¹

CAMP COFFEE, October 19, 1813

I have received by your son and Mr. Quarles, the Communication which you have sent me. Do not grow dispirited; but if you should be attacked by the hostile Creeks, hold out obstinately for a few days, when I will come to your relief. If one hair of your head is hurt, or of any who are friendly to the whites, or of your family, I will sacrifice a hundred lives to pay for it. I have an army with me sufficient to restore your country to peace, and to teach all the bad spirits in your nation a lesson they have long stood in need of. A great many more, will in a short time, form a junction with me and we shall then act together. I shall leave this encampment late today; and will reach your fort in four days at farthest. Be of good heart; and tell your men they have nothing to fear.

Respectfully

JOHN COFFEE TO JACKSON.

"INDIAN LANDS," October 22, 1813, "12 O'clock."

Genl. Jackson, Agreeably to your orders, I proceeded, to cross the River at the upper end of the shoals, all my efforts failed to procure a pilot, I took with me one of Meltons sons, who said he knew not the road, he shewed me a path that had been reputed the Black Warriors path.¹ I proceeded on it, in its whole course about 10 degrees East of

¹ It is difficult to reconcile the latter part of this letter with the first. What the contractors seem to mean is that they cannot supply flour from East Tennessee to be used by Jackson on the march into the Indian country, but they can supply him at Ditto's Landing, from West Tennessee, and as an act of grace, though not required to do it, they will deliver the supplies on the south bank. Ditto's Landing was on the north bank.

¹ Chennabee, or Chinnabee, was a leader of the friendly Creeks on Natchee Creek, which unites with the Coosa near Talladega. His town, on the Coosa, was called "Chinnaby's fort on the Coosa", by Reid (see Eaton's *Jackson*, p. 40). This Indian must not be confused with the "Chinnubbee Mingo, King of the Chickasaws", mentioned in the treaties with the Chickasaws in 1805 and 1816. *Am. State Papers, Indian Affairs*, I. 607, and II. 93.

¹ Reid tells us that this movement by Coffee was on the upper reaches of the Black Warrior River (see Eaton, *Jackson*, p. 41). The reader must remember that Maj. John

South, in the early part of the third days march I met Russell who said I was on the right way. at the distance of 80 miles, I crossed a river about 60 yards wide running to the west, where there is a small deserted Indian Village, which Russel said was the Black Warriors town, being convinced it was not, I proceeded over the River, and at about two miles found a cross path leading nearly west, but not in late use, I turned on that path west, and at 13 miles distance come to a small Indian village. corn in the fields but no person to be found got about 100. bushels corn, burnt the houses, and proceeded eight miles further, come to the main Black Warriors town abandoned by the Inhabitants found some corn in the fields and some old corn in cribs, fresh fish of One or two Indians, and no other signs—got in the whole about 300. bushels corn, burnt their town or council house and about 50 other buildings this town is supposed to be the principal one of the tribe and the lowest down the river, (I am certain its not the nearest to the Shoals) and seeing that the Indians had fled I deemed it not adviseable to go further in search of villages where no other Spoil can be had than such as we have found, and having no pilot or even any one that ever had been in the country with me am uninformed if any more are in this quarter, having been two days out of rations the most of the men living on parched corn, I have determined to meet your army the nearest possible—am now on a path that Russel went out and he says about 30 miles from Dick Browns. have sent on to you the bearer, and must beg that you will order provisions put in a state of readiness for my men when we come up with you—have not heard of you since I left—suppose you will be in advance of Browns, if so we follow on, otherwise will meet you.

Very respectfully your obt. Sert

TO COLONEL POPE, COLONEL PERKINS, MAJOR BRAHAN, AND MESSRS.
BURROWS, ALLEN, AND BIBB, DOCTOR MANNING AND
COLONEL THOMPSON.¹

CAMP, NEAR THOMPSON'S CREEK, October 23, 1813.

Gentlemen, There is an enemy whom I dread, much more than I do the hostile Creek, and whose power, I am fearful, I shall first be made to feel. You know I mean that meagre-monster "Famine". I shall leave this encampment in the morning, direct for the "ten Islands"; and thence with as little delay as possible, to the confluence of the Coosa, and Tallapoosa; and yet I have not, on hand, two day's supply of bread-stuff. My reliance is upon the provision that will be made for me, by Brownlow;² and I must entreat that you will lend to his exertions, all the aid you can possibly furnish. Willingly would I endure the worst of all Earthly evils, rather than see my army starving in the enemy's country.

Reid, Jackson's efficient aide, began a life of his commander. He had finished four chapters when he died in Jan., 1816. The book was completed by Maj. John H. Eaton.

¹ Jackson MSS., Letter-Book D, p. 66. The men addressed were wealthy residents of Madison Co., Mississippi. On the same day Jackson wrote urgent appeals for help to Brig.-Gen. Flournoy, commanding at New Orleans, and Colonel McKee, Choctaw agent with headquarters on the Pearl River.

² Now contractor in the place of Read, Mitchell, and Co. Jackson made many changes of contractors in his desperate efforts to get supplies.

Whatever difficulty there may be in procuring flour in Madison, there can be none, or very little, if the proper industry be used, in procuring corn-meal. The assistance which you will have it in your power to render Brownlow, and which in the case of an emergency I know you *will* render with the utmost cheerfulness, enables me to penetrate the Wilderness without despondency.

I am Gentlemen etc

TO WILLIAM B. LEWIS.

FORT DEPOSIT ¹ NEAR JOHN BROWNS, October 24, 1813

Dr Sir: I have thus far advanced, after cutting over the american alps, and experiencing every inconvenience that could possibly arise from the want of supplies, and the irregularity of the spies. I have here raised a deposit, which will be finished to day, and guarded by one hundred men, it is well situated to receive supplies from Holston, and from Madison county, and I am determined to push forward if I live upon acorns. I should have left this, to day at 6 oclock A. M, had my Fort been so far compleated as the guard left at it would have been in safety. I have got six days rations of Beef, two days of meal for part and one for the balance with which I shall endeavour to reach the 10 Islands before I make another Halt except for the night. Inclosed you will find certificates for Rations due from Reed and Co contractors, you will also note that there are returns forwarded for the supply of the men from their place of rendezvous to Camp Blount, and some to Camp Coffee, these returns are forwarded, as a special agreement has taken place between Thos. Reed contractor, that he will pay twelve cents pr ration. for this due bills, must be taken from the contractors, and the whole returns of this kind to hand before the abstracts are closed, and due bills taken for all arrears of rations before the abstracts are signed. They men and officers from the sudden relinquishment of their undertaking, and the want of provisions from that cause experienced by the army, are determined to have their arearages, and in mass have waited upon me for that purpose. Colo. Coffee has Just returned, after burning the black warior Towns, and eating up their corn, and some of their beef. Yours in haste

TO WILLIE BLOUNT.¹

CAMP DEPOSIT, October 24, 1813.

Sir, Your letter of the 18th. inst. was handed me by Colo Hays on the night of the 22d.

Two runners arrived here yesterday, from the Path-Killer ² (dated on the twenty third) bringing the information, that the hostile Creeks,

¹ Fort Deposit was at the mouth of Thompson's Creek and was the southernmost point of the Tennessee River in Alabama. It was twenty miles from Ditto's Landing and fifty miles from the Coosa at Ten Islands, or Fort Strother. Between it and the latter stream lay the Raccoon and Lookout Mountains. John Brown was a friendly Cherokee and not to be confounded with Dick Brown, another friendly Cherokee. Major Lewis was assistant deputy quartermaster and was in Nashville.

² Jackson MSS., Letter-Book D, p. 68.

² A friendly Cherokee chief. He lived at Turkey Town.

were assembling in considerable numbers (from 9 Towns) within 15 or 20 miles from the Turkey Town. I shall leave this encampment to day, having established a depot for the reception of such provisions as may be sent me; and in a few days it is probable we shall have a fight, if the creeks mean to fight us.

My principal apprehension relates to supplies: the irregularity and scantiness with which they have already been furnished us, has greatly retarded our movements, and I have many fears that we shall continue to experience great difficulties from the same source. To provide against these, I have written to Genls. Cocke and White by express, begging them to use every exertion to procure in E. T. the requisite supplies, and send them down the river to such Depots as I have established on its bank; from whence I have taken means to procure a transportation by land. I have also written to Col Pope Col. Perkins Majr. Brahan and several other wealthy gentlemen of Madison, entreating them to lend all the assistance in their power, to Brownlow in case he should stand in need of any.

Genl. White arrived at Ross's (at the foot of the look out mountain) near a week ago; and will probably form a junction with me in a few days. I do not know the force he has with him; but I presume not more than a thousand. Colo. Coffee has not yet returned, but I understand he lay in ten or twelve miles of me last night, and will come up this morning he saw no Indians, but burnt some Towns. We shall leave here to day with only one days rations of bread stuff for half my men and two days for the ballance. But we have been too much delayed already; and further delay would still farther increase our difficulties. We have six day's rations of beef. Our rout will be as direct to the "Ten Islands" as the situation of the ground will admit.

I have the honor etc

TO THE TROOPS.

CAMP DEPOSIT, October 24, 1813

Fellow Soldiers. You have, at length, penetrated the country of your enemies. It is not to be believed that they will abandon the soil which embosoms the bones of their fathers without furnishing you an opportunity of signalising your valour. Wise men will not expect it; brave men, will not desire it. It was not to travel unmolested, through, a barren wilderness, that you quitted your families and your homes, and submitted to so many privations: it was to avenge the cruelties committed upon our defenceless, and unoffending frontiers by the inhuman Creeks, instigated by their still more inhuman Allies. You shall not be disappointed. If the enemy fly before us, we will overtake and chastise them. We will track them, how dreadful is the resentment of freemen when once it is aroused. But it is not by boasting, that victory is to be obtained. The same resolution which prompted us to take up arms, must inspire us when we fight. Men thus animated and thus resolved, barbarians, can never conquer; and it is an enemy barbarous in the extreme that we have

now to face. Their reliance will be upon the damage they are capable of doing you, whilst you are asleep and unprepared for action. Our centinels must never sleep, nor our soldiers be unprepared. But while our centinels are strictly enjoined to watch with unwinking vigilance, the approach of the enemy, they are at the same time commanded not to fire upon *shadows*. Imaginary danger must not deprive them of entire self-possession. Our soldiers must lie with their arms in their hands; and the moment an alarm is sounded they must move to their respective positions without noise and without confusion. They will thereby be enabled to hear the orders of their officers; and to obey them with promptitude.

Great reliance will also be placed by the enemy, in the consternation they shall be able to spread through our ranks, by the horrid yells with which they commence their battle; but brave men will laugh at the subterfuge by which they hoped to alarm them. It is not by hollowing and screams that death is inflicted; and you will hail their bellowing approach, by a substantial salute with the bayonet; what Indian ever stood the charge of the bayonet: what army of any nation ever withstood it long? The history of warfare furnishes no instance! The order for the charge with the bayonet, will be the signal of victory. Your general has pledged his reputation upon it; and he is willing to add the farther pledge of his life. When you are ordered to fire, obey the command, with deliberation and aim; and when you are ordered to charge proceed to the assault with a quick step, and without trepidation or alarm. Victory will then be certain; nor will the danger in doing so, be, by any means, equal to what men unacquainted with battles, may suppose [*sic*] it. It is not in assailing an enemy that men are destroyed; it is when they are retreating and in confusion. Your general laments, that he has been compelled even incidentally, to use the word retreat. Never while he commands you shall you have any practical understanding of that word. Shall an enemy who are wholly unacquainted with military evolution, and who are destitute of the arms necessary for effective warfare—an enemy who rely, more, for victory, upon their grim visages, and hidious yells than upon their bravery, or their weapons—shall *they* ever drive before them the youth of Tennessee whose bosoms pant to signalise their bravery and who have moved forth to avenge their country's wrongs. Your general will not live to behold such a spectacle. Rather would he rush into the thickest of the enemy and submit his head to their scalping knives. But he has no fears of such a result. He knows the valour of the men he commands; and he knows that, that valour will ensure victory. With his soldiers he will face the danger of the enemy; and with them he will participate the glory of a conquest.

GENERAL ORDERS REORGANIZING THE ARMY.¹

HEADQUARTERS, CAMP CHENNUBEE, October 30, 1813

It having been found necessary for the benefit of the public Service that a part of the mounted Gun men heretofore Attached to the redgi-

¹ Copy.

ment of Volunteer Cavalry commanded by Colonel John Coffee Should be organized into a Seperate and destinct regiment to be commanded by officers elected for that purpose. The commanding General therefore orders that his army Shall be organized as follows towit

The first and Second regiments of Volunteer Infantry the first Comanded by Colo Bradley the Second by Colo William Pillow Shall compose the first Brigade and be commanded by Brigadier General William Hall—the first and Second Regiments of militia Shall compose the Second Brigade and be Comanded by Brigadier General Isaac Roberts. The Regiment of volunteer Cavalry lately commanded by Colo John Coffee and now by Colo John Alcorn—The mounted Gun men heretofore attached to the volunteer Cavalry and now organized into a Seperate and destinct Regiment and Comanded by Newton Cannon Colonel and Robert Allen Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Murray first major and Richard Boyd Second major be organized into a Brigade of Cavalry and mounted Gun men and be commanded by John Coffe as Brigadier General.

By order of the commander in Chief.

ROBERT SEARCEY
aide D camp

J W SITTLER
adjt Genl

TO LEROY POPE.

October 31, 1813.

Sir: Amonghst the prisoners sent to your charge 28 in number, I find their is a choctaw woman who many years ago was made a prisoner and a slave purchased by Cotalla whose village we have destroyed, and given to his negro fellow for a wife her and her three children are considered slaves, they will be held by us as such untill I can discover her family, in the choctaws and restored to them. this wench and her children will not be considered as prisoners for exchange or ransom.

we have got a good supply of Beef, and hope you will furnish us with regular supplies of meal and meat hereafter. The irregularity of supplies has retarded my progress verry much, and I am anxious to reach the center of the creek country, and give them a final blow, and then strike at the root of the disseas pensacola. I am verry respectfully yr mo ob serv

P S. make my compliments acceptable to your lady and miss maria. I think shortly I shall be able to send miss maria the princesses necklace.

TO WILLIE BLOUNT.¹

CAMP BRADLY, November 1, 1813.

Last evening, a detachment, which I had sent out the day before, returned, bringing with them, besides some supplies of corn and beeves, two negroes and four Indians of the hostile party; amongst whom are

¹ Jackson MSS., Letter-Book D, p. 45.

the celebrated Catawla and his son. I shall send them to day to Huntsville to be placed under the custody of Col Pope.²

A considerable supply of corn and beeves having been discovered near the villages which were burnt, I have this morning sent out another detachment for the purpose of bringing them in. The distance is 15 or 20 miles; and they will, after accomplishing the object, come up with me in the course of the ensuing night. With the main army I shall move on slowly and encamp this evening near the foot of the Coosa, mountain, which is distant about six miles. We have at this time four or five days rations of beef, but none of corn or meal.

I have the honor [to] be etc

ORDER TO JOHN COFFEE.¹

HEADQUARTERS, November 2, 1813

Genl. John Coffee with one thousand of his Brigade, will with all practicable dispatch cross the Coosa river at the fish-dam ford; and forthwith with one half of his force proceed to Tallushatchee² and destroy it: The other half of his force, so soon as he crosses the river he will dispatch under a discreet officer to the Ten-Islands, with orders to scour the intervening country of all hostile Creeks, and to form a cover for the force immediately under the command of Genl. Coffee. In performing this service Genl. Coffee will cause to be observed the strictest order and circumspection; varying the above order, as in his discretion may seem proper, so as not to depart wholly from the object in view. The commanding general will expect to hear from Genl Coffee in the course of the ensuing night, if practicable that he will form a junction with him by sunrise tomorrow.

By order of the commanding general

JOHN REID, Aid

JOHN COFFEE TO JACKSON.

SOUTH BANK OF COOSEY RIVER, Nov. 2. 1813.

Genl. Jackson, The ground from where I left you and the crossing of the river was much more difficult that represented (though the water not deep) so much so that when my rear crossed the sun was not more than one and half hours high. The Indians with me all agree that I cannot reach the town or encampment of the enemy untill two hours after dark; they also state that they have no information of any of the enemy being encamped nearer the 10 Islands than the town we are in

² Col. Leroy Pope. To him Jackson wrote on the same day (*ibid.*, p. 79) as follows: "I send you the noted Cattalla, his father and two other warriors, and a negro the husband of the Choctaw woman sent you before. These prisoners together with the fellow taken at the same town and sent in with the women and children, I wish s[e]cured in jail, or otherwise so that there will be no possibility of escape the women and children I wish treated with humanity." Twenty-eight prisoners had been sent to Colonel Pope a few days earlier.

¹ Copy.

² Tallushatchee was situated near the site of Jacksonville, Ala.

quest of—from all circumstances I think it best to keep my forces together, and attack the town at day break, and then push to the bank of the river opposite you, of this I will determine when I get out and see the kind of country I have to pass over.

very respectfully yours

no Indian Signs fresh.

TO WILLIE BLOUNT.¹

TEN ISLAND CAMP, November 4, 1813.

His Excellency W Blount. We have retaliated for the destruction of Fort Mims. On the 2d inst. I detached Genl. John Coffee with a part of his Brigade of Cavalry and mounted Riflemen to destroy Tallishatchee, where a considerable force of the hostile Creeks was concentrated. The General executed this order in stile. A hundred and eighty six of the enemy were found dead on the field and eighty taken prisoners; forty of whom have been brought here. In the number left, there is a sufficiency, but slightly wounded, to take care of those who are badly.

I have to regret that five of my brave fellows have been killed, and about thirty wounded—some badly, but none, I hope mortally. Both officers and men behaved with the utmost bravery and deliberation. Captains Smith, Bradley and Winston are wounded slightly. no officer is killed. So soon as Genl. Coffee makes his Report I shall enclose it. If we had a sufficient supply of provisions, we should in a very short time, accomplish the object of the expedition.

I have the honor to be etc

P. S. Seventeen cherokees under the command of Col Brown acted with great bravery in the action.

Two of Chennubby's men and Jim Fife (of the Natchez tribe) also distinguished themselves.

TO LEROY POPE.¹

TEN ISLAND CAMP, November 4, 1813.

Sir, I send for your safe keeping forty more prisoners. If I had supplies sufficient, I would soon put an end to the Creeks. I rely upon your utmost exertions to furnish me. I write in great haste; and have not time to prepare a letter to the secretary at war agreeably to your request: but it shall be done. In the mean time upon the authority of this letter draw upon Govr. Blount for any funds you stand in need of.

In my hurry I had like to have omitted to tell you, that a detachment under Genl. Coffee on the 3d. inst. destroyed Tallushatchee killing 186 and taking 80 prisoners. The latter are all women and children. A part of them were left; the ballance are those I send you.

very respectfully

¹ Jackson MSS., Letter-Book D, p. 80.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 82.

TO JOHN [?] LOWRY.¹

CAMP NEAR TEN ISLANDS, November 7, 1813.

Sir, Yr. letter of the 7th. dated at Turkey Town has this moment been handed me. The Prisoners you found at Tallushatchee belong to the government of the U. S. and I have no power to let you retain them, until I learn the will of the President. In the meantime I shall direct them to be placed under the care of some of General White's surgeons: and after they are sufficiently recovered to be by him sent on to Huntsville, or some other place that shall be appointed for safe keeping. The horses and saddles you found, are no doubt the property of some of the detachment who were ordered to Tallushatchee. We shall expect them to be restored to their owners, on your arrival here. I am happy to learn that you have a force of 400 Cherokees, under your command. I wish you to bring them on as speedily as you can. There are not more than twenty Cherokees with me.

I am respectfully yours

JAMES WHITE TO JACKSON.¹

CAMP TURKEY TOWN November 7, 1813

My dear Genl. I was on my march to meet you at the Ten Islands when I recd. a positive order² from Majr. Genl. Cocke to alter my rout and form a junction with him near the mouth of Chatuga, which I have done. And am sorry so many disappointments have taken place, that our junction has not sooner been formed. I presume Genl. Cocke will in future confer with you he having taken the command.

I am dear Genl etc

¹ Jackson MSS., Letter-Book D, p. 85. Colonel Lowry was probably the John Lowry who, in 1808, with other Cherokee chiefs, signed a treaty selling to the whites iron lands six miles square at the mouth of Chickamauga Creek. Like George Colbert, he owned a ferry across the Tennessee River, about two miles west of the mouth of Sequatchee River. His brother, George Lowry, was reputed a rich landowner. See *Am. St. Papers, Indian Affairs*, I. 753, II, 114.

² Jackson MSS., Letter-Book D, p. 62.

² This order is *ibid.*, and a copy certified by John Reid is in the Jackson MSS., dated Nov. 6, 1813. It is in the following words:

"*Dear sir* On my arrival at this place I saw your order to Colo. Lillard. I also understood Genl. Jackson had crossed the Coosa and had an engagement with the Creeks. I called a council of the officers here, stated the case, put the question—shall we follow Genl. Jackson which was unanimously decided in the negative. The next question, shall we cross the Coosa here, and proceed to the Creek settlements on the Tallapoosa which was unanimously decided in the affirmative. These decisions met my approbation. I wish you to unite with me. I want the E. Tennessee troops together—Colo. Lillard, with his troops will be here in a few days. In the meantime while you and Col Lillard are uniting with me I shall have built here a block house for deposits. I leave it to your discretion which side of the Coosa you come up: but you must form a junction with me. It is the unanimous wish of the officers and men also.

"If we follow Genl. Jackson's army we must suffer for supplies, nor can we expect to gain a victory. Let us then take a direction in which we can share some of the dangers and glories of the feild. You will immediately on the receipt of this, write me by express which side of the river you come up. You will, if you can, procure Stephen Hawkins and Walter Grayson as pilots.

"I am Sir. Yr. obt St"

In sending a copy of this order to Governor Blount Jackson said of the order: "It was procured with much difficulty and handed me by the honorable H. L. White on the

GENERAL ORDERS.¹

The commander in chief having to leave the present encampment for a few days, with all his disposable force, leaving a sufficient guard for the protection of the wounded sick and Baggage, appoints to the command of the said guard and camp his chief engineer Major Howel Tatam, and all his orders are to be respected and obeyed as coming from myself and signed with my own proper signature, and the said Major Tatam is charged with the disposition of the Troops, left for the safety of the camp. The fortification is still to be prosecuted, and as soon as Genl White reaches this place, all his Troops will be occupied, in completing the fortification, and the command will devolve on Gen White, who will conform to the above order. Genl White on his arrival at this place, will order two hundred of his Infantry, with Colo. Lowrys Indians to proceed on our trail to overtake us, and keep out good spies to the southwest for 15 or 20 miles, to examine for trails of Indians Either flying from the county or approaching the camp.

THOMAS FLOURNOY TO JACKSON.

MOUNT VERNON, [ALA.,] November 9, 1813.

Sir, I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of yours of the 24th last month, which came to my hands last night. Before this, I presume, you must be at the junction of the Coosa and Tallapoosa. I wish it were possible to send you a supply of provisions immediately, but the distance up to that place, and the danger of sending up boats is so great, and withall, the force under my command in this quarter of the district is so small, that it is impossible for me to give you that timely support, which my wishes, and your necessity calls for. I shall without delay adopt a plan which may have the effect of giving you relief, and aiding in crippling the enemy.

Genl. Claiborne, who commands the united states Volunteers on this frontier, will immediately take a position on the Alabama, at *Weatherford's* about 150 miles below the junction of the Coosa and Tallapoosa, to which place I shall immediately forward provisions. This is the highest place, I think he dare penetrate to, with safety. As your men are mounted, it will be much more practicable to make a forced march to that place, than it would be to send up to you, even if I were in sufficient force to venture it. I deem it unfortunate that I can not cooperate more effectively with you, but the difficulties I have had to encounter, and the necessity, I am under of returning to orleans, will prevent the high grati-

16th Inst. It will require no comment. I have recd. no answer to the several communications I have had the honor to address you, in the few last weeks." General White was Hugh L. White's father. See Jackson to Governor Blount Dec. 18, 1813, Jackson MSS., Letter-Book D, p. 167.

¹ Jackson MSS., Milit. Papers, II. 67. Major Tatum, a revolutionary officer from North Carolina, an early settler in Tennessee, an old and loyal friend of Jackson's, served with him in this and the New Orleans campaign in the capacity of engineer. He wrote a long report on his service during the Mobile and New Orleans campaigns, for which see *Smith College Studies in History*, VII. 1-138.

fication I should feel in joining you in person, and contributing by every means in my power to your comfort and relief. I pray you to correspond more immediately with Genl. Claiborne, and with Lt. Colo. Russell 3rd Regt. Infy, who will also proceed with his Regiment, to the Alabama, but as he is under orders from the war department to correspond with, and place himself under the command of the Georgia forces, I consider him independant of my controul.

I regret that you have not before now given me notice of your movements, and that you have not *now* mentioned your numbers. But Colo. W. Reed (who is at Mobile with a number of Chactaw Indians, who will take the field against the creeks, so soon as they can git ammunition) informs me that you are 5000 strong. This force will enable you to put an end to the Creek War in a short time. Wishing you the full possession, and enjoyment of that fame, and reputation, which your conquest is calculated to inspire, I have the honor to be,

Yr. Brother Soldier ¹

GENERAL ORDERS.¹

HEAD QUARTERS, CAMP STROTHER, November 13, 1813.

The commanding General informs the Division under his command that he has their Petition of greivances; and that he is well aware of the privations they suffered. They have suffered, but they have done much; they have still more to do which can be performed in thirty days from the time a sufficient supply of provisions can be obtained for that period of service. He is not unmindful of their services. He recollects with pride the alacrity with which they flew to arms, not only at this time, but on a former occasion.

What is the present state of the camp? a number of your fellow soldiers, are wounded. They are unable to help themselves; and shall it be said that the Citizens of the State of Tennessee are so lost to a sense of humanity as to leave them in this situation? No, it shall not. If we go, we go together. We will take the wounded and the sick with us, the fault shall lay at the proper door and the world *shall* know how Government has treated us. Large supplies are at Fort Deposit, Capt Smith has been despatched to bring it on. Waggons are on the way from fort Deposit. A number of beeves are in the neighbourhood of the Camp.

¹ The following extract from a letter from Daniel Parker, chief clerk, War Department, to Governor Blount, Oct. 30, 1813, shows how little the authorities in Washington understood the situation on the Creek border: "I have the honor to inform your Excellency that General Flournoy is authorized to require such portion of the Detached Militia of Tennessee as he may find necessary for the effectual defence of New Orleans and the lower country. It is hoped he will not find it necessary to make such requisition—but should exigencies sanction the measure, the President requests your Excellency to make such detachment from the Militia who are now in service to chastise the hostile Indians. Considering the powerful force which is in service from Georgia, it is presumed a division of part of the Tennessee Troops would not prove injurious to the Indian expedition."

Dec. 27, 1813, when the spirit of mutiny had reduced Jackson's force to its lowest energy, Flournoy called on him for 500 men to garrison Mobile.

¹ Jackson MSS., Letter-Book C, p. 88.

Detachments are sent out to bring them in. If supplies do not arrive in two days we march back together.

By Command

TO WILLIE BLOUNT.¹

CAMP STROTHER, November 14, 1813

Sir: It is with extreme pain I inform you that a turbulent and mutinous disposition has manifested itself in my Camp, from a quarter least expected.

Petition on petition has been handed from the officers of the different Brigade's containing statements of their privations and sufferings and requesting me to return into the settlements with my Division in order to give the men an opportunity to provide themselves with articles necessary for the campaign and to meet the provisions that were coming on. In reply to their representation of greivances, I made a general order acknowledging to my Division that their sufferings were known and felt by me, and that every exertion had been made by me both to prevent and relieve them that a number of beeves had been seen in the neighbourhood and meal expected hourly from Fort Deposit where I was informed there were ample supplies—that there were several of the wounded whose deaths would be inevitable if moved and further urged them not to cause the laurels they had so nobly and so bravely won to wither by a disgraceful return in the moment of victory. Limiting the time for departure to two days if provisions did not arrive, when we would all march and lay the blame at the door of those who merited it. Yesterday, as was expected, about forty five beeves were brought into camp. Still their murmurs were not silenced, but continued to increase until I was compelled to call a council of all the Field officers and Capts. in my Division; to these officers I stated that information which could be relied on had been given me that there were at Fort Deposit between 50 and 60,000 weight of meal and 266 barrels of flour. that upwards of 100 hogs were on the way which would be here tomorrow or the day after at farthest and after stating to them the impossibility of carrying on our baggage in consequence of having dispatched the waggons for meal and that we must either destroy or leave it after conjuring them not [to] move or leave their brave comrades who had fought and bled by their sides, after entreating them by their love of country and of glory not to abandon a campaign so gloriously begun without striking the finishing stroke and having the honor of its completion I dismissed them with a request that the officers of each Brigade would hold a separate consultation and report their determination. Genls Roberts' Brigade first reported their resolution to stay by their baggage their wounded and their Genl. until it could be accurately ascertained whether supplies would arrive or not and if they did not in the course of three or four days, that then they would return and meet it. Genl. Coffee's Brigade also reported that the half or the whole of the cavalry would remain if the camp was

¹ Copy.

deserted by the Infantry, notwithstanding the permission they had had for half of the men to go in to Huntsville and feed their horses which were perishing. Both of these Brigades have my warmest approbation and highest praise and merit the applause and gratitude of their country for preferring privations and sufferings to disgrace.

Genl. Hall's Brigade then reported that after taking into consideration and weighing maturely all the circumstances they had determined by the vow of every officer in the Brigade with the exception of Genl. Hall himself to march back to meet the provisions at the same time recommending to me to permit the men to go to their homes and make preparations for the campaign and representing that if they were not permitted the soldiers would forcibly desert. Such a determination was not expected from those who had been trained and disciplined under my command. I did think they would have followed me through every danger and hardship without a murmur they are the first to desert me. But the conduct of Genl. Hall is as usual, firm and humane, he says he will stay and die in the camp before he will move the wounded or destroy the baggage or sully the glory they have already required.²

JOHN COCKE TO JACKSON.¹

FT. ARMSTRONG, November 14, 1813

Dear Genl. I entertain the opinion that to make the present campaign as successful as it ought to be it is essential that the whole force from Tennessee should act in concert. I have detached all my mounted men whose horses are fit for duty to the Hillaby towns, to destroy them. I expect their return in a few days. I send the bearer to you for the sake of intelligence as to your intended operations; and for the sake of assuring you that I will most heartily agree to any plan that will be productive of most good. For the reasons why the part of the force from this quarter which you heretofore required, were not sent I refer you to the bearer who has been made acquainted with them.

I am Dr Sir With the highest respect

yr obt. St

WILLIAM MARTIN AND H. L. DOUGLASS TO JACKSON.

[FORT STROTHER, November 14, 1813.]

Sir, In conformity with your request, the field officers and Captains of the first Brigade, have taken into consideration the present distressing situation of the army, together with the prospect of future supplies. The officers of the first Brigade, regret extremely, the causes that have given rise, to this, distress, but are impiously bound to give it as their opinion, that nothing short of marching the army back to the settlement will prevent that disgrace which must attend, a forcible desertion of the Camp by the soldiers. This opinion is adopted from the following considerations; first, the scarcity of provisions has been so great since the army

² Acquired.

¹ Jackson MSS., Letter-Book D, p. 103.

marched from Camp Deposit, that not more than ten rations of Meat and meal have been furnished, both officers and soldiers, have been compelled to subsist for five days on less than two rations.

Secondly, The soldiers after having born with astonishing fortitude, the most distressing want of provisions, after giving the best proffs of their disposition to render services to their country by and placing the frontiers of Tennessee and the Mississippi Territory in security by driving from their borders, the savage enemy, have been so repeatedly deceived by the agents of Government with regard to supplies that they cannot believe future supplies will be more regularly furnished or in greater quantity—therefore we feel confident it will be impossible to prevent in very short time a forcible and tumultuous desertion of the Camp.

Thirdly, The order by which the officers and soldiers of this Division were called into service was issued not more than four days previous to their march, they, therefore, had not sufficient time to provide the necessary clothing for a winter campaign, and are now almost without either shoes or clothing.

The officers of the first Brigade beg leave to assure the General, they feel the most poignant regret that existing circumstances are such as to require them to give such advice—they feel mortified at the idea of abandoning a Campaign so prosperously begun, one from which so much good would result to our Country and honor to ourselves. Whatever may be the ultimate determination of the commander in chief we pledge ourselves to assist in its execution with our authority and personal influence.

WM MARTIN, Chairman,
H. L. DOUGLASS, Secretary.

TEN OFFICERS OF 1ST REGIMENT TO JACKSON.

CAMP STROTHER, November 15, 1813

Sir. The officers of the 2nd Regt T V. learn, with extream regret, that you infer, from the address forwarded you last night from the 1st Brigade that the officers of that Brigade wished forthwith to abandon the camp, the sick, and the wounded. From the peculiar state of things here, you sir, called on them for a candid expression of their opinions, this they gave with the frankness of a soldier, not expecting it would be misconstrued into a desitution [?] of duty, or propriety; neither did they expect that you would on slight evidence question their devotion, both to your person and the interest of our common country. If they have not already given sufficient proof of this attachment, nothing that they can at this time say will have weight. In the address alluded to they not only give their opinion on existing facts, but also pledged themselves to support with their authority, and personal influence, any measure which you may determine on. On this occasion they take the liberty to repeat what they before said, that their fidelity you may rely on, and that they will be among the last of whom you will have cause to complain.

We rejoice to hear that our Brethren of other Regiments have pledged themselves to remain a while longer and ascertain whether supplies can

be had; this personal wish and intention was, and is, to do the same, and their best exertions have been directed to that point, believing that so soon as that part is known you will act the true part of your great charactor.

Yours etc

COL. WM. PILLOW,
COL. MARTIN,
MAJ. McEWEN,
CAPT. CAPERTON,
CAPT. McEWEN,
CAPT. ANDERSON,
CAPT. WILLIAMSON,
CAPT. RENHAU,
CAPT. McFERRIN,
LT. CHAPMAN.

TO WILLIE BLOUNT.¹

CAMP STROTHER, November 15, 1813.

Sir, In my letter of the 11th. I gave you a hasty account of the battle of Talledega; and of the causes which compelled me to return to this place. I now do myself the honor of transmitting you, a more detailed account of the action; together with the report of the Adjutant Genl. of the killed and wounded.

About thirty miles below here, at a place known by the name of Talledega, a hundred and sixty men of the freindly party of the creeks with their women and children are fortified in; more effectually to resist the efforts of the "Red Sticks" or hostile party. Late in the evening of the 7th: one of the principal men of that fort (Lashley) arrived here with the information that the enemy had arrived there in great numbers that morning and would certainly destroy the fort and all within it, unless speedy relief could be obtained from this army. Urged by this representation I immediately gave orders for taking up the line of march with 1200 Infantry and 800 cavalry and mounted riflemen; leaving behind me the sick the wounded and all the baggage, with what I considered a sufficient force to protect them, until the arrival of Genl. White who was hourly expected. At 12 O'clock at night the army was in motion and I commenced crossing the river at the Ten Islands opposite our late encampment which in a few hours was effected. On the night of the 8th. I encamped within six miles of the enemy and about 11 o'clock two of the friendly indians with George Mayfield whom I had sent forward to reconnoitre the enemy returned with the intelligence that they were encamped, within a quarter of a mile of the Fort, on the north side; but were unable to approach near enough to give me any accurate information of their numbers or precise situation. Within an hour afterwards old chennubby arrived from Turkey Town with a letter from General White, advising me of his retrograde movement occasioned by an order of Majr. Genl. Cocke. Finding that the utmost dispatch had become

¹ Jackson MSS., Letter-Book D, p. 94.

necessary for the protection of my rear, I immediately ordered the Adj. Genl. to prepare the line of march and at 4 o'clock we were in motion. The Infantry in three columns. The cavalry and mounted riflemen in the rear with flankers on each wing. The right wing of the Infantry was led on by Colo. Bradley. The centre by Col Pillow and the left by Col McCrowry: The right wing of the Cavalry by Colo. Alcorn and the left by Colo Cannon. The advance consisting of Capt Deaderick's company of Artillery, with muskets, Capt. Bledsoe's and Capt Caperton's companies of Riflemen and Capt Gordon's company of Spies, were marched 400 Yards in front under the command of Colo. Carrol the Inspector Genl., to bring on the engagement. At 7 o'clock having arrived within a mile of the enemy, I ordered the cavalry and mounted Riflemen to advance on the right and left of the Infantry, and enclose the enemy in a circle. Two hundred and fifty of the cavalry and mounted Riflemen commanded by Lt. Colo. Dyer were placed in the rear of the centre, as a corps de reserve. Genl Hall's Brigade occupied the right Genl. Roberts's the left; and were ordered to advance by heads of companies.

The Cavalry were ordered after having encircled the enemy by uniting the fronts of their columns and keeping their rear connected with the Infantry; to face and press inwards towards the centre, so as to leave the enemy no possibility of escape. In the execution of this order it unfortunately happened that too great a space was left between the rear of the right wing of the cavalry and Genl. Halls Brigade through which a part of the enemy ultimately effected their retreat. At 8 o'clock the advance having arrived within 80 yards of the enemy, who were concealed in the thick shrubbery which covered the margin of a branch, received from them a heavy fire, which they returned with great intrepidity, charged and dislodged them from their position; and turned them upon the right wing of Genl. Roberts's Brigade.

The advance then fell back as they had been previously ordered, to the centre. At the approach of the enemy three companies of the Militia, having given one fire, commenced a retreat notwithstanding the exertions of Colo. McCrowry and Majr. Sevier, who are entitled to great praise for their bravery on that occasion. To fill the vacancy occasioned by this retreat, I immediately ordered up Colo. Bradley's Regt. of Volunteers, but finding the advance of the enemy, too rapid to admit of their arrival in time, I was compelled to order the reserve to dismount and meet them. This order was executed with great promptitude and gallantry and the enemy in that Quarter were speedily repulsed. The Militia who had retreated seeing the spirited stand, which was making by the Reserve, immediately rallied and recovering the position which the enemy had just driven them from poured upon them a most destructive fire. The engagement now became General; and within 15 minutes the enemy were seen flying in every direction. On the left they were met and repulsed by the mounted Riflemen. On the right a part of them escaped through the opening of the right wing of the cavalry and the Infantry; and were pursued with great slaughter to the mountains, a distance of three miles. In this pursuit the brave Colos. Pillow of the Infantry and

Lauderdale of the Cavalry, Majr. Boyd of the mounted Infantry, and Lieut Barton, were wounded; the latter of whom has since died. You will perceive from a draft I shall send you that had there been no departure from the original order of battle; not an Indian could have escaped; and even as the battle *did* terminate, I believe that no impartial man can say that a more splendid result has in any instance attended our Arms, *on land*, since the commencement of the war. The force of the enemy is represented by themselves, to have been one thousand and eighty and it does not appear from their fires and the space of ground which they occupied that their number can have been less. Two hundred and ninety nine were left dead on the ground; and no doubt many more were killed who were not found. It is believed that very few escaped without a wound. In a very few weeks if I had a sufficiency of supplies, I am thoroughly convinced, I should be able to put an end to creek hostility.

The friendly creeks from Talledega tell me that the enemy consider themselves already completely beaten, and state as a proof of their sense of the magnitude of the defeat they have sustained, and of their returning disposition for peace that they have since the battle, liberated several of the friendly party whom they had previously taken as prisoners.

Too much praise cannot be bestowed upon the advance, led on by colo. Carrol for the spirited manner in which they commenced and sustained the attack, nor upon the Reserve commanded by Lt. Col. Dyer and composed of Captns. Smith's Molton's Axums, Edward's, and Hammond's companies for the gallantry with which they met and repulsed the enemy. In a word the officers of every grade, as well as the privates realised the high expectations I had formed of them and merit the gratitude of their country.

I should do injustice to my staff composed of Majrs. Reid and Searcy my aids, Colo. Sitler and Majr. Anthony adjt. and asst. adjt. Col Carrol Inspector Genl. Majr. Strother topographe[r] Mr Cunningham my secy. and Col Stockley D Hays Quarter Master Genl. not to mention that they were every where in the midst of danger, circulating my orders—they deserve and receive my thanks.

I have the honor to be etc

TO WILLIE BLOUNT.¹

CAMP STROTHER, November 15, 1813.

Sir, Judge White arrived here this evening; and by him I learn, that his father's retrogade depended upon causes over which he had no controul. It was occassioned by a mutinous disposition in his men, springing from an apprehension of the scarcity of supplies. They abandoned him at a time when he was using his utmost exertions to form a speedy junction with me; and obliged him to return. He has since, however, been enabled to assemble 800 mounted men of a different temper, with whom he has gone to the Hillaby-towns—distant from Talledega abt 26 miles.²

¹ Jackson MSS., Letter-Book D, p. 102.

² Governor Blount sought to excuse White by saying: "It is not improbable that Genl. Cocke has, possibly from information recd. from the Georgia Troops, or from

I am in a proper situation to enter into his feelings; and instead of his accuser to become his apologist. Disposed however as I am to admit the force of the necessity by which he was governed and to justify him under it still, his retrograde has proved not the less injurious to my plans. I advised you in a letter of this date, of the situation of my army. I am left with a force reduced to less than half its original strength, and still exposed to the same privations which occasioned a return of the majority to Ft Deposit. The situation is critical; and I cannot but be alarmed for the consequences; but while there remains an exertion for me to make with any prospect of success I will not abandon an enterprise so fortunately begun, and which might be so prosperously terminated.

I have the honor to be yr. obt. st.

THOMAS PINCKNEY TO JACKSON.

CHARLESTON, S. C., November 16, 1813.

Head Quarters
Sixth District

Sir, The mail which arrived on Sunday last brought to me the President's order to take the direction of the expedition against the Creek Indians:¹ I purpose in consequence thereof to set out for Milledgeville as soon as I shall have made some indispensable arrangements here.

I am as yet unapprized of the directions given by Governor Mitchell to whom the Command of the expedition was originally confided by the President, nor am I accurately informed of the present positions or actual force of the Enemy or of our own detachments. Until I shall have received more correct intelligence, it would be improper to issue instructions a compliance wherewith might be rendered inexpedient by circumstances of which I am ignorant: I think it right however to communicate to you a general outline of the mode in which I am at present of opinion this Campaign should be conducted which is herewith inclosed: but as more ample information may occasion an alteration in that opinion, you will please to act in conformity to it, only so far as your knowledge of the present circumstances may induce you to think it expedient.

You will please, Sir, by the return of the Messenger who conveys this, to inform me of your present position and intended movements, of your present supply and future prospect of provision and other necessities, together with all the information concerning the Enemy which you may have obtained.

the regular force of their exposed situation, thought it advisable to go on to them, and after uniting with them to join you. This is the way I account for Genl. White's not proceeding to the ten Islands—I know him so well as to be convinced that he never will do an act to injure the service. I believe the same of both you and General Cocke. I have not heard from Genl. Cocke lately (not since he left Knoxville) but feel confident that he is doing his duty well wherever he may be; as you are doing." (Blount to Jackson, Nov. 17, 1813.) But Cocke's order to White of Nov. 6, given here with White to Jackson, Nov. 7, 1813, shows how little Cocke deserved Governor Blount's sympathy or confidence.

¹ Nov. 7, 1813, Daniel Parker, chief clerk of the War Department, notified Governor Blount that "Governor Mitchell [of Georgia] having declined a re-election, the President has ordered Major-General Pinckney to take direction of the Expedition against the hostile Indians"

You will also please to order the Officer acting as Adjutant General to the detachment under your command to make a return of the Troops of the State of Tennessee in the Service of the United States upon the expedition against the Creek Indians, to the Adjutant General of the 6th Military District at Milledgeville: and if you will please, Sir, to communicate to me your ideas of the best mode of conducting the operations of the Campaign your suggestions will be received and attended to with all the respect due to your military rank and personal character.

I have the honor to be very respectfully

FROM PINCKNEY'S INSTRUCTIONS TO JACKSON.

HEAD QUARTERS, SIXTH DISTRICT, November 16, 1813

Sir, The Troops from Tennessee should penetrate into the heart of the best settlements of the Creek Nation, which I understand are about the Fork of the Coosa and Talipossee Rivers, taking care that the progress of the main body should always be within such distance of their transports as to enable them to keep up their communication, in order to draw their supplies, and to support their Escort, in case the Enemy should endeavor to cut them off. At, or about this Fork, appears to be the most convenient situation to form a junction with the troops from Georgia, who might march by the military road from Milledgeville to Fort Stoddert, as far as Point Comfort, whence the fork of the Rivers cannot be far distant. At a convenient place, either on the Alabama near this junction, or on one of the rivers, a strong stockade fort should be built; a sufficient garrison stationed in it, and from thence the further operations against the Enemy should be conducted. This position would enable us to obtain supplies both from the upper parts of the River, from the state of Louisiana by way of the Lakes and Mobile, and thence up the river; as well as such as might be procured on the Tombigby, which might come down that river to its junction with the Alabama and thence up the latter to the Dépôt; it is possible also that some provisions might be obtained from the Friendly Indians, or captured from those who are hostile, and our magazine thereby increased. The troops from Georgia will, I fear find more difficulty in transporting their supplies, as their route to the junction will be across the water courses; the upper streams of the Chatahouchee, I however observe from the Maps, approach the Nth Westn Counties of Georgia, and if practicable, no time should be lost in forwarding by that course, provisions under a sufficient Guard, to a Depot to be formed near the intersection of the military road, with the chatahouchee River, which the Maps designate as being near Coweta but if that mode be inexpedient, a dépôt should still be formed at that place; even if it be necessary to transport the stores thither in Waggon; and the Dépôt should be protected by a good stockade fort.

Supplies of provisions and ammunition, should also, if possible, be obtained from N: Orleans, conveyed to Fort Stoddert, and thence might be escorted to the station near the Fork of the Coosa and Tallapoossee, by the 3d Regt. of Infantry, which is to form part of Genl. Williams'

Brigade on this Expedition; and who might either embark with the stores, or march within supporting distance of the transports on the River, as the nature of the country and the facility of transportation might render it expedient; for that purpose, the Contractor for the Mississippi territory should be directed forthwith to deposit a large supply of provision at Fort Stoddart, and the Quarter Master of the District provide proper boats for the transportation. The Commandg Officer of the Naval Department in this District should also be requested to furnish convoy to protect the transportation in passing round to Mobile, if practicable, up the River. A Requisition should likewise be made on the Officer of the Ordnance department in that District, to lodge at Fort Stoddert an adequate provision of cartridges for musquetry, and powder and lead for Rifles, together with fixed ammunition for the three pound field-pieces attached to the troops marching from Georgia, and, if the Troops from Tennessee are furnished with cannon, for them also. . . .¹

TO JOHN COCKE.¹

CAMP STROTHER, November 16, 1813.

Sir, I have recd. your letter by Majr White; and perfectly agree with you in opinion that it [is] essential to the success of the campaign that the forces from Tennessee should act in concert, the reason why this has hitherto been prevented, notwithstanding my utmost exertions to effect it have been explained to me by the Judge: and a[1]tho, no man can be more disposed than myself, to admit the irresistable [force] of those reasons, yet the consequences of them have proved excessively injurious to my plans. Had Genl. White been able to arrive at this encampment at the time I left it for Talledega and when I had a right to expect he would, I should not have returned hither; but should have been able in a few weeks, notwithstanding all privations and difficulties, to have broken down the Creek force and made them fully sensible that they have heretofore been indebted for their safety to our forbearance alone. But a retrograde motion is dangerous in an Army and becomes fatal when accompanied with hunger. The force of this truth I was made to feel on my return to this encampment. Those men who had faced the enemy with so much bravery shrunk on their return from privations which they had previously submitted to with alacrity. I was obliged to permit a majority of them to return to Fort Deposit for supplies but when their appetites are satiated and their sense of duty revived, as it will by the first cool view of the prospect before them they will return with cheerfulness to the standard of their country. In the meantime I shall with the forces here go on with the fortification I have begun, and continue to use every exertion for the attainment of the object of the expedition.

¹ It is strange that so good an officer as General Pinckney should have given Jackson so many orders that could not have been executed. How could Jackson order supplies from New Orleans? How could the depleted 3rd Regiment take them up the Alabama River in the face of the opposition of the Creeks? The letter is singularly inept, in that Pinckney planned to conduct the campaign from the Gulf Coast and ordered Jackson, struggling through the mountains of Alabama, to carry it out.

¹ Jackson MSS., Letter-Book D, p. 100.

The Contractors who have hitherto furnished me so poorly, continue to assure me of supplies and I shall continue to apply to every source where there can be any hope of obtaining them. I beg that you will add your own exertions to mine, and prepare to form a junction with me whenever you shall be advised. The want of punctuality in this respect is calculated to produce consequences of the most dangerous kind. . . .

N. B. ROSE TO JACKSON.

HUNTSVILLE, November 16, 1813

My Dear Genl on my arval at this place it appeared that all were a. slep, except Mr. Mikhel. I railed amongst them, without discrimination, they are awake now from their lethergy if you can Manvre [manoeuvre(?)] with your army a few days longer so as to keep them they will be suplyd¹ had I not been Ordered in, it would [have] been imposible for your Army to have been suplyd; for they had no power to force waggons into the service—on my Arval I calld on Col Perkins for a Guard, to force waggons, Over the river. I will have 15 wagg[ons] over the River in the cours of Tomorrow Agents in all parts of this County Giles Bedford, Ming[o] and Williamson are sent out by the Contractor for Pork and Beef by the time the above which is on the way, is exausted you will see almost daly arvals, of suplys, of meat and Bread, cumming in—rest Asured every thing is in motion hear. my soul bleeds for the situation of your Ariny—the Contractors when I arvd at this place were offering \$5 pr day for waggons and could not get them to cross the river—their shall be waggons a plenty a cross the river in a few days. I have laid of an incampment for the Cavalrey 3 miles from this place, also purchasd 1000 bal [barrels]² Corn with long forage for them, also made an ingagemt with Mr. Brownlow to deliver 1500 bushels corn at Fort deposit in 15 days. I am using every exertion for the general benefit of your army. . . .

TO JOHN COCKE.¹

CAMP CHENNUBEE, November 18, 1813.

Sir; I am compelled by the embarrasments of my army, occasioned by the want of supplies, to set out last evening with all the forces that then remained with me (except 150 whom I left to compleat and defend Ft Strother in my absence²) for Fort Deposit. Previous to my setting out, a flag arrived from the Hillabee's accompanied by a letter from Robt Grayson, soliciting peace for the Indians of those towns, and offering to receive it upon any terms I might think proper to propose. They admit that the late engagement at Talledega had proved fatal to their hopes, and they believed it had brought the greater part of the nation to

¹ The events that followed show how empty was this boast. Rose was brigade quartermaster.

² In the South a barrel of grain is five bushels.

¹ Jackson MSS., Letter-Book D, 105.

² Camp Strother was left in the command of Brigadier-General Hall.

a proper sense of their duty. I stated to the Hillabees the terms on which we would cease to reckon them among our enemies Viz: that they should deliver up forthwith all the property and prisoners that they had taken from the whites or the friendly Creeks; that they should deliver up the murderers of our citizens and the instigators of the war, and that on our arrival in that Quarter they should unite their forces with ours in the prosecution of the war against those who still held out. . . .

. . . . At this place (which is about 12 miles from Ft Strother) I met about 150 beeves and nine waggons of flour sent on by our Contractors. In consequence of this I shall order back to Ft Strother a greater part of who have been returning with me. I myself shall continue to Deposit and endeavor to provide against any future s[c]arcity. This I have not a doubt I shall be able to effect in a few days and then I shall return to Ft Strother with a force which when united with yours, will be fully sufficient for the accomplishment of our object. . . .

TO JOHN ARMSTRONG.¹

DITTO'S LANDING ON THE TENNESSEE RIVER, November 20, 1813.

sir: I have this moment learnd by a letter from the governor of Tennessee, that the detachment lately ordered from that State against the creek nation (a part of which detachment I command) have been recognised by the President as the army of the United Stats. It therefore becomes my duty to communicate henceforth with you, and I shall now breifly acquaint you with the result of the expedition so far as it has progressd.

On the 2nd Inst. haveing penetrated into the Creek nation, to the Coose river, I detached Brig. Genl. John Coffee with 900 of the Cavalry and mounted riflemen, to destroy Talushatchee which was situated a few miles on the south of that river, and where I had understood a considerable force of the enemy to be imbodyed. On the morning of the 3rd this order was executed. The town was burnt, one hundred and Eighty six of the enemy slain (among whom were unfortunately some women and children) and Eighty taken prisoners. Only one warrior escaped. We lost five killed and forty wounded, one of whom has since died.

In the mean time I moved on with the Infantry and that part of the Cavalry and mounted riflemen which had not been detached with Genl. Coffee to the Ten Island, where I commend immediate preparations for the erection of a fort, to serve as a deposit for our supplies.

I had received frequent advices that the enemy was embodying in considerable force below us, and on the evening of the 7th a runner arrived from Talladega (a fort of the Friendly party, distant about 30 miles) to give me the information that they had, on that morning encamped within a quarter of a mile of that place, and to entreat that I would hasten to its relief with all practicable dispatch.

Having made the best preparation it was in my power to make, I commenced the line of march at 12 Oclk at night with about 1200 Infantry and 800 horsemen leaving behind me the sick wounded and baggage with

what I conceived a Sufficient force to protect them until the arrival of the E Tennessee troops who were hourly expected. On the night of the 8th we incamped within six miles of the enemy, and at sunrise we were within a mile of them. Having formed my men, we marched forward in battle order, and at 8 Oclk the engagement commenced which in a short time, terminate in the entire defeat of the enemy. Two hundred and ninety nine were left dead on the ground, and I have since learnd that a considerable number died on their return to their villages. We lost 15 killed and 87 wounded 2 of whom have since died. I am now [*i. e.*, no] eulogist; and cannot do justice to the brave men whom I have the honor to command. The number of the enemy is not precisely known, but Judging from their fiers, the share of ground they ocupied and their own representation, it cannot have been less than a thousand.

The Creek war could now have been terminated in a few weeks, had I not been compelled by the want of supplies and for the protection of my rear, to hasten back to my late incampment. compelled by the emergency I had set out with only one days ration (which indeed was all we had) and I had learned on my march that the East Tennessee troops had entirely changed their rout. The cause of this strange departure from the arrangement I had previously concerted with the commander of those troops have since been fully explaind.

On our return to the Ten Island whare we expected to meet a plentiful supply of provision, we found those whom we had left there in the same starveing condition with our selves. This painfull disapointment produced an embarrassment in the camp which was not easily rectified. I was compelled to send back the greater part of my men to a Depot which I had establis[h]ed on the Tennessee that they might there receive supplies which the contractors had neglected to forward on, and to return hither myself (whare I arrived this evening) for the purpose of seeing that effectual measures be taken for our future supplies. In the morning I shall see the contractors and, hope to be able to return immediately afterwards to the Ten Islands. It will be some weeks however before I shall be able to recommence my operations beyond the Coose, and then I shall prosecute the campaign with the utmost vigor.

² On the morning of the 17th (the day on which I left the ten Island) I receivd a flag from the Hillabies soliciting peace upon any terms I might think proper to grant it to which I replied, that they would be required to restore all the prisoners and property, they had taken from the whits or the friendly Creeks, to deliver up the murderers of our citizens and the instigators of the war, who might still remain amongst them and on our arival in their vicinity to unite their forces with ours (if that should be then required) in the prosecution of the war against those who might still hold out. From the same source I learn that the enemy in the neighbouring towns, thrown into consternation by the late engagement are abandoning their war camps, and flying in every direc-

² In the "Letters Received" in the War Dept., vol. 84, p. 240, appears the portion of this letter that begins with this paragraph. There is nothing to show why the first part was not copied into the record.

tion. The letters by which I received this information I have forwarded to Govr Blount and by him they will be transmitted to you.

The East Tennessee troops are still in the Cherokee nation, and I have received no late intelligence from the Georgia troop. I have taken such measures as I thought the best to procure a cooperation, but I have not succeeded in getting even any direct information from the Commanders of those forces. The last and indeed the only certain account I have had of them was by a letter from the Governor of that State forwarded by my return express about a month ago and that informed me that the advance was then at fort Hawkin[s].⁸ I believe however the blow is struck which will render our want of concert a matter of no material consequence with the forces now under my command. I hope to be able to attain the object of the expedition in a short time.

I have the honor to be with great respect yr. obt sert

REV. GIDEON BLACKBURN TO JACKSON.¹

FRANKLIN, November 20, 1813

Dear General, . . . Dr. Genl. do not risk too much until you should be recruited. West Tennessee has souls who would fly to your relief if they knew you needed their assistance. I know my efforts are not very important but if I knew you needed assistance, I would myself commence the office of recruiting officers and march for your encampment. Could I dare to ask the General for the feelings of his heart on that subject I would do it; but he knows I would serve him, and I can assure you that my heart would be wrung with poignant distress to think you were suffering and thousands of us lying at home at our ease. Should the Indians be determined to give you battle it will I suspect be near the Hickory ground—they are no doubt instigated by the Spaniards and British and if so will defend to the last extremity. I know they can be subdued but it would be desirable that it could be done with safety. I know that your army will do all that valor can affect but if those wretched savages should get one advantage your case would be serious . . .

WILLIAM B. LEWIS TO JACKSON.

NASHVILLE, November 21, 1813

Dear Genl. The last victory obtained over the hostile creeks is awfully ominous of the fate that awaits their nation. Another such victory will open your passage to the walls of Pensicola.¹ Chastise those perfidious

⁸ Now Hawkinsville, Ga.

¹ Rev. Gideon Blackburn was a Presbyterian minister at Franklin, Tenn. He was of the type popular on the frontier. He was loyal to Jackson, in whose behalf he used his influence to obtain recruits for the army. He accompanied Colonel Carroll's body of recruits on their march to join Jackson in December, and while encamped at Huntsville he met a body of mounted men who had marched away from Fort Strother full of the prevailing spirit of mutiny. He "addressed them in a very patriotic manner" but without avail.

¹ Governor Blount in a letter to Jackson, Nov. 20, 1813, said that, while not certain, he believed that the ultimate object of the administration was that the campaign might result in the reduction of Pensacola.

instigators of the Indians to Savage cruelties, and you at once unnerve the arm that draws the bow and raises the tommyhawk. I have no doubt but the victory obtained on the 9th Instant has decided the fate of the campaign, and that every subsequent information will bear the same masculine features.

Much anxiety has been manifested here, on account of the failures on the part of the contractors to furnish the necessary supplies of provisions; but, if late information can be relied on, we hope those evils (and evils of all others that can befall an army the most dangerous) are removed. I have been informed that provisions are in the greatest abundance at fort Deposit; if so, why in the name of God have not the contractors packed them on horses to the army, if waggons and teams could not be procured! One hundred pack horses would have supplied the army plentifully with meal and beaves could be drove.

The people here are very much at a loss to know the object Genl. Cocke has in view by not joining you. His conduct appears strange and mysterious, and has excited not only surprise, but a considerable degree of censure; great many are of opinion that he is actuated more from selfishness than the good of the service. . . .

GEORGE SMITH TO JACKSON.

PITCHLANDS,¹ November 22, 1813.

Major Genl. Jackson

Sir. The day before yesterday an Express arrived here from Genl. Claiborne with directions for Mr Pitchland to forward it on to you at any expence and at all hazards; We have employed Mr McCanless an enterprising and zealous young man to carry the same to you in company with Mr Robert Sorrels, Mr McCanless being a most excellent woodsman and a man entirely to be depended upon I take the liberty of introducing to your Notice.

The Express brought me a letter from Mr Geo. S Gaines² informing me that Genl. Flournoy with the 7th. Regt had marched for New Orleans; The 3rd. Regt under the Command of Col. Russell was preparing to ascend the Alabama with provisions Major Hinds and his Dragoons had killed ten Indians and two Negroes a few days ago in Rutherfords field on the Alabama and took two Negroes prisoner and that four spies had come in and stated that about 500 creek Indians had gone to Pensacola for Presents. Which I trust Genl. Claiborne will certainly not suffer them to Escape him having a sufficient force under him to Intercept them as they return. Col. McKee I expect here every hour whom I have been informed has succeeded in procuring ammunition for the Choctaws to effect an Expedition against the Creeks; so soon as Colo. McKee arrives here we shall endeavor at all hazards to join your Army. We have it in contemplation to proceed on from this to a Village of Creeks

¹ That is, the residence of John Pitchlynn, the interpreter with the Choctaw. Gen. Ferdinand L. Claiborne commanded the Mississippi militia operating along the lower Alabama above Fort Stoddert and around Fort St. Stephen, on the Tombigbee. Col. John McKee was Choctaw agent.

² This letter, Nov. 13, 1813, is in the Jackson MSS. with Hawkins's letter to Toulmin.

and a considerable number of rebellious Chaktaws on the Black Warrior situated as I am informed about forty miles above the mouth of said river. From thence if we consider our force sufficient we shall attack the Cawhawssau Village from whence we shall endeavor to fall in with your army some where on the Alabama. Our situation here has been too inactive a one. We long to be engaged in more active scenes with you in the Heart of the creeks country. I forward to you a letter I received from G. S. Gaines containing a letter from Col. Hawkins to Judge Toulman which I think ought to damn him in the minds of all good men. . . .³
N B

Mr Pitchland has been remarkablie friendly and has furnished our little band with every kind of provision that was in his power.

JOHN COFFEE TO JACKSON.

MAJOR WALKERS 7 MILES FROM HUNTSVILLE, November 23, 1813.

Genl, Jackson, Yesterday pursuant to your Genl, order I dispersed my Brigade from camp which was about eight miles north east from Huntsville and to Rendezvous again on the same ground on the 8th. of next month, I have every assurance that my Brigade will be as full as when first mustered into service, and I am confident it will not fall, very far short of that number. Capt. Hammond and company was not in camp to receive the order, I have this morning made out sent him a special order to the same effect and ordered him by all means to be on the ground the day mentioned. I find I have nothing to do here untill my Brigade returns, have therefore determined on going home, am not in very good health but will be with you at the time ordered, if life lasts so long. Inclosed is a copy of your general order, as promised I hope you will have removed the load of difficulties under which you laboured when I left you, before this. I will write to Mrs. Jackson when I get home saying you were well etc.

I am Dr. Genl. with much regard and esteem

WILLIE BLOUNT TO JACKSON.¹

NASHVILLE, November 24, 1813

Dear sir, I have just recd. your several letters by Major Searcy all which shall be attended to as fully as in my power. I have forwarded copies to the War Dept. of Grierson's letters to you; and a copy of yours to me of the 20th. Instant, for the information of the President; and for

³ In his letter to Judge Toulmin, Colonel Hawkins, the Creek agent, said: "The disaster which befel the par[ty] at Mim's fort was to retaliate an attack made on the party returning from Pensacola, as soon as Peter McQueen returned home 20 days were broken for an attack on Coweta, it being a primary object with the fanatics to unite the nation. Our warriors were convened. But the families of the killed and of those who were plundered of the Governors presents, forced the leaders to change the attack to that of the half breeds and their assistants. on the way down they were informed that the former were at Mim's fort and the latter at a fort in the fork and they directed their attacks accordingly".

¹ Endorsed: "Come to hand 31st Decr. 1813. Teste E. Foster, Secy." Jackson had waited anxiously for this letter, expecting it would authorize him to take some kind of action with respect of the request of the volunteers to be discharged on Dec. 10. See his reply to Blount, Jan. 21, 1814, *post*.

his determination respecting the term of service by the Volunteers; for his order for raising an equal number to supply their place, if he orders their discharge, and for a supply of Blankets etc. The discharge of U. S. Troops, and the order for raising others for that service, solely belongs to him to determine on and to order, my authority does not extend to such cases—my confidence in the Volunteers is so great, and the confidence of their countrymen in them is so great, and the object before them is so great, and the laurels before them so great, for it is to give peace to our country by their valor, that I do not believe that they would wish to be discharged before they reap those laurels—their privations have been great but I hope and believe they are now at an end, for their firmness and valor they have obtained the plaudits of their country, but former successes tho' considerable are not to be compared to those which are to be atchieved by their valor—were I to say that they ought to be discharged on the 10th. Decr., I have no power to order their discharge; neither have I any orders to call out an equal number of men, and without such an order to call them out to do so would be to treat men ill because their pay and supplies would be doubtful. I have said to the Secy War that the orders of the Government would be attended to on these subjects. I can only say for myself that was I a volunteer under the act of Congress that I should consider myself bound to serve twelve months if called upon as such to serve, if under present circumstances I as a volunteer was in service I should feel myself in honor bound to await the order of Government for a discharge—this is my individual opinion: as an Executive officer of a state having no instructions from the President, and no right to controul men in the U. S. service I can give no binding opinion on the act of Congress in question; therefore I can only say what my private opinion is, as above expressed. I without further authority than I have to interfere would feel great delicacy in offering an opinion of the law which should affect others. I feel a peculiar pleasure in doing any thing I can to promote the public service at any time, but particularly when our brave Tennesseans are the Actors in that description of service which is calculated to permanently secure the best interest of this fine section of the United States—we look to your Heroes for this important good to be effected. The Creek country and the Floridas added to ours would do it exactly.

Your answer to the Hillabees is very good, but there is a propriety in annexing one or two other conditions to a peace with the Creeks, to wit, that we shall at any time in future be at liberty to navigate their rivers unmolested, to improve the beds of those rivers, build places of deposit for produce, Garrisons etc.; and open roads thro' their country and travel them without passports, just as we do thro' our own settlements. I am told that a Mr. Morgan has gone out to your camp to act as a sutler and if he has not he can get all the articles you suggested on your speaking to him about it. I am with respect and esteem, with the fullest confidence that harmony will prevail in your camp and that every good will be produced by your ex[er]tions,

Your friend ²

² The diffuse and inconclusive tone of this letter is characteristic of all the governor wrote to Jackson in this crisis.

WHISKY RETURN.¹

November 24, 1813.

Whisky Return for Capt. James Hamilton Commissary of Volunteers
Commencing the 22d. and Ending the 24th. of Nov. 1813.

No. men 14 No. Rations forty Eight

Capt. Wackley will issue forty Eight Rations of whisky agreeable to
the above Return

JAMES HAMILTON Commanding

JOHN COCKE TO JACKSON.¹

FORT ARMSTRONG, November 27, 1813

Dear Genl. The d[et]achment [?] ordered under Genl. White to the
Hillbees has returned. On the 18th. Inst. they attacked the town at
dawn, killed 64 warriors and took 256 prisoners, 29 of whom are war-
riors, the residue women and children. The prisoners I have sent to
Highwassee Garrison. In this affair I did not lose one man either killed
or wounded. I have one of the principal warriors among them prisoners
by the name of Billy Scott, he was slightly wounded at Lashley Fort.
I am as yet unprovided with provisions. I am building boats to transport
supplies down the river. Cattle are scarce among the Cherokees. I despair
of getting a considerable number from them. I have men however in all
directions in search for beef—they will return in eight or nine days. I
shall then march for Ft Strother. Should you not hear from me again
before the 6th of next month, you may rely on meeting me at the Fort
by the 12th. with the force at least which you required. Should I be able
to move sooner I will inform you by express.

I am most respt. yurs

FERDINAND L. CLAIBORNE TO JACKSON.

CAMP EAST BANK OF THE ALABAMA 85 MILES ABOVE FORT STODDERT,

November 29, 1813.

Dear General, I this moment received a letter by Express from Col.
Bowyer of the 2d Regmt. U. S. Infantry, a copy of which I hasten to
forward you. It needs no comments, It speaks plainly for itself. The
Volunteers and a part of the local Militia under my command, reached
this place on the 16th. Inst. and the next day about noon, crossed the
river on Rafts. I took a position naturally strong, and immediately
commenced a fortification, of a quadrangular form two hundred feet
square, supported by three block houses and a half moon battery, front-
ing and commanding the river. The Works are now nearly completed.
The fields in this neighbourhood are very extensive, and afford inence

¹ Jackson MSS., Milit. Papers, II., fol. 93.

¹ Jackson MSS., Letter-Book D, p. 192. The attack of Cocke on a town that had
submitted to Jackson on Nov. 17 was a grave error. It resulted from the desire of the
East Tennesseans to win a victory, and illustrated the bad policy of the double com-
mand of Tennessee troops. Fort Armstrong was on the Coosa just west of the
Georgia boundary line. The Hillbees considered themselves betrayed and fought
to the end of the war with desperation.

crops of corn and pumpkins, so that if your time will admit, and you can make your way to the place your cavalry may here fatten. The third Regiment U. S. Infantry commanded by Lieut. Col. Russell joined me yesterday. The boats which convey for the use of your troops about seven hundred barrels of provision, will arrive here in a day or two. As soon as land transportation can be procured, a movement towards the Creek towns on Cahaba is contemplated. My Partizans have not been inactive. A Detachment of the Mississippi Dragoons under Majr. Hinds, surprised and killed ten of the enemy. On the 11th. Capt Jones, was ordered with a detachment of sixty volunteers and militia to make a brisk movement to cut off some creeks who it was supposed were on the Alabama collecting provisions. The next day he fell in with two parties of the enemy which he routed, killing nine warriors without sustaining any loss. The handsome affair of Genl Coffee's was heard of here, a few days ago, and the whole Camp hailed the event as an auspicious one. The Genl and the brave Tennessee'ans who acted with him deserve well of us as Missississippians and of the Government of the UStates. Accept General my esteem and respect

We will wait a few days at this place before we move *forward* to hear more from below and 'tis probable we shall be obliged to retrograde in that case the deposit of provision will be made *here* and a very strong garrison left.

TO WILLIE BLOUNT.

FORT DEPOSIT, November 29, 1813¹

D'r Sir: your dispatches by Mr Fletcher has been duly recd. the want of paper and tim[e] prevents at this time a full answer. Nothing can be more gratifying to a true patriot than the unanimous approbation of his country nothing more consoling to the volunteer[s] than the approbation of those patriotic Ladies of East Tennessee who presented to them the colours, and I beg you to be assured that should a few disgrace themselves by mutiny and dissention, I have still confidence that a large majority of the volunteers under every privation will support the standard of their country untill the[y] finish what they have so gloriously begun. The war is over, if a strong front can be presented. on the 10th. of next month I must advance let my force be what it may. I hope on that day the supply of provision will Justify the measure, and I cannot lie still and eat publick Beef, in idleness. please signify to Colo. Williams my wishes to be Joined by him before I make the movement. from the dissertions that has taken place and the Discontent that has arisen, I cannot say what may be my strength on that day. I therefore earnestly request that Colo. Williams may form a Junction with me on the 10th of Decbr, and that as many volunteers as can be raised may be ready to Join me that I may be at Liberty to let those discontented spirits retire from service. I mean all the old volunteers that are so lost to patriotism and fame as may ask it. but I must have your sanction for this step. I am fearfull, that the greater part of the militia will dissert. how[ev]er I have taken

¹ Jackson was still at Fort Deposit on Dec. 1.

every means in my power to have the disserters arrested, fifty of whom have been taken and are upon their return march. I shall have some proper examples made which I hope will have the desired effect to deter others. report says, that the whole creek force are concentrating to give me another Battle. as soon as I can find out the point at which they are assembling I shall march and attack them.

I[n] haste I am Sir respectfully yr mo ob serv,

THOMAS PINCKNEY TO JACKSON.

MILLEDGEVILLE, November 29, 1813.

Sir, you will herewith receive a Letter which I had the honor of addressing to you from Charleston, directed to the care of the late Governor Mitchell at this place hoping that a communication of intelligence between you and the Commanding Officer of the Georgia Troops had been established; but finding on my arrival here that desireable measure has not been effected I now forward it by express.

I have received no intelligence or instruction from Government since I had wrote that Letter which has induced me to alter the opinion I then formed of the best mode of effectually subduing the Creek nation, having at the same time in view what may possibly be the ulterior intention of our Government in this expedition: temporary incursions of short duration which alone can take place when the Troops will be supplied with provisions by waggons or pack horses may harrass and distress the Enemy, but will be far less efficacious than the establishment of good posts in the heart of their Country whence expeditions may be made in every direction with the certainty of an adequate supply of provisions and a retreat to a place of security in case of misfortune, add to this that if the Indians accept the invitation said to be given them by the Spaniards to take refuge with them we should not be able to pursue them unless we have Depots of provisions, whence the Army can be supplied.

These considerations have induced me after obtaining the best information to be had at this place to send my first Aide de Camp Lt Morris to the places whereat our transportation by Land from the fertile settlements of Georgia and Tennessee to the head of boat navigation of the waters of the Chatahowchie and Alabama Rivers may be effected directing him to proceed to Col: R. J. Meigs¹ at Highwassee who it is presumed can furnish accurate information of the practicability and best mode of effecting the objects in contemplation. He will thence forward to you the dispatch together with such further information as he may obtain on this subject, and is authorised if he shall find it necessary to proceed to have a personal communication with you; if he should not you will please to send your answer to this dispatch by the express; wherein you will please to communicate all necessary information concerning your situation and prospects. The Adjutant General of the District writes to the Officer acting as such with you for the necessary returns which you will please to forward at the same time.

¹ The senior of that name, father of the Governor of Ohio, and U. S. agent with the Cherokee. His agency was at Hiwassee, in Tennessee. See p. 325.

By our last accounts, Genl. Floyd commanding the Georgia Troops had reached Coweta on the Chatahouchee where he is directed to establish a Post, and whereat we are endeavoring to collect a Depot of Provisions. Genl. Adams who commands a body of five hundred mounted Infantry of Georgia will proceed from the Oakmulgee on an expedition against the Pakpeskee Towns near the burnt Village on the Eighth or Ninth of this Month, the distance about ninety miles. if this information should reach you in time it would be desirable that you should send a detachment to operate in the same quarter at the same time. Genl Floyd who is within sixty miles of the same point will be instructed to make a simultaneous attack from his present position. If you have any late intelligence from or concerning Genl. Flournoy, Genl. Claiborne or the Officer commanding any Troops which may be destined for this expedition from the 7th Military District you will oblige me by communicating it.

I have the honor to be very respectfully Sir

TO JOHN COCKE.¹

FORT STROTHER, December 2, 1813.

Sir, I have the honor to acknowledge the recd. of your letter of the 27th. Ulto. giving an account of the success of the detachment under Genl. White at the Hillabees. This added to the affairs at Tallushatchee and Talladega will I think oblige the enemy to respect our arms.

I am happy to learn that you will form a junction with me on the 12th. inst. I had previous to the receipt of your letter contemplated a movement on the 10th., and had been making arrangements with the contractors for this purpose. I hear nothing from McGhee, but the Governor continues to assure me that I am to receive ample supplies from him, and on that assurance I still rely, notwithstanding measures I have found it necessary to take to provide against a disappointment.

Calculating on your certain arrival on the 12th. I shall spare no exertions in the meantime to be prepared for immediate operations thereafter. . . .

THOMAS PINCKNEY TO JACKSON.

FORT HAWKINS, December 2, 1813.

Sir, The Letters you will herewith receive are duplicates whereof the originals were sent by Express through the Cherokee Nation, the importance of a more direct communication has induced me to request Colonel Hawkins to forward this by means of the friendly Indians; the only objection to this mode of conveyance is that these people are impressed with the Idea that your outposts will fire on any Indian who may approach, so that after escaping the danger from their Enemies they will probably be destroyed by their friends: to obviate this inconvenience it has been suggested by Col: Hawkins and adopted as a rule by the detachment from Georgia, that all Indian Runners approaching the Army

¹ Jackson MSS., Letter-Book D, p. 110.

shall give *Two Whoops* and immediately run in: the Sentinel who hears the signal will immediately give notice to the Guard to stand to their arms, but strict instructions must be given not to fire unless they see more than two Indians running in. As I understand you have Cherokee Indians with you whom you may use with advantage for the same purpose you will direct them in that Case to use the same method of approach. . . . I fear from what you say in your letter to Governor Blount that your supply of provisions will form an impediment to your reaching as far into the Enemy's territory as I have pointed out in my letters herewith, my last will inform you of the means I am taking to facilitate your supplies, and in the mean time if you can by any means collect and transport an adequate supply I rely on your exertions to reach the Neighbourhood to the Coosa and Talapoosa fork of the Alabama there to establish a good post from whence our future operations may proceed. Genl. Floyd by our last accounts had set out at the head of One thousand men of his Detachment to make a stroke at the Tookabachie Towns near the bend of the Talapoosa.

I have the honor to be very respectfully . . .

TO REV. GIDEON BLACKBURN.¹

FORT STROTHER, December 3, 1813.

Rev'd. Sir, Your letter of the 20th ultimo, has this moment been handed me by Mr. Johnston. I thank you for it; I thank you most sincerely. It arrived at a moment when my spirits stood in need of such a support as it afforded.

I left Tennessee with the bravest army, I believed, that any general ever commanded. I have seen them in battle; and my opinion of their bravery is not changed. But their fortitude—upon this too I relied, but it has been too severely tested. You know not the privations we have suffered, nor do I like to describe them. Perhaps I was wrong in believing that nothing but death could conquer the spirits of brave men. I am *sure* I was, for my men I know are brave. But privations have rendered them discontented: that is enough. The Campaign must nevertheless be prosecuted, and brought to a successful termination. New volunteers must be raised to complete a Campaign which has been so auspiciously begun by the old ones. Gladly would I have saved these men from themselves, ensured them the harvest which they themselves had sown. But if they *will* abandon it to others, it must even be so.

You have said, if I needed your assistance it would be cheerfully afforded. I do need it, in a high degree.² The influence you possess over the minds of men is great and well founded; and can never be better applied than in summoning volunteers to the defence of their Country—its liberty and its religion. While we fight the savage who makes war only to gather scalps and who feels malignity only because he delights

¹ *Ibid.*, 116. See also Parton's *Jackson*, I. 466.

² Col. William Carroll, who went back to Tennessee from Fort Strother to raise troops, wrote to Jackson, Dec. 15, 1813: "Mr. Blackbourne is doing what he can, himself and most of his students have turned out".

in blood we are, through him, contending against an enemy of more inveterate character and deeper designs, who would demolish a fabrick cemented by the blood of our fathers, and endeared to us by all the happiness we enjoy. So far as *my* exertions can contribute to it the purposes both of the savage and his Instigator shall be defeated; and so far as *yours* can, I know they will be employed. I have said enough. I want volunteers, and I want them immediately. You will endeavour to raise them, and will put yourself at their head, if that should not occasion you too great a sacrifice. By the 15th at farthest I shall recross the Coosa, and recommence my operations. I shall then, if I am supported as I expect to be, put an end, in a few weeks, to the Creek war.

I have made arrangements to provide against any future scarcity; and in doing this, I have overcome the only enemy whose presence need be feared. The instigation of their Allies may again bring the enemy into the field; but can never make them forget Tallushatchee or Talledaga. Genl. Cocke is still in the Cherokee nation, but promises to form a junction with me on the 12th. I have written to Majr. Maury to contribute his influence towards raising volunteers. You will see him soon, and will, I hope, unite yr. efforts. I should be happy to see you both at the preliminary treaty with the Creeks, and at the "laying-out" of a town at the junction of the Coosa and Tallapoosa.

respectfully ⁸

TO THOMAS PINCKNEY.¹

FORT STROTHER, December 3, 1813.

Sir, The Govr. of Tennessee has just transmitted a letter from the War Department stating that you had been ordered to take the direction of the expedition against the hostile Creeks and urging me to communicate with you relative to the measures to be pursued.

I had calculated on forming a junction with the forces from Georgia at the confluence of the coosa and Tallapoosa and on the 10th. of Octr. wrote to the Govr. of that state signifying my wishes and expectations. By return of my express the Govr. advised me that the detachment from that state consisting of one Brigade under the command of Brigadier General Floyd, was then on its march into the Creek Nation. That the advance had reached the Agency, and that he would immediately forward a copy of my letters to Genl. Floyd in order to produce concert in our movements. Since then I have recd. no intelligence from that quarter.

³ This letter was published in the *Presbytery Reporter*, Alton, Ill., III., no. 18 (February, 1857), and at the end is the following addition by General Carroll, which is not in the copy in Jackson's letter-book: "The General wishes you to address the citizens of Williamson on the day of the meeting. I have sent orders to the commanders of regiments to meet at your place on Monday. A little exertion and we will be able to accomplish the object we set out for. I took the liberty to open your letter, having seen it before sealed, and to get some information I had forgotten. In haste, your friend,
WM. CARROLL".

The editor is indebted to President Charles H. Rammelkamp, of Illinois College, for a copy of this additional note.

¹ Jackson MSS., Letter-Book D, p. 111.

On the 2d. Ult. having arrived within a few miles of the Ten Islands on the Coosa, I detached Brige. Genl. John Coffee with 900. of the Cavalry and mounted riflemen to destroy Tallushatchee which was situated a few miles on the south of that river and where I understood a considerable force of the enemy to be embodied. On the morning of the 3d. this order was executed. The Town was burnt. One hundred and eighty taken prisoners. Our loss was five killed and forty wounded one of whom has since died.

On the morning of the 9th. we had a more General engagement. Having learned on the evening of the 7th. that the enemy had assembled in great force about 30 miles below me for the purpose of destroying Talladega (a fort of the friendly party) and then of attacking my army, I set out immediately to the relief of that place with 1200 Infantry and 800 Cavalry; and on the evening of the 8th. arrived within six miles of them. Having recommenced my march, very early on the ensuing morning we came up to the enemy, (whom we found encamped within a quarter of a mile of the Fort) by half an hour by sun.

The engagement commenced, and in a short time terminated in their entire defeat. two hundred and ninety nine of the enemy were found dead on the ground and it is since well ascertained that this falls far short of the number really killed. Our loss was 15 killed and 87 wounded, three of whom have since died. The number of the enemy engaged is not known; but judging from their fires, the space of ground the[y] occupied, and their own representations it must have exceeded a thousand.

The Creek war could now have been terminated in a few weeks had I not been compelled by the want of supplies and for the protection of my rear to return to my late encampment at the Ten Islands. Compelled by the emergency I had set out to Talladega with only one day's rations (which indeed was all we had) under an assurance that the Troops from E. T. would arrive in a few hours after my departure for the protection of the sick wounded and baggage I had left behind. In the course of the following night, however, I learned, that they had entirely changed, their course and would not arrive at the Ten Islands at all.

On our return to the Ten Islands on the 11th. where we expected to find a plentiful supply of provisions we found those whom we had left there, as destitute as ourselves. This produced very disagreeable embarrassments, which I have ever since been endeavouring to remove. By the 15th. Inst. I hope I shall have provided means which will enable me, to recommence the campaign with vigour and success.

The East Tennessee Troops have not yet joined me and are still in the Cherokee nation. I am assured by Genl. Cocke, however that he will form a junction with me at this place on the 12th. inst; and it is then our purpose to move forward to the confluence of the Coosa and Tallapoosa where we shall establish a garrison and where it is believed the Creek war can be terminated in a short time and without much difficulty. If this plan shall be approved I shall be happy in your cooperation with the forces from Georgia, and at all events, in being advised of your situation, intended movements, and ultimate purpose.

I have the honor to be

JOHN COCKE TO JACKSON.¹

FORT ARMSTRONG, December 3, 1813

Dear General, After every exertion I could possible make I have not on hand a supply of provisions for more than ten days for those men which I promised should unite with your force on the 12th. If I risk a movement with such a supply, and find you and your force badly supplied much evil and no good will result from it. My forces are willing to go any where if they can be supplied—in fact they will go even without supplies if ordered, but the time of service of some is drawing near a close, and if I move on and am forced to halt short of the lowest point intended, for the want of supplies and their term of service should then expire it would be cause of much regret.

I have sent Majrs Mynatt and Parsons with this for the sake of receiving in a short time your answer and thereby knowing certainly whether your supplies are such as would enable you to move should I join you with my limited supplies, my contractor cannot even keep pace with the daily demands here. I had dispatched the most active men I could procure to purchase cattle and hogs in the nation and have just learned that their purchases are far short of my expectations. The time of service of some of my men will expire 23d Instant the residue 14 January. I shall continue to add to my supplies all that I can untill I am sure they are sufficient—in the mean time determining to keep up this post. Be pleased to give me any information you may possess relative to the practicability of passing down the river in boats.

I am Dear Genl Most resply

yr obt Sert

WILLIAM MARTIN TO JACKSON.¹

FT STROTHER, December 4, 1813

Sir, Painful as it may be and certainly is to me it nevertheless becomes my duty to disclose to you a disposition which prevails the regiment which I command and by which I fear you will on the tenth day of this month lose that portion of your present force. This will be a serious misfortune as it will go far to frustrate for the present the further operations of the campaign which is every way important to prosecute with vigor. But it is unavoidable. On that day they will claim their discharge as a matter of right so they contend and beyond that day they cannot by coercion be kept as I believe. They further contend that [they] thought themselves finally discharged on the 20th of April last, and never understood to the contrary until your order of the [twenty-fourth] day of September² last appeared ordering them to rendezvous at Fayette-

¹ Jackson MSS., Letter-Book D, p. 139.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 126. At the top is written "not [in] hand till the 6th".

² By Jackson's orders of Sept. 19, 1813, the volunteer cavalry were called to assemble at Camp Good Exchange, Nashville, on Sept. 24, 1813. Nothing is said in them about the infantry. In the story of Enoch Parsons (Parton's *Jackson*, III. 611), the date of assembling is placed at the third Monday in Sept., the 19th of the month. The editor is not able to reconcile the two statements, but the date set in the order to the cavalry seems to be preferable.

ville on the 4th October, when for the first time they were informed that they owed further service pursuant to their former tender the discharge which you had given to the contrary notwithstanding. Thus situated there was a considerable disinclination to obey that order. On which the officers generally as I am advised and I know myself in particular gave it as an unequivocal opinion that their service would terminate on the said 10th day of December. This was done from a conviction of the correctness of the opinion and further to stimulate the men to turn out on which they were generally prevailed on to join the Army agreeably to your orders. this having been the fact they have steadily kept their eye on that day as the time of their release. It having contemplated twelve months from the time when they rendezvoused at Nashville and were regularly mustered into the service of the United States pursuant to the proper Authority. They therefore look to their General who holds their confidence for an honorable discharge on that day. and that he will also see that justice is every way done. They regret that their peculiar situations requires them to leave their General at a time when their services are important to the common cause.

Their apology for this step is that when the order of march was received they were taken at surprise not expecting again to be called on, and furthermore the time allowed for preparation was so short, it being by many not more than one or two days, that there were many who were poor, had not time to make arrangements for their families or provide themselves cloathing necessary for a Winter campaign. Nay they were assured they would not be kept in service beyond the said 10th day of Decr. And if they do not get home soon there are many of them who will be literally ruined.

This Sir is a concise representation of the state of things in this Regiment. But should you construe the law in question otherwise than has been mentioned it will be placing the officers in general and myself in particular in a delicate situation for all or nearly so having conceived that from the law they could not be kept in service longer than the day mentioned and having avowed that opinion repeatedly and publicly before they joined the army and having had no reason to change that opinion have never attempted to conceal it. This has been the case with myself and all those with whom I have conversed on the subject say that it was the case with them also. In fact this was one of our strongest arguments to get the men out. It has been insinuated by some that the General has said that they the men should not be discharged before next summer but this they will not believe until they receive it from himself which they believe they never will. It is with me Sir to know much of what is passing in the regt. being always in my place and never asleep on my post. It is needless to hint at the consequence which (beyond this place) will result from a disorder by movement from hence.

From a sense of duty I owe you sir, myself, and the Regiment I have the honor to command, I take the liberty with much deference to make to you this representation. It would be desirable for those men who have served with honor, to be honorably discharged, and that they should

return to their families and friends without even the semblance of disgrace, and it is believed that it is with their General whom they love, to place them in that situation. They say, and with truth, that with him they have suffered, have fought and have conquered, they feel a pride of having fought under his Command. They have received him as an affectionate father, while they have honored revered and obeyed him; but having devoted considerable portion of their time to the service of their Country, by which their domestic concerns are much deranged; they wish to return and attend to their own affairs. Above all things they wish to part with their General with that cordiality, with which they have served together. A different state of things would blunt the agreeable recollection of their former services together, and would be by them considered as one of their greatest misfortunes. This is the language and those are the feelings of these noble hearted soldiers.

I am aware of the difficulties with which you have had, and still have to contend, and for myself can only say that my public aid has been on your side. Two advantages may be derived from discharging the men at the time mentioned, *vizt.* the most of them would give up their arms for an equivalent, and furthermore it is believed that many of the young men will reengage. With due respect and high consideration I am
your sincere friend

TO WILLIAM MARTIN.

FORT STROTHER, December 4, 1813

Sir: I have recd. by the hands of Major West your letter of this evening, and after carefully perusing it and giving it every consideration, in my power and looking forward to the 10th of the present month and viewing every disagreeable scene that it may afford proceed to give that calm deliberate answer it [deserves]. and first it is necessary and proper to view with serious deliberation, and particularly for those well to deliberate whose honor and lives may be at stake, on what grounds they claim their discharge on the 10th. instant. is it from any deceit practised on them by me. was not the law of my general order directed to be read and expounded to them before they enrolled themselves under the act of February the 6th. 1812. This my order will verify, and every general officer in my Division can vouch on this ground there is no complaint it is Tacitly acknowledged, that they are legally enrolled under the act of Congress. Thus being legally bound, have they legally performed the service under the law, agreeable to their undertaking.

The government made the call, it is well known that the 10th. of Decbr 1812, was the proudest day of my life, it was the proudest day for west Tennessee, her Patriot sons gave the lie direct to their slanderers (high in power) that it was a Tender on paper. We brave the Snowey Blasts and the dangers of the icy sea without murmur; did our duty and Established a fame by our proper conduct unvoiced in america, and much good was expected from our services. under this hope, the fatal order of Dismissal of the 16 of march I believe (for I write from memory) reached us. I say dismissal, for we were not discharged, but as you will recollect

"dismissed from publick service" by the order and deprived of every description of publick property. contrary to the oppinion of many I hazarded a disobedience of that order it being so unjust and contrary to law not providing either for the payment of my Troops or their subsistance on their return march. I marched them to columbia, where it was thought advisable to dismiss your Regiment, and surely it cannot be forgotten by any member of the Regt. the sacred pledge of honor given by all, before I gave the certificate now calculated on as a discharge,¹ that in case we were called on by the government, that every officer and soldier would obey the call, as tho the said certificate of dismissal and faithfull service had never been given. I ask too, can it be forgotten, why I gave this certificate. I answer that it cannot be forgotten, that it was to entitle the Troops to all the emoluments under the law, under which they were engaged and if never again convened by the orders of the government to comply strictly with the seventh section of the law under which you were engaged, and that of the whole regiment, enclose you the section for your perusal, from which you will find, that when the proper authority discharged you, that it then required the certificate of your commanding officer to entitle them to the emoluments promised them under the law. The Volunteers being thus dismissed from publick service (not discharged, for I know it is not believed that I have any power to discharge) my first duty was to secure Justice to be done to those patriotts I had the honor to command, and who so nobly step forward to support the eagles of their country in a Just and necessary war, and to have them by legally authority absolved from their engagements, by a discharge. I appealed to the proper authority who ordered payment to be made to the officers and soldiers and the necessary return expence.

on the subject of your discharge you have read the answer of the Secretary of War made thro the honourable George W. Campbell, and I have no doubt communicated it to your regt. I have taken pains to make it known to every branch of the volunteers. The answer was this, "that he the secratary of war, had no power to discharge them, and in his oppinion the President of the united States had no power to discharge them untill the expiration of the period for which they were engaged." It will be well here to notice the original act, which provided that they should be liable to serve one year in two from the time of their engagement. from the act and the explanation of the secratary of war I always did infer that he the secratary at war meant that the President of the united States had no power to discharge us untill the expiration of the two years from the time we were enrolled, or on the expiration of twelve month service by us. as to your service can one of you with truth assert, that you have been in the service of the united

¹ This certificate, dated April, 1813, was in the following form: "I certify that A B enrolled himself as a volunteer under the Acts of Congress of Feb. 6th, and July 6th, eighteen hundred and twelve, and has served as such under my command, on a tour to the Natchez Country, from the tenth of December eighteen hundred and twelve, until the twentieth of April, eighteen hundred and thirteen, and is hereby discharged". (Martin's *Self-Indication*, p. 16). Martin introduces certificates from officers of the volunteers to show that on Nov. 18, 1813, Jackson was heard to say that he thought it just to discharge the volunteers on Dec. 10. *Ibid.*, p. 20.

states for one year since your enrollment. The answer is plain and every man can give it for himself. Hence it followed that I have never intimated to any branch of the volunteers that their time would expire on the 10th. instant, and as to my construction of the certificate I gave at Columbia my requiring a pledge of honor for future service if called on, and my order for treating all as deserters who did not appear agreeable to order at the place of rendezvous plainly shew.

Now as to the right upon which they claim their discharge—is it upon the words of the law. This requires twelve months service after the[y] arrive at the place of rendezvous unless sooner discharged. Who has the power to discharge. The President of the united States thro his organ the secretary of war. has he the secretary of war announced the pleasure of the President that we are discharged he has not, but he did in a strange land distant from our country dismiss us from publick service. is there any man in the Volunteer corps that does believe that I have power to discharge them. I think I can answer for them that there is not. is there one of the corps that does believe that If I had the power, I would not immediately exercise it to save men who has done so much, has deserved so much, and acquired the full plaudits of their country and whom I love as a fond father loves his children from that eternal disgrace that will await them if they attempt to leave their standard. Unless by permission of the proper and legal authority. I do believe there is not one, and if there is, I give him a pledge of my honor, he is mistaken. I have pledged myself to act as a father to them. I know I have performed the task faithfully. it is not the duty of a father to deceive. This I have never attempted. Therefore not possessing the power to discharge, I have never yet promised a discharge on the 10th. of this instant. But I have pledged myself that if the governor would say to me, that the volunteers should be discharged on the 10th instant, that it would be the first pleasure of my life to announce it. on this subject I have wrote him and expect his answer hourly let it be what it may it shall be made known without delay. Nay more I have sent on to raise on my own responsibility Volunteers, can they be raised (of which I have no doubt) upon their reaching headquarters, and the Volunteers now in service will surrender their guns to the quarter master, for which they shall receive ten dollars each that I will receive them into service in Lieu of the present volunteers, or such part as wishes to abandon the service of the country and permit them to retire to their respective homes. This is all I can promise. This is all I have power to perform, and I never will deceive.

The 10th. day of next June is a positive day, if the volunteers continue in service. The law then will discharge them, their Genl will glory in having the pleasure to pronounce it either from the authority of the Governor Major Genl Pinckney who now commands or from the President of the united states or from the arrival of the 10th. of June next. The honor of the volunteers has been the constant care, theme and pride of life it is so still, and I have a pleasing hope that they will nobly die before they will do an act, that will disgrace them. I have still a pleasing hope, when they reflect upon the rules and articles of war, they never

will attempt an act of mutiny, or abandon the standards of their country without legal authority or discharge and subject themselves to be treated as deserters. Indeed I cannot permit myself to harbour a thought of the disgrace of the volunteers. What Those brave fellows who brave the snowey blasts, has so nobly fought and conquered ever to disgrace themselves by abandoning their Post without being discharged by the proper authority. I cannot, I will not believe it. But should I be disappointed, I have only to observe, that I will do my duty. I will quell mutiny and punish desertion when and wheresoever it may be attempted. I shall always do my duty under every circumstance under which I may be placed.

I am sir verry respectfully yr mo ob servt

TO JOHN COFFEE.

FORT STROTHER, December 5, 1813

D'r Genl: Genl Cocke is to form a Junction with me on the 12th. instant, his force not named. so soon as Genl Cocke forms a Junction with me, and your Cavalry gets up I shall move to the hickory ground. As soon as you reach Madison and your Brigade assembles I will be glad to hear of your force, so that I may be able to Judge, of my strength when united. you will regulate your movement in such away as to form certainly a Junction with me by the thirteenth, if you should be advised by the contractors that a sufficient supply of provisions to fill up my requisition at this place has been sent on. there is now a good road discovered from the flint mills to the Tennessee at Thompsons Camp, and from there to this place there is not a large hill or mountain but what is cut around, and the road is now good for waggons. you will urge the contractors to lay under requisition every waggon in the county, to accompany the pack horses, so that a sufficient quantity of bread stuff may arive here by the twelfth instant you must bring on with you sufficient supply of corn to last your Brigade 12 miles below Talladega, where there is plenty of reeds and at the Hillebays (unless destroyed) a supply of corn. from information through Fife ¹ the Georgians with the Cowetas has had a Battle with the Creeks, and has been compelled to retreat; this Battle fought 75 miles from Talladega. Dispatch is therefore necessary for this branch of the army and also strength to give them a final blow. I am respectfully yrs

P S. you will regulate your advance by the information of the supplies. so soon as you arive I will march.

FERDINAND L. CLAIBORNE TO JACKSON.

FORT CLAIBORNE EAST BANK OF THE ALABAMA, December 5, 1813.

Dear General, The Spies which I dispatched to Pensacola in consequence of the letter received from Col. Bowyer of which I advised you in my communication of the 29th ult. returned to camp yesterday evening after having visited that place. The amount of the information received

¹ Jim Fife, a friendly Creek chief.

is that there are no British forces landed; but that there are two armed Brigs and a Ship at Anchor in the bay. From circumstances it is believed that the Squadron which is there, are Privateersmen. They had captured some of our Coasters. The Spies were informed that two hundred Creeks had been in Pensacola and had recd. from the Spanish Authorities one thousand weight of Powder and a proportionate quantity of lead. This, as usual will be denied by the treacherous Spaniard. Some of the Enemy's armed vessels are in the vicinity of Mobile. A confidential officer will return from that Quarter to day, when I will be advised of the movements of the enemy. Pensacola is now the storehouse of contraband goods, the Sanctuary of old Tories, and the great support and cause of the disturbances on this Frontier. My Brave lads are badly clothed. I wish to God my numbers were augmented and I could receive authority to move in that direction. The Southern borders cannot be safe until Pensacola is taken. Six hundred barrells of provision has arrived at this post. If nothing intervenes the Volunteers and 3d Regmt. will move for Weatherfords town on Cahaba in a few days, but for want of support in the Nation, will fall back to this post, as soon as we have destroyed the vilages in that Quarter. . . .

TO JOHN COCKE.¹

FORT STROTHER, December 6, 1813.

Sir, I have received your letters of the 3d. and 5th Inst, and am equally surprised and concerned to hear your supplies continue deficient. In the name of God what is McGee doing and what has he been about? Every letter I rec[e]ive from the governor assures me I am to receive plentiful supplies from him, and takes for granted, that they have hitherto been regularly furnished. Considering the generous loan he obtained for this purpose, and the facility of procuring bread-stuff in E. Tennessee and transporting it by water to Ft Deposit it is wholly unaccountable that not a pound of it has ever arrived there. It is my wish that you arrive here by the 12th. Inst with 1500 men. This will leave a sufficient number to protect the fort you have erected. It is believed the enemy are assembling on the Cahawba to my right; but this fact will be better ascertained by the time of yr. arrival here. . . .

CANNON, ALCORN, AND FIVE OTHER OFFICERS TO JACKSON.

December 8(?), 1813.

Major General Andrew Jackson. Haveing receivd. an order from Genl John Coffee in pursuance to your order to detach from our respective Regts. one half the men and company officers with all our horses to be sent into Madison County etc. the object of which is to enable us to perform further service and feeling as we all do an anxious wish to aid and assist as far as in our power in doing the same. Beg leave to suggest for your consideration a few remarks, hoping you will bestow a moments reflection on them—you know the situation of our horses that a great

¹ Jackson MSS., Letter-Book D, p. 119.

part of them cannot be able in any short time to perform further service, our men have come out with patriotic motives, but were advised not to bring their clothing necessary for the present and approaching season numbers also have lost their horses and clothing in the service and are already suffering with cold as well as hunger and if permitted to return only the shortest time to their homes would get fresh horses and bring clothing prepared to go with you through the winter season or until the end of the campaign, we have the fullest confidence in you our Genl. and hope our conduct has inspired you with some confidence in us, you may rely on our being ready to perform the campaign with you in a shorter time than is possible for our horses to be put in order in the way you have ordered. We find this only one sentiment pervades the whole of our men, and hope you will modify your order so as to permit the whole of the men and officers to return there or to their homes they may be relied on to march again into the field of action at the instant you order them with clothing and horses prepared for the whole campaign. The officers commanding companies would pledge themselves and your men will not deceive you, in obeying your call again. We much regret that the situation of the men under our respective commands has impelled us thus to attempt to address you, and we hope you will condescend to hear us, for a moment consider this which we offer you with due submission to your former order.

TO WILLIAM MARTIN.¹

FORT STROTHER, December 8, 1813

Sir: I have just received your note of this day, dated, by mistake, the twenty-eighth, and hasten to answer it. I have no *written evidence* of the pledge of the volunteers for future service, *with me*. I have only to ask if the officers of that corps have *forgotten*, or are they prepared to *deny* that such a pledge was really given?

I hope the phraseology of my letter of the sixth, has not led you to believe I meant to insinuate that the conduct of the volunteers, in the expedition to the lower country, had not been such as to entitle them to any honorable expressions which their general could have used, had he been authorized to grant them a "*discharge*" at all. I hope too, when I say "but for their pledge that certificate had not been given", I am not understood to signify that the one was exchanged for the other, in the way of barter. My meaning was, that notwithstanding the high sense I had of the patriotism and services of the volunteers, and notwithstanding the strong wish I felt to insure them all the advantages and emoluments, to which a certificate of honorable service and dismissal might entitle them in the event of their not being again called into service for the balance of their term, yet I did not think it prudent, or even feel myself at liberty to grant them, at that time, *such* a certificate as was then granted, until they had given such a pledge as they then gave.

I am, respectfully,

Your obedient servant.

¹ *The Self-Vindication of Colonel William Martin* (1829), p. 10. This pamphlet was reprinted from the *National Banner and Nashville Whig*, in July, 1828.

TO PLATOON OFFICERS OF VOLUNTEERS.

FORT STROTHER December 8, 1813

Gentlemen: I have this moment recd. yours, of this morning and for answer thereto, refer you to my answer made to the address of Colo. Martin of the 2nd. Regt. Tennessee volunteers on the same subject on the 6th. instant, Barely here remarking on some misconceptions, that appears to have been taken up and expressed in yours of this date now before me. It is true I shall never forget the order for our dismissal from Publick service by the secretary of war recd at Camp Jackson Natchey with its inhumane and barbarous consequences. I say dismissal, and every officer and soldier belonging to the volunteers, will well remember, it was a *dismissal* of the most extraordinary kind, and not a discharge. your general hesitat[e]d not on the step his duty to his brave compatriots in arms bound him to take—his order of the 16th. of march will fully prove. contrary to the advice of many on his own responsibility he marched them to their country and their friends, when he reached columbia, the 2nd. Regt. wishing there to be dismissed your General ever mindfull of their interest gave them a dismissal from the then Tour of duty containing a certificate, as contemplated in the 7th. section of the act under which they were raised, in case they should not be called into service again untill the expiration of the time expressed in the law under which they were engaged, obtaining a sacred pledge from all, that they would on a call of their country, obey that call with alacrity. was there an officer or soldier that vewed that certificate as a final discharge from their obligation under the acts of Congress of February 6th. 1812 and July 6th. 1812? was there one officer or soldier that even believed me invested with the power of discharging the volunteers from their obligation of enrollment under the acts? I gave the answer, there could not be one; and I am happy to find in your letter of this day now before me, an acknowledgement that no power exist short of the congress of the united states, or the President of the U. S. where he is particularly authorised by law. Suppose then I had mistaken my power and given you a full discharge from your engagements under the law, would it had any binding force, would it exonerated you from your engagements. you afford the answer that it would not, and let me ask had I have been so imprudent; is there a generous breast amongst the volunteers, that would at this day, endeavour to take advantage of an act of Justice and friendship, intended for their benefit and make it redound to the injury of their General where no advantage could be obtained to themselves. I leave the answer to them. Let me ask is there a single volunteer that can say that I ever hazarded an opinion that there time of service would cease on the 10th instant there is not. They have heard me say, that if there time did expire on the 10th. they were entitled to pay for the whole time, and my best exertions should be made to obtain them this Justice. I have laboured hard for this object it would be the proudest moment of my life to have it in my power from any competent authority to announce it. from the indisposition of Mr Cunningham and my own with the press of other business I have to refer you to my letter of the 6th. to

Colo. Martin of the 2nd Regt. T. V. to shew you what endeavours I have made and am still making to obtain for the volunteers an honourable dismissal from service. But when it is acknowledged that I am not invested with any legal power to discharge, when it is not contended that upon the clear principles of your engagement your time has expired, why will I be asked to give an honourable discharge. when it is admitted I have not the power—that, that power alone is with congress or the President of the united states. I have only to add that my continued exertions shall be used to get the whole volunteers honourable out of the field and that at the shortest Possible day, untill which period my confidence is they will remain steady at their post.

I am gentlemen with the highest respect yr mo., ob, servt,

TO POPE AND BRAHAN.

FORT DEPOSIT December 8 1813 "at night"

Gentlemen: To write as frequently as I do on the same subject would in ordinary cases be evidence of want of confidence in you, or a suspicion of your indolence neither is the fact. it is the want of supplies, and the real prospect of still greater want, and a total discomfiture of the whole campaign, which will have fatal consequences to our frontier country and involve our country in disgrace. I have no doubt in your personal exertions, but I am fearful, that your agents are inattentive and indolent. report here says there is no breadstuff at Fort deposit, nearly all here exhausted—my cavalry to be here in a few days, and Genl Cocke to form a Junction with me on the 12th. and as yet not any bread stuff on hand. Should this be the case on the arrival of my cavalry and Genl Cockes army, the same discontent and confusion will arise, as has heretofore arisen and a pretext will be given for sedition, mutiny and desertion, as has heretofore arisen, and which has destroyed one of the best armies in the world of its numbers, and which will destroy the present campaign. When they cavalry reaches me I must move forward or the horses are starved, and supplies I must have—should they supplies not be on, and the campaign be finally put an end to on that account the whole blame will be on your shoulders and this too when it is so important to push forward. They Georgia army, beaten, and obliged to fall back, if not Totally defeated, if the report of the creeks be true, and a beaten enemy in front, emboldened by our tardy movement, and collected again to give us battle who a few days ago, was under the banner of a flag suing for peace on any terms. Such is the effect of the want of supplies it will be still worse, if we are compelled to abandon the campaign, they enemy will follow us to our frontier, and our helpless weoman and children will be their victams. a sufficient supply will enable me once more I hope to advance and give them battle, and I trust in god, to obtain such a victory as will ensure a lasting peace. but you must not only employ pack horses, but every waggon must be put in requisition, to give us some days rations in advance, that a future supply can be kept up and maintained. could I now advance, I could cut them to peaces in small parties.

I have advice of the place they are concentrating and in four days by forced marches could reach them. for god sake then push on the supplies, that I may advance on the 12th. or 15th at farthest. I have to repeat, from the dissatisfaction of the troops, a failure of supplies for one day destroys the prospects of the present campaign. I can say no more. I send on Capt. Deaderick express to carry this information to you that you may prevent the evil. I have not time to copy. respectfully yrs etc

To JOHN COFFEE.

FORT STROTHER, December 9, 1813.

Sir: The disquietude of the volunteers has grew to a hight, that it impossible to tell in what it may end I have been on yesterday threatened with disagreeable events on the 10th. unless they are discharged. They know I have not the power to discharge. I have advised them of my having applied to the governor, for orders to discharge them, and I have also informed them that I have on my own responsibility, ordered Colo Carrol on to bring on as many volunteers as would Justify me in dismissing them. that this was all I could do. with patience they would get out of the field with Credit, but after all these exertions on my part if mutiny or sedition shew itself in my camp at all hazards I would put it down. what may be attempted tomorrow I cannot tell, but should they attempt to march off in mass, I shall do my duty, should the mutineers be too strong, and you should meet any officers or men, returning without my written authority, you will arrest and bring them back in strings, and if they attempt to disobay your order you will immediately fire on them and continue the fire untill they are subdued, you are to compell them to return.

you will regulate your march to this place by the prospect of provisions comeing on, carefully foraging your horses, at such place as a supply can be furnished, if a supply can be furnished you at Thompsons Camp or Fort deposit, I wish you to cross the river and employ your force in stopping all desserters whether officers or men, and particularly officers, we must yield our independence or govern in camp as well as the laws govern at home, and each and every man who mutinys in the field would be a traitor at home if it was not for fear of Punishment and the power of the laws. I have therefore to repeat that every officer or man found on the return march without my permission in writing or that of my aids are to be arrested and brought back, and in case of resistance immediately shot. I have heard thro different runners from Tulladega that the georgia army in conjunction with the Cowetas has had a battle with the hostile creeks, and the Georgians have been compelled to retreat. The wolf reached me last night as express from Tulladega, informing that some of their people who had long endeavoured to Join them and had been prevented by the red sticks, arived at the fort on the night of the 7th. and informed them that the creeks told them that they had entirely defeated and killed the whole of the Georgia army, and that they had got all their guns a pile as big as a house. but the wolf says the red sticks are

such liars, he does not believe it. I have no doubt but they have had a battle and the advance has been beaten, and compelled to fall back upon the main body. This has emboldened the Eight Towns that we severely beat at Tulladega and were suing for peace on any terms, to consent to Join the red sticks and are now concentrating their forces within forty miles of Tulladega to give us battle. I have attempted to force an express through the creek nation to the Georgia army. I hope to be correctly informed in four days of the result, from all which you will see the necessity of our advancing as soon as supplies will Justify the movement, and you will come on as early as supplies can be forwarded by the contractors.

In haste I am yrs affectionately

ROBERT SEARCY TO JACKSON.¹

NASHVILLE, December 9, 1813

Dear General, On the 7th. Instant I set out for your head quarters and had not proceeded more than 7 miles before I met Colo Carrol,² and returned with him to assist in accomplishing the objects of his trip in. The absence of the Governor has occasioned some delay in our preparations We have not heard from him, altho we ought to [have] had an answer from him last night.

We have concluded to act without his Authority and have commenced by issuing orders to the commanders of regts. to call together their men on Monday the 13th. Instant for the purpose of procuring as many volunteers as they can to rendezvous at Huntsville on the 21st. If the Governor Sanctions this measure we have expedited the business, by thus early commencing it. if he does not (and I am really apprehensive he will not) we have acted as we should have done had we known his opinion before we began. I entertain strong hopes the number of men required will be raised by voluntary tender of Service. Captns Crain and Cheatham marched through town today with about Sixty men. Majr Phillips of this County is actively imployed in raising a company, he has already got thirty. We have started John Childup and James Jackson, they have not been so successfull, but hopes are yet entertained they will Succeed. . . .

JOHN COFFEE TO JACKSON.

CAMP BRAHAN, December 10, 1813

Dear Genl. I fear you have thought me negligent, by not reporting myself to you before this since my arrival at this place, but I know you are not unaware of some difficulties in this branch of your army, as well as the many in all its members. It would really seem that our difficulties are never to be at an end for no sooner than one obstacle is removed a new one presents itself. On the 8th Instant myself and a very few men arrived here pursuant to your Order, the default I was not much disap-

¹ Major Searcy was one of Jackson's aides.

² Colonel Carroll writing to Jackson on the same day said he and Searcy were doing all they could to get recruits; and they declared that they had to contend against a faction that seemed to wish the expedition to fail.

pointed in, as the weather was so unfavourable to traveling. I therefore thought it unnecessary to write you untill I had some valuable information to give, and determined on delaying untill the Brigade would generally reach camp. On the evening of the 9th. I had about 500. men and officers, I then issued orders, that a detachment should march this morning to the river and commence crossing, and just at the moment I thought they were about to march, a demand was formally made by the Captains of the Cavalry Regt, on Col Allcorn for a discharge from the service, the Col handed it over to me, now instead of marching I had to set about removing this unauthorised, and unmilitary conduct, and after issuing orders appropriate to the occasion, together with the very warm and patriotic personal address of our neighbour Col Ward, I believe I shall be able to wield the Brigade for the present and will very early tomorrow morning move on a part to the River under Col Allcorn to commence crossing and will follow after with the balance so as to keep the boats always engaged untill we get over the River—as there are a number of men not yet come up that the Captains have great reliance on following to this place. I presume the last will not cross the River untill the thirteenth. tomorrow morning and before this leaves me I will give you my strength here which I am sorry to say is far short of my expectations, notwithstanding several companies lately raised will follow after me and will some of them probably overtake before I reach you. Capt. Crane from Robertson is one, and Major Murray of Williamson an other, after I cross the River no delay shall take place on my part, but will push on to you with all possible dispatch.

11th. Decr 1813—this morning the Brigade report is 814 men and officers now in camp and fit for duty. very early I marched about 200. to the river to cross today and about ten OClock, the Cavalry Regt. moved off under the command of Col Dyer and will reach the river tonight, tomorrow morning I will move off the whole, we are still strengthening, I think one thousand a proper number to calculate on of my Brigade, I shall proceed immediately to Huntsville and will see the contractors. . . .

TO THOMAS PINCKNEY.¹

FORT STROTHER December 10 1813

Sir: I have the pleasure to acknowledge the recpt of your letter of date the 16th of November, with your instructions of the same date, and your letter of date 29th. of Novbr. from your head quarters Milledgville, all handed me this evening by your express.

On the 1st. day of this instant at Fort Deposit I recd. a letter from Governor B. covering a letter from the war Department of and another of which advised me of the Presidents order to you to take the command and direction of the present expedition against the creeks. I immediately wrote you by express via Genl Co[c]kes encamp-

¹ This letter is a rough draft in Jackson's handwriting. Following it with the date of Dec. 11 is the letter as it came from the hands of his competent aide, Maj. John Reid. Both documents are reproduced to show in what respect Jackson may be considered the author of his official letters at this stage of his career.

ment, requesting the Genl to forward it to you by express, which will advise you—(here again give the substance of the letter). I also wrote you on the 8th. Instant, and has pushed this express thro the creek country. I had two objects in view in sending it through this dangerous rout—first that it may reach you sooner, and secondly, that I might acquire further information of the position of the hostile Creeks, that rumor states has beaten the advance of the Georgia army and the Cowetas.² my first letter will advise you of the fatal cause after the victory at Tulladega that compelled me to retrograde. It has had a banefull effect upon my Troops. to prevent them from literally starving I was compelled to march them to meet the provisions. The privations the[y] suffered, the retrograde movement, filled every mind with home, and sedition and mutiny stalked in my army. With difficulty without blood shed I have put it down but two of the finest volunteer regt. under the acts of Congress of February 6th. and July 6, have become restless and their officers for their men claiming there discharge—here state the ground. Genl Coffees Brigade of Volunteer Cavalry and mounted gun men, I was compelled after the Battle of Talladega to send into Madison County to forrage their horses, and to ration themselves, his strength when he left me 1033 privates including officers non commissioned officers and privates 1169. State the present scarcity of provision, and future prospects—here express a regret that the want of supplies and my cavalry in the rear prevent me from sending on a strong detachment, to cooperate with Genl adams. Infantry could not answer his wishes, unless so strong as to be able to meet the whole strength of the hostile creeks. they could not save themselves by regular retreat, much less by flight. I am always opposed to pushing my advance farther than in case of need, with my main body I can cover, aid and protect it. My former letter will shew my plan, which I feel much gratified so nearly meets his instructions. My intention to build a strong Fort, at the Junction of the C. and T.³ or about 20 below on the allabama. If the ground in the Fork will afford a good seite the fork preferable, as we will be able [to] secure the fork and erecting a redoubt on the south east bank of Taliposa and a fortified camp we will be able to drive them the Taliposa and afford compleat protection for supplies in reserve. I have no hesitation in believeing that the most certain supplies from mobile point—next to that, down Tennessee to Fort D. Here describe it, and shew the advantage. I have no information from Genl Flournoy or Claibourne, altho I have written to Genl Flournoy and Govr Holmes some time since by mail. The last account I had from that quarter was from Colo. Mkee, who, I sent on to the choctaw nation with 25 men to watch the movements of the creeks in that quarter and stimulate the Choctaws to a declaration of war with the creeks, he some time since advised me that the choctaws had declared war against the creeks. The creeks therefore will be prevented from escaping to the west bank of the mississippi.

² A friendly branch of the Creeks.

³ The initials stand for Coosa and Tallapoosa.

TO JOHN COFFEE.

FORT STROTHER, December 11, 1813

Dr. Sir: In my last I advised you of the threatened, result of the 10th. I am happy to say to you the 10th. is past and the scenes of the 9th give tranquility to my camp on the 10th. The idea was held out, that it was the disquietude of the ranks, that raised the ground work of the remonstrance of the officers, but when it came to the Test I found it (as it will allways be found) that it lurk beneath the dark and hidden duplicity of officers in my confidence and whom I never before suspected. I found no mutinous disposition in the ranks, when brought to the Test. indeed I must confess I had my artillery so aranged, (and the militia who merit and receive my thanks) that was well calculated, to compell obedience. but still I say I discovered no mutinous or seditious disposition in the ranks. from the want of supplies, and the various complaints, I announced verbally, that one (or on extraordinary occasions,) Two to be Detached to bring up supplies for each company, and the result proves, that nine commissioned officers and non commissioned officers, are detached on this service for one private, which fully proves, where the will existed where it had its birth, and it is ever to be deplored that they would be patriotts at home and wish to continue so. and add to their popularity in the camp, hesitate not to state unfounded facts, to throw blame if Possible upon others that the[y] know the[y] do not deserve and like Sempronius in the Roman Senate after he had sold his country and betrayed his army, appeared in the Senate, and in his speech declared his voice was still for war.

I have a right to believe that Colo William Martin, in whom you know I had the greatest confidence has been at the bottom of all the mischief and disgrace that has and will attach to the volunteers, from their represented mutinous disposition, when an enemy is collecting in our front within fifty miles.¹ in this situation he is ransacking his brane,

¹ In July, 1828, Colonel Martin published a defense of his conduct. It appeared in the *National Banner and Nashville Whig*, and in the following year was published in a pamphlet with the title of *The Self-Indication of Colonel William Martin*. Of the mutiny on the night of Dec. 9, 1813, he has the following statement (p. 14):

"During this time all my exertions were used to quiet the discontents inseperable from such a state of things. Although I did believe them (as I thought all did) entitled to be discharged on the tenth, yet I urged that if it was withheld they should not go off in a disobedient way while I could prevent it. Those exertions were supported by most of the officers, so that it appeared after a few days, they were disposed to waive their claim for the present, and await the arrival of fresh troops, which the General said would soon be there. Thus were those discontents for the present quieted, and so continued until the night of the ninth, when we were aroused by the General's famous order for the brigade to be paraded. About the usual time for lying down, General Hall came to my quarters, under the appearance of considerable excitement, told me that General Jackson had ordered the brigade to parade in front of the fort, to be disarmed by the militia: for me to parade my regiment forthwith. This I did without delay, and the disagreeable scene then exhibited is truly set forth in the statement of facts below, signed by General Hall and others. While the General was abusing us for mutiny, etc. he was told that the men were not in a state of mutiny, and asked for his author, he replied, Gen. Hall. This Gen. Hall promptly denied. Notwithstanding this, the General's biographer has had the unblushing effrontery to say, that 'on the evening of the ninth, General Hall hastened to the tent of General Jackson, with information that his whole brigade was in a state of mutiny, and making preparations to move

misrepresenting facts, to obtain (or compell me to do an act I am not authorised) to discharge the Troops whether from a fear of facing the increasing strength of the creeks or whether to increas his popularity with the volunteers when they return, time will unfold; certain it is if he and others had employed their time and talents, to have induced the brave volunteers to have faced their enemy and exterminate them first; they then could have like heroes required an honourable discharge. What honourable; a requisition for a discharge in the face of an enemy when all our force was necessary to destroy them and that too at a time when report says that the Georgia army is defeated, and all their force will be turned against me—and under these circumstances to ask an *honourable* discharge shoes what ideas of honor such feelings Possesses. but I have put mutiny down, I will keep it down or Perish in the attemp. I have barely to state we have no bread stuff here; ration for this day only. I have only to say to you to forrage your horses and move up with the contractors supply.

I wish we had supplies. orders from Genl Pinckney that reached me yesterday if I had supplies would make it necessary to move on, we must

forcibly off.' This is as false as what he says about the brigade, when attempting to go off previous to the tenth, being driven back to their tents by the militia, as nothing of the kind, either directly or indirectly, during the whole time these men were in service, ever took place.

"Waving this controversy between the General and those volunteers, they continued to do their duty, and behaved with their usual subordination and decorum, for which they were at all times remarkable. Not the first appearance of mutiny ever came to my knowledge, and it would have been impossible for any thing of the kind to have taken place without it, I being always in the midst of them, except when on command. What gave rise to the tragedy on the night of the ninth, I never knew, but I always thought that some misrepresentations had been made to the General at that time, as had all along been, respecting the disorderly disposition of those men. It is hardly supposable that if they had been in a state of mutiny, as charged, they would, with such promptitude have obeyed the order to parade for the purpose of being disarmed, *deep in the enemy's country*. Let any reasonable man think of this, and ask himself, if this alone is not sufficient to refute the charge. A few days, however, after the tenth, the General ordered the brigade to be marched to Nashville, though not before the arrival of a large reinforcement of more than a thousand men, under General Cocke. On the march, an order was received from the Governor for the men to be dismissed until further orders which have not yet come."

From the statement of Brigadier-General Wm. Hall and seven other high officers of the brigade of volunteers, made Mar. 4, 1814, and alluded to by Colonel Martin above, the following extract is made (*ibid.*, p. 18): "The men quietly in their camps, between eight and nine o'clock, P. M., were ordered to form in front of the fort for the purpose of being disarmed by the militia. After being formed they were insultingly charged by the General with mutiny, desertion, and many other opprobrious expressions; and he concluded by saying that the flash of the cannon should be the signal of their destruction. It was denied that the troops were in a state of mutiny; they only asked an indulgence of their rights. At this time the militia was in front of the line, for the purpose of disarming the volunteers, the cannon loaded, manned and stationed, under the immediate direction of the General, so as to rake the line, and other arrangements made to carry on the work of death. After the General had disgorged his rage, he proposed their waiting the arrival of Major Searcy or Colonel Carroll, as before mentioned; this was assented to and the brigade dismissed. On the thirteenth, the General addressed the volunteers in a manner calculated to insult and wound their feelings, and immediately issued an order to General Hall, commanding him to march the brigade to Nashville, and there await the orders of Governor Blount and the President of the United States. . . . During the dispute between the volunteers and the General *they* behaved with their usual subordination and decorum, having determined not to disperse without an honorable discharge. They contended for this with a respectful firmness not to be shaken by boisterous threats."

forward the moment bread stuff can be had. Genl Cocke will reach me tomorrow, and for gods sake say to Pope and Brahan we must have supplies or the campaign from Tennessee will be defeated and our State disgraced. as soon as a supply can be up I wish you with it, and I hope your whole Brigade has again returned to the field. write me your strength. Genl Pinckney has required a report of my strength, and the number of Troops in the field from Tennessee, without your return I cannot make it to him. I expect to hear today from the Georgia army I have pushed a runner thro the creeks if he escapes I shall see him to night or tomorrow. I hope you left Polly and all friends well. Push on Stockley Hay and Searcy. I am more than surprised that they were not here on the 9th. Hays must be on, and Searcy I have expected from the 7th. With due regard yrs

TO THOMAS PINCKNEY.

FORT STROTHER, December 11, 1813.

Sir: I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 16th. Nov. dated at Charleston, and your instructions of the same date; together with your letter of the 29th. November dated at Milledgeville—all handed me last evening by your express, Mr Cooper.

Having been advised by Gov. Blount that you had been ordered to take the direction of the expedition against the hostile Creeks I immediately wrote you on the 3d. Inst; acquainting you with my operations up to that date. This letter I sent to Genl. Cocke to be, by him, forwarded to you by Express. On the 8th. Inst, I wrote you again; and sent the letter by a friendly Indian, direct through the Creek nation. The object of this letter was to procure from you, as soon as practicable, any plan you might have formed for conducting the war; and particularly to learn at what point you might wish a junction of our forces to be formed, if you should desire such a measure at all. In sending this letter through the nation I had a double motive—that it might reach you in the shortest time, and that I might acquire the most correct information of the situation and force of the enemy.

I am happy to find, from your letter of instructions, that my ideas correspond so well with yours, as to the proper mode of prosecuting the war. It is certainly correct that a mere temporary incursion into the enemy's country will not produce those beneficial and lasting effects for which this expedition was designed, and which our government expects. I have omitted no means in my power to render the Campaign permanently useful; and for this purpose I have established a depot for supplies on the Tennessee river, at a point which you will find marked on the draft which I send you, Ft Deposit; and another at this place, which you will also find laid down on the draft. I expected, before this to have made an establishment at the confluence of the Coosa, and Tallapoosa; and should certainly have done so, but for the causes which are stated in my letter to you of the 3d. I am happy to find you have thought of that place as a proper one for the junction of our forces and for the establishment of a garrison. I consider it admirably fitted for both these purposes;

and so soon as I recommence operations I shall move thither with as little delay as practicable.

Had I been able to follow up immediately the victory at Talladega, the enemy would never have been able to recover from their defeat. I am well assured I could have cut them up by detachments before they could have re embodied in any formidable force. But I was compelled by the want of supplies, as well as for the protection of my rear, to hasten back to this place; and to my astonishment and mortification I found on my arrival here, the same scarcity which had compelled me to return. Discontents arose among the men which it was impossible to remove without removing the cause which produced them; and I was obliged to march the greater part of them back to Ft Deposit. But their minds having become soured by privations, and their faces being turned towards home, it was exceedingly difficult, or rather utterly impossible to reconcile them entirely.¹

Other causes of discontent besides those which grew out of the scarcity, have obtained very extensively and very injuriously in my camp. The volunteers who enrolled themselves under the acts of Congress of the 6th of February and 6th of July 1812 and who compose a part of my present army believe that their term of service expired on the 10th. Inst, *that* being 12 months from the day they were mustered into service; altho they have been the greater part of the time out of service. They consider their former dismissal as tantamount to a final discharge; and at all events, they say, the time having once begun to run must continue to run on until the expiration of the term for which they had pledged themselves. Not considering myself empowered to discharge them, strong symptoms of mutiny have manifested themselves which I have found great difficulty in restraining.

I have sent back to Tennessee for the purpose of raising a new corps of volunteers; and I am very sanguine in the hope that the measure will succeed.

I found it necessary after I had returned from Talladega to send Genl. Coffee's brigade of Cavalry and mounted gunmen into Madison to recruit their horses. When it left me it was something upwards of a thousand strong, and will return as strong, I have no doubt, as it left me.

¹ Judge John Catron, justice of the U. S. Supreme Court 1838-1865, a serjeant-major in Colonel Martin's regiment in 1813, had this to say, in 1817 (*Martin's Self-Vindication*, p. 27), in regard to the cause of the mutinous feeling at Fort Strother: "All things continued quiet until the army returned to Fort Strother (I think the twelfth of November), from Talladega, where there were no provisions in camp. We had been for the twenty preceding days extremely straitened for provisions, and for the three days preceding our return to camp, literally without eating, and had done *very* hard service; waded Coosa, a half mile wide, up to the middle, on an extreme frosty night, with certain expectations of warm fires and plenty to eat being ready for us '*at home*', a mile below the crossing. The consequence of not a ration being in camp, was, threats of marching off to Deposit, where something to eat might be had; and this was by *all* the army; but a little flour coming in, it was prevented, for, I think, three or four days; at which time, the General promised the troops, if no provisions came on, they should march; this accordingly took place, though your regiment, meeting provisions twelve or fourteen miles from camp, the second day, returned. This excitement should be charged to a hungry appetite, and not to the misconduct of any one."

Genl. Cocke will form a junction with me tomorrow; and so soon afterwards as I obtain supplies to authorise it, I shall recommence the campaign and prosecute it with the utmost vigour. At present I have no supplies of bread-stuff, and the quantity on the way is much less, I am fearful, than I supposed it to be when I wrote you on the 8th. I ordered the contractors a fortnight ago, to furnish, without delay, thirty days rations at this place—forty days at Telladega, and forty at the junction of the Coosa and Tallapoosa. How faithfully this requisition will be complied with, I cannot venture a conjecture. Their most positive assurances no longer afford a ground on which even an opinion can be hazarded. I have been incessantly urging them and using every other means in my power to procure a sufficient supply to enable me to prosecute the campaign to a successful termination. Barckly McGee of E. Tennessee who had contracted with Gov. Blount to furnish me and who received a loan of 15000 dollars from the Nashville Bank for this purpose, has neither supplied me with a pound of any thing, nor even let me hear a word from him. This is the more astonishing from the facility with which bread-stuff might be procured in East Tennessee and forwarded by water to Ft Deposit.

The advantages of a water-carriage, for the purposes of such an expedition, over waggons and pack-horses, are certainly very great; but after they arrive at Ft Deposit, my supplies must I am apprehensive, be transported by means of the latter. This river is navigable a considerable distance above, but at this place there are obstructions, and there are others between this and its junction with the Tallapoosa which will probably render it of little value for the transportation of supplies to that point.

I regret exceedingly that there has been hitherto, so little concert in the operations of our respective armies; and as I have endeavoured heretofore, so I shall continue to endeavour to establish a more harmonious cooperation.

The uncertainty as to the arrival of supplies puts it out of my power to say at what time I shall recommence my movements. I hope however, (and I dare venture nothing more than a hope), I shall be enabled to do so in a few days. I have just learned that there are between three and four hundred barrels of flour at Ft Armstrong which Genl. Cocke is said to have ordered on.

The volunteers who are now in my army are resolved not to cross the river when I recommence my movements; it will therefore be necessary, for reasons of policy, to permit those to return immediately who are disaffected and determined not to march and await in the settlements, the discharge of their government. The fault I believe has been principally with their officers; and I still hope that many of the men will remain, after they are privileged to return. At all events I hope their places will be soon supplied by others to be raised in Tennessee.

So soon as there is a sufficiency of supplies to justify a movement I shall order on Genl. Coffee's brigade from Madison. Indeed his present orders are to come on with the supplies when he finds them furnished there.

The fort which I have erected at this place, as well as that which I erected at Deposit will be of great value for the reception and protection of our future supplies; and I shall therefore keep them up. Should it be found practicable to use this stream for the purposes of transportation to the Hickory ground, the value of a fort at this place will be very much enhanced; but in any event, its utility will be very great, and indeed indispensable. Somewhere near the junction of the Coosa and Tallapoosa, is certainly the point at which a strong position should be taken, and from which excursions should be made into the surrounding country; and through the medium of posts which I shall establish in this direction, I have no doubt, when things have once gotten properly into operation that ample supplies can at all times be furnished there. Such a position will besides have the advantage of a safe and easy communication with mobile point by means of the river, which is at all times navigable below the junction, for vessels of considerable burthen; and from which point a certain supply can at all times be calculated on.

The adjutant Genl forwards to you a report of the strenth and condition of the troops now under my command. It must not however be considered as perfectly correct, as the number of desertions, and the inaccurate returns which have been made to him, occassioned by the want of attention in some, and the want of knowledge in others, render it impossible to furnish such a one at this time. Genl. Cocke having not yet advised me of the number, condition, or lenth of service of his troops, I am unable to inform you what will be my augmented strength after he shall have formed a junction with me. Such a statement however shall be forwarded, agreeably to your order, at as early a day as possible.

I send today, one of my confidential officers into the settlements to purchase bread-stuff.

I have the honour to be with great respect yr. obt st.

P. S. 12th. I have this moment heard that Genl. Coffee is coming on which is a proof that supplies are on the way. I hope I may be able to take up the line of march by the 15th.

TO JOHN COFFEE.

FORT STROTHER December 12 1813

D'r Sir: I have the pleasure to inform you that Genls Cocke and White has Joined me to day with 1450, of as fine looking Troops, as you ever saw. They are fine materials. I must move on, the enemy is concentrating within forty miles of Talladega. It would be treating the Holsten Troops, who I know are brave, impolitely, not to give them a fandango, before the time of service of part of them expires. You must form a Junction with me on the 16th. instant during the day or night. I mean to give the Holston brave fellows the fandango, on the 18th instant If I can reach the point. This for yourself but you must if Practicable reach me on the 16th and bring on with you as many days bread stuff as you can, say Eight days, we have a bountifull supply of Beef and pork, and expect after Genl Cocke a further supply of one hundred and odd Beves.

I shall (if the Bread stuff expected down the river from Fort armstrong) should arive I shall commence crossing the Coosa, on the 14th., and form an encampment on the south bank, ready to move forward as soon as you form a Junction with me. The Volunteer Infantry I have permitted or reither¹ in the morning, I Issue an order, to permit them to return to Nashville there to be subject to the orders of the Governor, or the President of the united states, and have ordered Genl Hall to march them to that place. I have been induced to do this, to save them from disgrace or slaughter, as I have been informed by Genl Hall that both officers and men had in a final caucus [made a] determination not to cross the river and I have been ordered by Genl Pinckney to forward a detachment to cooperate with Genl adams of Georgia. If I gave an order, the Vollunteers must form part of this detachment, If a disobedience was attempted—death by a court martial, for mutiny, or by compulsion must be the result. Therefore to save them from disgrace, I have hazarded the Permission to return to Tennessee. But if they can meet the frowns of their country for abandoning the service when they know from information that the enemy are concentrated withing fifty miles from us, when the[y] from the report of the friendly creeks that the advance of the Georgia army are defeated, if they can return home, with me they could be of no use or service. Men with such gloomy feelings could not fight, and calculating on numbers, men who were not lost to patriotism or feeling might be destroyed depending on their prowess, nay more their, present example, would ruin any army and create actual mutiny in any new troops. let me hear from you. send on one of Capt David Smiths sons. Yrs sincerely

TO JOHN COCKE.²

FORT STROTHER, December 12, 1813.

Sir, It becomes my duty to inform you that Major General Thomas Pinkney of the United States army is authorised by the President to take command of all the troops ordered out against the hostile creeks. And being called on by him for a return of the strength and condition of all the Troops on duty from the State of Tennessee, also of the medical and hospital stores on hand together with such addition as will be necessary to constitute a supply for three months; of all the provision on hand in the commissaries; and stores in the Quarter Masters Department; I have therefore to request that you will forthwith cause a return to be made to me of the number of troops composing your Division now in actual service and what part of your Division are in the field under the order of the Governor pursuant to the order of the Secretary of war calling on you for fifteen hundred detached militia; and if any others for what time engaged and how many; you will also cause your Hospital Surgeon (if any you have) if not your regimental Surgeons to make retur[n]s of the amount of Hospital and medical stores and what addition will be necessary to constitute a supply for three months. You will also cause your Quarter master to make report of the stores on hand in

¹ This form of *rather* was once frequently encountered in the South.

² Jackson MSS., Letter-Book C, p. 101.

his department. Having learnt that you were on your march to this place, I have detained the express from Genl. Pinkney in order to give him every information required. I hope therefore you will cause reports to be made without delay as herein required.² I am most respectfully yours etc.

P. S. The express will set out early tomorrow. I cannot detain him longer than 10 o'clock A. M.

TO JOHN COFFEE.

FORT STROTHER, December 13, 1813

D'r Genl: On this morning one quarter after three I closed the letter you will receive by Mr Bird, and half after 4 o'clock I recd your letter of the 10th. together with your confidential letter, both read and considered, I hasten to answer—that I regret extremely the tardiness of the contractors, and still more the want of Patriotism of the Troops in the field. I see nothing that can be done but a bold stroke and do what we can, and if supplies cannot be had to abandon the campaign for the present, first notifying Genl Pinckney of our situation and the necessity of a retrograde. but I still hope from the exertions of Messhrs. Pope and Braham with the supply McGee has on hand of Bread stuffs at Rosses we will receive ample supplies and be able to compleat a campaign so gloriously begun—notwithstanding all the mutinous dispositions displayed by the fire side patriotts, who forget their patriotism when the[y] enter the field and find danger in front. I expect 300 Barrells of flower and meal down the river in the course of the day. This with what can be sent up in our rear will give us a supply that will Justify a movement, and crush the enemy at once. They greater part of the Holston troops say their time is up in a few days. I must make them fight one Battle before they get out of service, and I have called on Genl Cocke to know how many men he has in the field of the 1500 men ordered from the detached militia agreeable to the orders of the secretary of war, these are in service for six months. I have also wrote to the Governor requiring his ideas when the detached militia times are out and requesting that their places may be supplied by other requisitions and up before the others time expire—and upon the whole I can see no other alternative from the orders of Genl Pinckney, the situation of the Troops, but to move on, and destroy those that are collected in front. our laurels will fade if we stop here—our state will be disgraced, and our boasted patriotism appear in *its true colours*, unless we now exert ourselves, and I can say in the language of the sacred writ, “as for myself and my house we are determined to serve the lord;” and without disguise as far as bodily strength will permit, to realise the expectation of my country from any and all my declarations. I find nothing but a bold stroke will do. we must push these discontents to the last point of their patriotism, give them one fight, lessen the enemies force, and then let them go, and if our goverment will not furnish us men, we are not to blame, but as

² This letter itself was enough to make Cocke feel that Jackson meant to assume superior authority over him.

for you and myself we must be the last to leave the field. you will therefore press the contractors, for vigorous exertions. come up as soon as you can and I will move without delay. There is plenty of flower and meal in East Tennessee to supply an army of 20,000 men as Judge white Major Minett and Genl Cocke and White inform me and one active agent by giving a liberal price, from Eight to ten dollars a barrel for flower delivered at Rosses, or at fort deposit, and half a dollar a Bushel for corn meal sifted at the mills, and one dollar pr bushel in barrels deliver[ed] at Rosses or fort deposit. when this is the fact what excuse can be for contractors not supplying us. why has not Pope and Brahan, sent on an active agent to purches and push the supplies down the river. if you are with them when you receive this do my Dr sir press them on this subject. I shall push on an active agent to make purchases for the Government to Holston and as soon as this is done (which will be as soon as I can obtain one in whom confidence can be reposed) I will advise them. but they ought not to rely on this. I want to scorch old McGee who had every thing in his power and has starved us. come on and bring with you all the bread stuff for the support of your Brigade you conveniently can and Join me as soon as possible. I am sincerely yrs etc

8 oclock at night I am advised that Genl Cockes force here 1450, times are out on the 23rd. 29th. and 1st of January and that they too are determined to go home the moment their time is out. what a situation If I advance, and get into the midst of the Indians, liable to be deserted, by Half my force, without a garrison or numbers to protect my main body, or convoys of provisions. you will therefore halt at Fort Deposit or some place where you can get supplies for your horses, and be in readiness for my order. I will consult the officers tomorrow, and order you accordingly. The Volunteers, are depositting some of their arms here and will march back like heroes in the morning. Yrs with respect

TO WILLIE BLOUNT.¹

FORT STROTHER, December 13, 1813.

Sir, I wrote you last evening, adviseing you, that from the discontents prevailing amongst the Volunteer Infantry, arising from an idea that their time expired on the 10th from a disposition displayed of Meeting on the 9th; and as advised by Genl Hall, that both Officers and men had come to a final determination not to march forward, or cross the Coose River again; and finding, from the orders of Genl Pinkney, from information recieved here of the Georgia Army being beaten by the Indians; and in consequence of their rumoured victory, they are consenstrateing their forces about forty five miles from Taledega, all combined to make it necessary for me to move forward; and to save my own feelings from a scene that would follow from an act of disobedience of my order, and them from the disgrace that would attach itself to such an act; and having received from you, no answer to my several letters on this head, I have determined to permit them to march to Nashville, for orders from you or the President of the United States;

¹ Jackson MSS., Letter-Book D, p. 151.

and do hope and request that you will discharge them, first directing the Mustermaster to muster them out of service. I do not conceive that I have any authority to discharge them; I am doubtful whether Genl Pinkney has, or any power except that of the President [of the] United to Nashville, for orders from you or the President of the United States; who organized them, I hope you will conceive yourself authorised to dismiss or discharge them; and I have a hope you will exercise this power. This corpse [*sic*] was the first pride of my life; they have deserved well, and I had a hope would be the last Troops on earth who would have asked to go home so long as an enemy was in front; but privations have brough[t] on discontents, from which mutiny has sprung, and patriotism has fled. I therefore have a desire that they may be discharged and mustered out of service by your order.

I shall move forward as soon as possible. The Volunteers will march to day, and I will have a quiet camp for a *few days*; when I can turn my whole thought to the chastisement of the enemy. I expect my Runners in to day, who will give me a full account of their situation and number collected at the big Fish trap.

I hope there still remains a sufficient number of patriots to chastise the Creeks, and to carry on the Campaign. Shall it be said, that the boasted patriotism of Tennessee is a mere phantom, that only existed at home; shall it be said that a glorious career shall be abandoned for the want of men; shall it be recorded that the brave, the patriotick Tennesseans turn faint hearted, when they are ordered to March to face the Creeks. *It shall not, it must not.* I have therefore to request that you will hold in readiness, a sufficient number, to fill up the deficiency that may be occasioned by the discharge of the Troops now in service untill the Campaign is completed; and advise me of the length of service of the Militia, whether those under the late act are to be considered for the whole length of the Campaign, or in service under the Act of Congress, as detached Militia. I am impressed, from the Secretary of wars letter, that he views the whole as detached Malitia under the Act of Congress; or he would not believe that the detached Malitia, with me, might answer the requ[i]sition that might be made on you by Genl Flournoy; but to you I look for information on this subject, and request that it may reach me in a few days.

I am sir in hast[e]

TO MRS. JACKSON.

FORT STROTHER, December 14, 1813

My love: I have recd, your verry affectionate letter of the 3rd. instant, and by Capt Allen who has come out to see his three sons (and certainly a father never was blest with three better) has promised to hand you this. Pressed with mutiny and sedition of the volunteer infantry—To surpress it, having been compelled to arrange my artillery, against them, whom I once loved like a father loves his children, was a scene, that created feelings better to be Judged of than expressed. a once conquered foe in front, rallying to give us battle, and a whole Brigade, whose

patriotism was once the boast of their Genl and their country, abandoning the service and declaring they never would advance across Cosa again, and to their own eternal disgrace, and that of their country, turning their backs on an enemy fifty miles in advance, when all was wanted was a force to advance to destroy them, has been scenes that has given me much pain and trouble and is for their country to pronounce praise or censure on. one thing is certain, that notwithstanding the officers attempted to lay the blame on the soldiary, the result proved that the officers, and not the soldiers were at the root of the discontent, and when they were put to the Test but one commissioned officer turned out, to support the Eagles of their country and prosecute the campaign. that was old Capt williamson and for this act of Patriotism he was huted at by Colo. Bradly. Capt Allen can tell the ballance. I observe the rascality of Nollybay. Mr Scott and witworth can prove the contract and his acknowledgement of the debt, I called upon them as witnesses, and if he has a sufficient quantity of cotton in my ginn to discharge the debt of 350 lb of good, merchantable gind Cotton, it must be detained, if he has not let him have a credit for what good cotton he has, have him warrented, and Mr Saml Scott and Mr Whiworth summoned as witnesses, have a Judgt for the ballance, and as he has proved such a scoundrel, let him have no indulgence. I have not recd your verry acceptable presents. they will come on in good time. I would to god, I had a place I could bring you to. I would certainly send for you and my little Andrew, and if Genl Pinckney under whose command I am will, direct me to take a stand at any stationary point, for any specified time I will send for you. My heart is with you, my duty compels me to remain in the field whether we will have men enough to progress with the campaigning I cannot say, for I fear the boasted patriotism of the State was a mere bubble, that expires, on the approach of an enemy, and if I am compelled to abandon the campaign for the want of men, such scenes will be acted on our frontier, that nothing can parralel unless the scenes of the north west and this too after the enemy has been beaten and conquered, and nothing remained but a sufficient force and supply to advance. we have now a prospect of ample supplies of provision, and no troops to eat it. what may be the result time alone can determine my old friend Allen waits this letter if I had time I have many things to say to you. It may not be long before I can either send for you or see you at home. But you know my motto, I know you approve of it—that is death before dishonor. kiss my little andrew and give my best wishes to all my friends and inquiring acquaintance. I shall write you by Colo. Hays if he comes up. May heaven bless and protect you is the nightly prayer of your affectionate Husband.

BRIGADE ORDERS.¹

FORT STROTHER, December 15, 1813.

The commanding general, believing he has no power to discharge them, but influenced by their disquietude and anxiety to get home, thinks proper

¹ Tenn. Hist. Soc.

to permit so many of the first Brigade of Tennessee Volunteers as may wish to abandon the campaign, to be marched to Nashville—there to await the orders of the Governor of Tennessee and of the president of the United States; and orders Genl Hall who commands said Brigade to carry this permission into effect. The contractors will issue them two days rations at Ft Strother; and at other points agreeably to the order of Genl Hall.²

WILLIE BLOUNT TO JACKSON.

BAXTER GROVE, December 15, 1813.

Dear sir, Yours of the 8th. Instant is just to hand. I have reason to believe that Col. Carroll will soon be with you with at least as many men, as the number of Volunteers under the Act of Congress now with you make; and as those Congress Volunteers are anxious to return home, and as it is probable that the public service will be in all respects as well promoted by your dismissing or discharging those Volunteers I will do all I can to promote their dismissal or discharge by recommending of it to you to discharge them, relying on Col. Carroll's being with you in a few days with an equal number of men, it can make no material difference with the Govt. whether those now with you stay, if an equal number supply their places, but I feel confident that at least two thirds of the Volunteers will stay—my former letters will shew you my ideas fully as to my power or right of instruction about their discharge. I think with you that public good will be promoted by your discharging of them, not knowing the will of the President about this business; have the Volunteers thought whether the Genl. Government will pay them for their services rendered if they are discharged without his order. I wish them to get their pay and it would be well for you to mention the risk they will run about the pay but that you are willing to comply with their wish to dismiss or discharge them, or to keep them longer as they please until the answer of Govt. is known. I have written to the Secy War several times on that subject but as yet have no answer. The Militia were detached for six months service but I have no instructions from Govt. how long they are to serve, have asked the Secy War the question and his answer when recd. I will transmit to you it may be expected shortly and I will as you will endeavor to act for the best—mildly. In haste with cordial esteem, I am

yours sincerely

To JOHN COCKE.¹

HEAD QUARTERS, FORT STROTHER, December 15, 1813.

Sir; Finding from the report made to me by you of the 13th Inst., that there is not now of your Division, here under the requisition of the Secretary of War, made thro' his Excellency Gov. Blount on your Divi-

² Maj. W. B. Lewis, assistant deputy quartermaster, at Nashville, was ordered to receive and pay for the arms the volunteers might deliver to him at the rate of ten dollars for each stand.

¹ Jackson MSS., Letter-Book C, p. 110.

sion for fifteen hundred men; and the term of service of Genl. Whites Brige. (who alone of your Division are here) terminate on the 23th and 29 Inst. except Col. Lillards Regt. whose term of service expires on the 14th Janry.

The campaign must not terminate untill its object is compleatly effected. The character of the state is at stake, and it requires every exertion of the brave Tennyseans to support it. It can only be done by furnishing a competent number of troops, agreeably to the requis[i]tion of the Secretary of War made on you thro' the Govr., and then to make up the Quota of one thousand men to appeal to the patriotism of your Division, and bring into the field, by voluntary enlistments to be commanded by their own officers one thousand men for the campaign. You will therefore forthwith return to Fort Armstrong, make arraignments for keeping up that post as a place of Deposit; and order your Quarter Master to transport the provision to this place as they arrive, in boats;

You will then proceed to your Division by the way of Ross.s, make arraignments with the Contractor of East Tennessee for a compleat supply of bread stuffs agreeably to former requisition's; and you will direct your Quarter Master to have the same transported to Fort Armstrong and Fort Deposit without delay: and you will make arraignments for any farther supply for any numbers of men you may bring into the field for six months: and in case you have any doubts that the contractor will fail again in his supply, you will please have a sufficient supply bought and sent on, that the fatal consequences that have ensued to the campaign for want of supplies, thro' the sheer neglect of McGee may not again be experienced. You will without delay, by draft or voluntary enlistments for six months or the campaign, furnish the full quota of the requisition of the Secretary of War thro' the Govr., on you for fifteen hundred detached Militia: and as soon as raised send the same thither by detachments of Battalions or Regts.

You know my situation. You are apprised of the expectations of the Commander in Chief Genl. Pinckney. You know the expectations of government, that we have 5000 troops in the field, when we have but about 400 effectives, whose services can be calculated on for more than one month. Expedition therefore is necessary or our posts will be abandoned; and if ever they are, the aid expected by government from Tennessee will be lost and with it the reputation of the state. I have sent on to my Division to endeavor to raise by voluntary enlistments a sufficient number of men to fill up the vacancy that is made in my ranks, by the retrograde of my volunteers. Should I fail in this attempt I have requested the Govr. to issue his order for a draft. No exertions on my part will be wanting to push the campaign to an honorable issue and in you I have the greatest confidence. I must repeat again, that our bread stuff must principally come from East Tennessee, and you must have an eye that a compleat and ample supply be had, that no want may be experienced in future.

I have signified to the officers of your Division that all volunteers enrolled for the campaign under their own officers, will be accepted, to make up the Quota from this state, as well in your Division as mine: one fifth mounted gunmen or Cavalry will be admissable. The Militia, under the order of the Secretary of War, must be infantry. Finding that from the shortness of the term of service of Genl. Whites Brige. that I cannot move forward as I expected and fully calculated on: and as the brave soldiers composed his Brige. were only enrolled for three months and prepared for that time, may again wish to return to the support of their country's Eagle, and to consummate a campaign so fortunately begun: that they may reach their families as early as possible, you will please order Genl. White, with Cols. Browns and Wears Regts to take up the line of march, so soon as waggons and a sufficient supply of rations can be furnished them. You will please inform them the waggons will be ready tomorrow sometime in the day; and that their return rout will be left to the direction of Genl. White, who will direct it, in such manner as in his judgement, will be most to their ease and convenience. You will please have procured by your Quarter Master or some active agent, and transported to Fort Armstrong and this place, as early as possible, all the corn that can be procured in the Cherokee country, near the navigable streams that empty in the Coosa This will be all important to the existence of your horse's and what cannot be done without.

most etc etc yours

PETER PERKINS TO JACKSON.¹

HUNTSVILLE, December 16, 1813

Dear Genl. We are all bustle here. On monday last I had one of my Volunteer company's paraded at this place to send you, but unfortunately here one hundred men revolting from service rushed thro' contrary to law, order, and every thing else. The Madison Company soon took fire and withdrew their service all but 15 men. I now have two companys who will encamp at this place on monday next, volunteers. Two more I'll draft and send on to you—in the course of next week the whole will set out for your head Quarters. Several companis from Tennessee new V. mounted men, are now here. You will soon be strong again. I hear of many more on they way. I had to order the County to arms for the purpose of quieting disorderly people in our streets, a few days since, and to save the lives of some of your faithful officers, that were trying to do their duty. Things are now somewhat quiet. . . . I have been able to do according to your wishes, except stopping all the men deserting your army: they come in such bodies that I have not troops sufficiently armed to stop them—it has in consequence of my exertions to stop them, created almost a civil war at this place. Some of our citizens, as bad as they are, rather aid them in their going than lend a hand in stopping them. . . .

¹ Jackson MSS., Letter-Book D, p. 173.

TO JOHN ARMSTRONG.¹

FORT STROTHER, December 16, 1813.

Sir: The volunteers who enrolled themselves under the Acts of Congress of the 6th. Feby and 6th. July 1812, and who composed a part of the forces under my command in this expedition, beleiving their term of service expired on the 10th. Inst utterly refused to prosecute the campaign any farther. Not considering myself empowered to discharge them, I had them marched to Nashville—there to await any orders which you or the governor of Tennessee might think proper to give them.

I find since the arrival of Genl. Cocke who formed a junction with me on the 12th. Inst that the term of service of the greater part of his men will expire in a few days, and of the whole, in a few weeks. No portion of them, it seems, was raised under the requisition of the president, as they had been ordered to be by the govr. I shall therefore order Genl Cocke back to raise the 1500 men he was required to raise, and whose term of service, will I apprehend, be six months; and shall permit him to march back and discharge that part of his present troops whose term of service is within a few days of expiring.

The want of supplies alone has prevented me from having terminated, before this time, the Creek war. It, with the want of cooperation from the E. Tennessee troops compelled me to retrograde to this place after the battle at Talladega; and it continues to prevent me from recommencing operations. All that my utmost exertions could effect has been accomplished; and yet I have not a sufficiency of breadstuff to authorise another movement at this time, even if I had troops to authorise it. All the difficulties and delays of the campaign are to be ascribed wholly to the contractors. But I shall not cease my exertions to provide both men and supplies to enable me to prosecute the campaign to a successful termination. The importance of it is too great, and the progress of it has been too fortunate to be abandoned.

I have sent to Tennessee to have other troops raised by voluntary enlistment to terminate the expedition; and they are expected to arrive by the 25th. Inst. By that time it is beleived there will be a sufficiency of supplies to enable me to commence another movement.

I received on the 11th Inst a letter of instructions from Maj. Genl. Pinckney who wrote from Milledgeville; and advised him by the return of his express, of my situation.

² Chenuby and Lashly, from, Lashlys Fort at Tulladega, two friendly and faithfull creeks has arived here this evening, and advise me that the advance of the Georgia army with the aid of the cowetas has had an engagement with the hostile creeks, and that the Georgians, has retreated, that the hostile creeks are assembled in force and are about to

¹ In 1828 the House of Representatives called on the Secretary of War for copies of the correspondence between Jackson and the War Department from the beginning of the Creek war and referring to the terms of enlistment of the militia. This letter was first in the series sent in response to the call. It is in *Am. St. Papers, Milit.*, III. 786. The text here given differs somewhat from the text of the letter received. It seems to be a draft by Reid with a final paragraph by Jackson.

² This last paragraph is in Jackson's hand.

advance and attack and destroy their fort, and then to advan[ce] and attack me, should this be a fact I will try with my full force to save those friendly Creeks, and defeat the enemy on the heights of Tulladega. had I but one Regt of regulars added to those few heroes who will die with me or carry into effect the object of the campaign, I could reach the walls of Pensacola in two months. there is the origin and source of the war. Chenuby and Lashly inform me that the Spaniards at Pensacola has furnished one Town with large quantities of powder and lead, and has invited the ballance down to receive ample supplies. *delenda est Carthago*, or we will never have peace with the Indians. Nay more to render the southern frontier safe in a state of war, we must Possess the sea coast, and settle the interior with our own citizens for 150 miles [s]outh from the sea from Georgia to the inhabited parts of the M. Territory.³ The 39th. Regt. would be of great use in defending the garrisons, erected, and keeping open the communication in the rear. Will you please order them to aid in the prosecution of the campaign. I have the honor to be respectfully
yr mo ob serv

WILLIAM HAMILTON TO JACKSON.

FORT STROTHER, December 17, 1813.

Hon'd. Genl. I understand that an express has this evening arrivd which brings news (if not missinformed) that ought to rouse the passions of every man who has his eye fixed on the interest of his Country. Dear Genl. I have a part of my Compy. here towit 72 uncontaminated Volunteers who it will give pleasure to march to any point (no matter how perilous) that their Genl. may designate.

Respectfully your friend

WM HAMILTON Capt of the E. T. Volunteers

And I will vouch for the conduct of eighty moore acting on the same principal.

GEORGE ARGENBRIGHT Capt of the E. T. Volunteers

N. B. those men dont stickle for one two or three weeks after the expiration of their time. if any thing important is like to be effected.

HAMILTON and ARGENBRIGHT

TO JOHN COFFEE.¹

FORT STROTHER, December 18, 1813

Sir: Something effectual, and decissive must be done immediately. The enemy, building their hopes upon our late unhappy distractions, are again assembling below us. Delay, while it diminishes our strength will increase *their's*. They must be dislodged; and made to feel that a cessation of our movements is only a preparation for more terrible operations. Hasten to form a junction with me; and bring along, every particle of bread-stuff, that can be procured. For the transportation thereof, the contractors must put in immediate requisition every waggon and pack-horse

³ The sentence, of which this word is the end, is not in the letter published by the Secretary of War in 1828. "M. Territory" means the Mississippi Territory, then including what is now Alabama.

¹ Copy.

that can be obtained. Bring with you all the forage you *can*, for the sustenance of your horses.

It will be understood that you are ordered to form a junction with me, at this time, *only* on the supposition that supplies of breadstuff, sufficient to justify another movement from this point, are already collected by the Contractors, or can, by the proper exertions, be very soon procured. Until supplies can be obtained, nothing can be effected; and you will not be wanted; but no endeavour must be omitted to obtain them speedily, and have them speedily conveyed.

I am respectfully yr. ob. st.

JOHN COFFEE TO JACKSON.

HUNTSVILLE, December 18, 1813

Dear Sir, Your Order of the 16th Inst. I this moment recd by Mr. White, directing me to detain my Brigade untill further orders, which will be attended to, before the rect. of which I had infered from your last, that your determination was to make one bold effort before the expiration of service of the Et. Tennesseans and for that purpose you would want the mounted men under my command. I had in consequence thereof Ordered my Brigade to march directly on to you without delay, and the line of march for that purpose was taken up early this morning from Dittoes landing, information of which I gave you by express. I will order my command to encamp at Fort deposit, and there await your order.

How long I can continue the men under my command I cannot pretend to say. I very much expect when the volunteer Cavalry meet the Infantry they will return with them, but should they not turn now, I do suppose that the whole of my Brigade will claim their discharge on the 24th. Inst. the Rifle Regt. have notified me to that effect and I am advised by my most confidential officers that they are determined to break off on that day at all events, and when that Regt. breaks the Cavalry is certain to follow. Is it possible to do any thing with men whose minds are thus prepared—I fear not—at all events I think it would not do to rely on them, notwithstanding your just claim. . . .

JOHN FLOYD TO JACKSON.¹

FORT MITCHELL (WEST OF CHATAHOUCHEE), December 18, 1813.

Sir: Seven Days ago I sent a Couple of Indian Spies to Kieligee, in Order to ascertain the Situation of the Enemy, who have Just Returnd

¹ Floyd and his Georgians fought a battle with the hostile Creeks at Autossee, Nov. 29, driving the Indians from the field with a loss of two hundred men, but he himself was wounded and withdrew from the Tallapoosa. Jackson's movement was to be in co-operation with Floyd's; but the retrograde movement of the Georgians left him alone in the Indian country and he felt the greater necessity for maintaining his advanced position.

Of the Indian towns mentioned here, Kieligee (Kailaidshi) was on the Tallapoosa River about twelve miles above Tukabatchi. Autossee (Atasi) was on the same river six miles below Tukabatchi. Huhliwahi was eight miles south of Tukabatchi on the same river. Oakfuskee, on the same river, was about twenty-five miles above Kieligee. Kawita was on the Chattahoochee, near the existing town Columbus, Ga., but west of the river, in the northeastern part of Russell Co., Ala.

with your letter of the 8th Inst addressed to Genl. Pinckney, whose Head Quarters is at Present at Milledgeville. I took the liberty to open the letter with a view to give you such information Respecting the army as might be required without delay; and Shall forward your Communication by Express. I arrived here with the army under my Command on the 24th ult, when A Combination of Circumstances made it Necessary to make a Sudden Attack on the Head Quarters of the Enemy, having been informed that McQueen was with Considerable force at Autossee, to which place he has Just returnd with his warriors from before Coweta. For the Result, and further particulars, I beg leave to Refer you to the enclosed News paper which I forward for your information. The want of Regular Supplies, and the means of transportation has protracted the operations of this army beyond all reasonable Calculations. On my Return from Autossee I Received orders from Genl. Pinckney for the first time; I have Caused a Strong Stockade fort defended by Block houses to be Erected on the West Side of the Rivers Flint, and Chatahouchee, and Shall in about Ten days Send out a Strong detachment to Establish Another Work within Striking distance of the Enemy. By the Return of the Spies, I learn that McQueen, and Francis,² are with their adherents at Hoithlawalie, and Between that Place and Autossee on the west Side the Talapoosa, that their Strength is not equal to 1000 Effective men, that the Indian familes are coming to this place from the alabama for Security. It appears from the Same Source that the Prophets have recently Received a letter from the Government at Pensacola informing them that they Can be Supplied with Ammunition (an Article with which they are badly Supplied at present) and that if their Enemy prove too Strong for them, that they must Retreat to that place for Safty.

General Adams at the head of Six hundred Mounted Militia Crossed the Okmulgee on Sunday last on a March against the Okfuskees. I sent Captain Hammiltons Troop of light Dragoons, from this to form a Junction with him. I am in hourly Expectation of hearing from them. I have no doubt but the Enemy will be Completely Routed as I understand that there is not more than three hundred embodied.

The Advantage Contemplated by an attack on the Enemy have been Realized, it has decided the Question with the wavering Towns, and Villages, as you will perceive by the Enclosed list, the Representatives of which waited me on my Return from Autossee, and tended their friendship, and Services. It will afford me much pleasure to be Kept informed of your movements, and will make every Exertion in my power, in obedience to General Pinckneys Orders to Co-operate in any measure Calculated for the destruction of the Enemy. Should the wound which

² Two of the prophets, and chiefly responsible for the existence of the war spirit in the Creeks. They fled to Florida after the battle of Horseshoe Bend, in 1814, and probably helped to promote the hostility that led to the Seminole War in 1818. Francis, or Hillis Hago, was captured at St. Marks in 1818 and hanged by orders of General Jackson. McQueen fought a battle a few days later, was defeated, and escaped into the forest.

I have Received, render me long unfit for Active Service, General Williams of South Carolina, will be Called to the Command.

I have the honor to be Respectfully Your Mt. Obt. Sert

TO MRS. JACKSON.¹

FORT STROTHER, December 19, 1813

My Dear: I have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your very acceptable supplies by Col. Hays. For a few days we have had ample supplies of bread and meat, and had it not have been for the disgraceful retrograde of the Volunteers, ere this you would have heard of our advance, again to have meet the savage foe, and put an end to the campaign; but the scenes of sedition and mutiny has been such, throughout, the whole body of Volunteers both infantry and Cavalry together with the mounted men that it is impossible for me to say, whether I shall have any force or what, from the whole boasted patriotism of the Volunteers, or mounted patriots. The Phisic of the indian prophets must have seriously worked upon them to occasion those men, once so brave, once so patriotic, to conduct so strangely and so disgracefully to themselves and country.

The time of the greater part of the Militia from East Tennessee has expired and they are gone home. One regt. alone remains, and whose time will expire on the 14th of next month. My own militia has taken the home mania and every man expects to be marching home on the 4th of next month. And here am I within sixty-five or seventy-five miles of the whole hostile strength of the Creek Nation with no force that I can count on to march forward to chastise them, and no information from Gov. Blount whether any force is to be sent me to enable me to carry on the campaign. Should it stop here I fear for the scene that will be transacted on our frontier. The Creeks, conquered and beaten, on a retrograde of our forces, will give them new vigor, and full confidence in their prophets, and we will have to fight them on our frontier. I am here and, by the orders of General Pinckney, compelled to remain, and expected to advance until I form a Junction with the Georgia troops, and I expect, from the present prospects, to be left with my brave artillery company and the spies to defend the posts and prosecute the war. But fear not, my better self, the guardian angels will protect us, and support us, under every trial, danger and difficulty, so long as we are engaged in a righteous cause. I refer you to Colo. Hays for further news, of my situation and my views. My brave friend Genl. Coffee is very ill in Huntsville if he should not be able to come on I loose my best prop.

I have directed Major White to carry to you, the little Lyncoya. He is the only branch of his family left, and the others when offered to them to take care of would have nothing to do with him but wanted him to be killed. Qualls [?] my interpreter took him up carried him on his back and brought him to me. Charity and christianity says he ought to be

¹ Collection of Mr. Henry F. De Puy, Easton, Md.

taken care of and I send him to my little Andrew and I hope wil adopt him as one of our family. Kiss my little son and receive my blessings, and present me affectionately to all my friends.

yr affectionate Husband

JOHN COFFEE TO JACKSON.

HUNTSVILLE, December 20, 1813.

Genl. Jackson. Mr. Parish express from Nashville to you has just (eight oClock in the evening) arrived, who informs me that Col Carrol will bring with him 1000. mounted men, this really is pleasant news if its realised, it seems the Tennesseans have not forgotten you. Genl. Roberts is now encamped in the Suberbs of this town with 200 Infantry. I have not seen the Genl. but this is his force as spoken to the contractors for rations, as I am informed.

I am really ashamed to say any thing about the men of my Brigade doing any thing, ever again, they have been so distracted for some time past, I dont believe they'll ever do any thing right again, and they are now lying encamped with that holy body of Infantry that deserted you, and their country in the hour and moment of danger. with their minds, and in such company I have no hopes of ever reclaiming them. I am told they are addressing you, asking discharges, and God knows what else they may be doing. Genl what can be done with them, I suppose they have laid their several cases before you, any thing that you may suggest, I will endeavour to do, and should you have expectation of an immediate battle, say in 10 or 15 days, I am told by a number of them, they will stay that long, I hope they may, but I cannot vouch for any thing they say.

This day Col Perkins and Col Burrows was to have mustered into service four companies of Madison County troops say 250 men and officers all to be mounted, but the day has proved so bad as [to] prevent the men coming out, they will meet tomorrow if the day is better, these troops are of a mongrel kind. One half volunteers the others drafts, this I fear will destroy the whole scheme, but they say not. Mr. Howsin has raised a company of spies, together with the aid of One of Col Allens sons. Captain Hammonds company have refused to march by your Order, except Leut. Donelson and about 15 of his men who are now under my orders. I had ordered the whole by a formal order, and they have paid no attention to it, we have no military force here. I would be glad of advice how to treat those men, and will be exceedingly obliged by receiving orders from you relative to them—will those men under Col Carrol halt before they reach you, he has never asked for forage or any thing but rations of the contractor. I fear without provisions is made beforehand that he cannot get forage, corn is extremely scarce near the river, and so it is any where in this county, and his never saying any thing on the subject I could not proceed to provide for him if you are not ready to move the instant he reaches you he had better stop on this side the river, and some distance from it untill he receives your orders,

otherwise he cannot be fed. I am recovering my health, and hope in very few days to be on horseback when I will soon be with you.

I am Dr. Genl. as usual your very Huml. Servt.

Aggregate of men in this quarter—

Of my Brigade not at Fort deposit.....	700 men
broken companies of the same, and some new on this side the river Tennessee.....	} say 150. "
Genl. Roberts recruits now at this place.....	
Col Carrolls recruits	200 "
	1000 "

2050 men

ISAAC ROBERTS TO JACKSON.¹

FORT STROTHER, December 20, 1813

Sir, Previous to receiving your order of the 29th Instant requiring me to parade the new troops, lately brought forward from the 5th. Brigade to make up the deficiency of my brigade at this place in actual service, In obedience to your order to me of the 5th. Instant; On your address being read to them by the adjutant General at their encampment where they had camped the night before, they appeared to take umbrage at that part of your address which appeared to make it doubtful whether they would receive pay for their services; they immediately wheeled about and started back in a mutinous manner, notwithstanding they had been mustered into service and my forwarning them of the consequences.

After a short stay I returned to camp and on my approaching the camp I was met by the adjt. General who delivered to me your order. The troops by this time were several miles on their return home. My feelings were very much mortified that such fine troops as they had appeared to be and who I had brought forward with so much fatigue and difficulty should abandon me and their countrys cause, when I had complied with every engagement to them on my part.

They appeared to disregard their Countrys cause their military character, or my feelings the officers were among the foremost in this unmilitary and unpardonable con[d]uct, particularly Captain Patton, Captain Pickins Captain Harris and Captain Nelson, on receiveing your orders as above I was in hopes that something must have been misunderstood in your address, and was in hopes that the evil might be remedied by a second address more explanatory (if possible) accompanied with my remarks to them on the subject. I then applied to you and obtained one which I thought might answer the purpose. I then pursued them accompanied by Colo. Joseph Brown and overtook them encamped at the Indian Cabbins twenty two miles from this place, where I read your second address with such honest remarks as I was capable of making. the common reply was that had that address came forward in place of the first from you, that they should not have returned, but that they had now parted

¹ Jackson MSS., Letter-Book E, pp. 94-96.

with their camp equipage which they had procured at their own expence, that they were then hungry, that they had understood there was very little bread stuff in camp, that they might as well die at home as in camp and that home they would go let the consequences be what it might. I again ordered them back in presence of Colo. Brown told them the consequences if they did not return, they refused. I then took my leave of them and returned.

It becomes my duty to mention to you, that Lieutenant Nathan R Davis of the volunteer Rifle company from Giles county was the last that started back, he staid till all the rest were gone, he then went with great reluctance because his men were gone with the rest, he was hindmost when I overtook them, he accompanied me to the foremost: and used every exertion to bring his men back and would have succeeded had it not been for the others whom they were mixed with. when he failed he asked me what he should do (seeing the most of his men would go). I advised him to return, he did so with five of his men as follows (towit) Green, MaCaferty, Charles Abernathy, Isaac N. Hobson, John Boyd and William Reynolds, also William Nall from Captain Pattons company. It only remains for me to lament that such a case should occur in any department where I have been so materially concerned. I assure you that this report is the most painful part of my official duty since the commencement of the campaign.

I have the honor to be Respectfully
Your. obedt. Servt

TO WILLIAM HALL.¹

FORT STROTHER, December 21, 1813.

Sir, I have this moment received a letter from Governor Blount, dated on the 7th inst. in answer to my inquiry respecting the term of service for which the Volunteers and detached militia were bound; and hasten to send you a copy of it.

Altho the governor's ideas in regard to the Volunteers appear to have been more particularly disclosed in a letter which he put into the hands of Maj. Searcy, and which I have not yet received, yet it is obvious from the one of which I now send you a copy, that he does not consider their term of service to have expired.

The unwillingness which the Volunteers had manifested to prosecute the campaign any farther, on the supposition that their term of service had expired on the 10th inst. occasioned me to permit them to be marched to Nashville, under your direction, there to receive such orders as the governor or Sec at War might think proper to give them.

It being now understood, by the opinion of the governor, that their term of service is not expired, that neither he nor I have the power to discharge them, the Volunteer Infantry under your command will forthwith return to Head Quarters, and enter again upon the prosecution of the campaign and the performances of their duties as citizens and soldiers. The commanding general has the fullest confidence they will re-

¹ Tenn. Hist. Soc.

commence the discharge of their engagement with the same ardor and alacrity which animated them when they first entered the field. He cannot believe that a single officer or soldier attached to the corps, will incur the disgrace of retiring from the service, now that the only pretext for his doing so, is removed. You will cause this letter together with the letter from the governor to be read to your Brigade.

TO JOHN COFFEE:

FORT STROTHER, December 22, 1813

D'r Genl: I have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 18th. Instant, and with sincere regret I learn your indisposition, at this moment when your service was all important. But indisposition, and health are not within our control, and ought not to be subjects of inquietude, altho your present indisposition fills me with regret, when I find your Brigades patriotism is as much indisposed, as you are in body, which, in all probability would have been prevented had your health been such as you could have been at their head—their disgrace prevented, and also explanatory punishment to many.

can it be true what I hear! that the voluntary defenders of their countries rights has been the first to violate the laws of the Territory that they were called upon to protect, insult their citizens and their laws, and instead of repelling and subduing lawless mobs, were the first to become riotters themselves. I have to request a report of every individual both officer and men that were engaged in overawing the Geoler of Huntsville, and compelling him to liberate the prisoners, and also a full report of every officer and man of your Brigade, who have deserted the service without a discharge, that I may take the most effi[c]ient means in my power to have them arrested and punished agreeable to law.

I have the pleasure to inform you that I have Just recd. a letter from Governor Blount, a copy of which with my order of this date I have sent you, and directed to be delivered to Major Shaw, at Fort Deposit there to be read to your Brigade by him should you not be there which I do not expect, and which will be forwarded by him to you. It will give the Volunteers and detached militia his Ideas of the law and their time of service, and I hope produce the former quietude and harmony, that has existed in our camp again to prevade it, and that no ideas will prevail but the chastise of the creeks, and cheerfull services, untill honourably discharged.

I have to repeat again that you will urge the contractors to send up ample supplies of breadstuff, on the pack horses, and in all waggons that can be had, and that you will order up your Brigade with it. Deerskins can be got in abundance, three skins will make three bags that will pack a horse, two side bags, and one on the Top, they are better than any other kind of bags, the hair will keep the meal dry, and they will last the campaign. I have ordered back the quartermaster general, to have them brought up with the asst D. adjutant General Major Antony with powers to purchase in case they contractors has not a sufficient supply on hand. A movement I must make, supplies I must have to make the movement,

and with supplies you must order up your Brigade. you will find from the Governors letter the prospect of provisions on the allabama and ample supply of corn which is reallised by express reed from Genl Flouranoy and Genl Claibourne. Could we get on we would soon reach the promised land that flows with milk and honey. use your utmost with the contractors and hurry on supplies. Wishing you a speedy restoration to your health, and Junction with me, I am Dr Genl yr mo ob. serv.

JOHN COFFEE TO JACKSON.

HUNTSVILLE, December 22, 1813

Dear Genl, I am aware of the many troubles of this kind with which you are daily pestered, but from the shape this is about to take, I am compelled to appeal to you determine this case.

Inclosed you'll see an address to me for a final discharge of my Rifle Regt, this is not the first by many that I have recd.¹ In the 24th. of Decr. Instant, they will have served three months—are they entitled to a discharge, they are restless and I suppose will not stay longer only by way of an address for a very short time, I am of opinion the sooner they are discharged the better, they are eating up the forage that would do for others were they gone and they'll never do any more good. I have said to them you would determine their case, and would answer them the earliest convenient, therefore if possible I would be extremely glad you would answer this as soon as convenient.

Yours very respectfully

WILLIE BLOUNT TO JACKSON.¹

NASHVILLE, December 22, 1813

Dear sir, I have recd. yours of the 12th. and 13th. Instant and had previously written to you by Express two or three times on several of the heads mentioned. I much regret the situation of affairs at your Camp occasioned by circumstances which neither you not I could controul with our best exertions.

The U. S. Volunteers from your Army have not yet arrived here. on their arrival I will endeavor to act for the best in some provisional or conditional way as I have no authority or instructions from Government about their discharge. it appears to me to be too great a responsibility for me to take to discharge them absolutely. I cannot say what can be done respecting their return; however, from your request, and from my own feelings, I will do all I can to serve them, and to serve the public. I respect them as brave men, and for their services which have been important. I want them to get their pay, and hope that the President who alone can order their discharge will order that they shall be paid.

I send you a copy of the Secy War's letter to me of the 13th. July last, and of his chief clerk, Mr. D. Parker's letter of subsequent date to Col.

¹ The address of the regiment is not preserved, but Coffee's reply, Dec. 21, is in the Jackson MSS.

² Another letter of Blount to Jackson, of this same date, was published in the *Intelligencer*, June 9, 1828, and in *Parton's Jackson*, I. 479.

Meigs, under which two letters, I acted in calling out the 1500 men, as you will see by a copy of my orders to Major Genl. John Cocke, now at your request sent to you. I also send the copy of my letter to the Secy War of the 10th. Instant, on the subject of instructions relative to the term of service of the Troops generally now with you and Genl. Cocke, and if to be discharged, enquiring when, by whose order, and how their places are to be supplied, which will shew you and those with you that I have been endeavoring to get the necessary information, respecting the terms of service of the forces with you, and that I had written before respecting the volunteers. It is the clearest exposition that I can give you of his instructions, or of the law of this State of the 24th. Sept. last. I send you copies of the Acts of our Assembly respecting the 3500 men, and exempting them from process whilst in service, copies of all which I think you had best send to Genl. Pinckney. You will see by all those letters etc. etc., that I could not when calling out the men into service, know how long they were expected to serve, and that I have no instructions about their discharge. The Executive of a state cannot without orders from Government discharge U. S. Troops. I may surely expect an answer to my letters which I will make known to you when recd. all Troops in the service of the U. S. must of course expect the President's order for their discharge. I have sent a copy of all the orders which I issued to you, and to Genl. Cocke, on to the War Dept. for the information of Government, long since. I do most earnestly wish that all the Troops that have been in service, or that now are on this campaign may be paid; their services have been very important; they have done much; but if the Government should not think with them about the term of service I should regret it; the consequences to them may be serious, and they, to be sure on that head, had better continue a short time longer in service, than the time they consider to be a term, than to jeopardize their pay; I say this as their friend. . . .

TO JOHN COFFEE.

FORT STROTHER, December 23, 1813.

D'r Genl: I have this evening recd yours of the 20th. instant, and send you inclosed the Governors letter¹ with my permission to the Regt. of Volunteer Cavalry, to return under the sanction of the governors letter, with all the benefits it holds out to them. If after the solemn pledge under their hands, to return, and complete the campaign, if I would permit them to return, obtain fresh horses and a supply of cloathing, *they can forfeight all, disgrace themselves and Tarnish the reputation they have acquired, and perhaps forfeight their pay, in the name of god let them go.* I have no power to discharge them, the governor says he has none, of course all you can do for them is to Join your permission with mine to all that wish to go home under such circumstances, and all that will stay, either volunteer cavalry or Infantry have them organised into companies or Batalions as their force will permit, and send

¹ Blount to Jackson, Dec. 15, 1813.

them on as soon as supplies of bread stuff, reaches Fort Deposit, which I hope will be against this reaches you. from dispatches this evening recd from Genl Pinckney it is necessary I should move forward quickly, to form a Junction with the Georgia Troop at the Junction of the river and I must hazard all responsibility, to make a movement with what Provisions I have, if more supplies of breadstuff does not reach me shortly. He sends me on the official account of the Battle fought by Genl Floyd with the creeks 20 miles above the Junction on the east side of Tallaposa, in which Genl Floyd defeated the Indian and supposes the[y] killed two hundred of them. The whole force of the indians are concentrated at the hickory ground, and the large Fish trap on the cosa, and you may assure your brave vollunteers, if they want to fight all they have to do is to come and cross the Cosa with me and I will in five days after insure them a fight. You may assure Captain Hammonds rangers, if the[y] do not come on I shall write to the secratary of war to have them dismissed from service, and all those who do not obey the order punished as mutineers.

I have wrote Colo Carrol, and hope it will meet him at Huntsville, and that the supplies will authorise him to move up immediately. I must be in motion or all our reputation and that of the state will be at stake. I am happy to hear of your recovering health and hope you will be with me in a few days I hope there will be as many mounted men as will keep up your Brigade, and I hope your health will permit you to command it.

I have recd an express from Nashville advising, that a large British force is before Pensacola *dispatch is necessary*. The large supplies of corn on the allabama, when we reach it, will supply our horses amply, and the Possession of the Indian country, before the British can form a Junction with and afford them supplies will prevent a great deal of fighting. When I see you, I will open my mind to you on this subject. I am respectfully yrs etc etc

It is late. No copy is kept. Preserve the original.

TO WILLIAM CARROLL.¹

FORT STROTHER, December 23, 1813.

Sir; I am happy to hear of your success in raising new volunteers. I shall receive with open arms those who, in this hour of need, have come forth to support the sinking reputation of the State. I am more anxious than ever to commence active operations; and indeed they have become more than ever necessary. I have this evening recd. a letter from Genl Pinckney informing me that he expected the Georgia troops to form a junction with those under my command, at the junction of the Coosa and Tallapoosa by Christmas.² This movement, however, so necessary and so much desired, cannot be undertaken without supplies, but it shall

¹ Jackson MSS., Letter-Book D, p. 194.

² Jan. 2, 1814, Brig.-Gen. Floyd wrote from "Fort Mitchell, near the Chattahoochee", saying that, on account of lack of supplies, he could not advance. He added that the main body of hostile Indians were on or near the Tallapoosa between Autossee and the junction of the rivers.

not be delayed a moment after they are procured. Being near the Contractors you will be able to ascertain when the happy moment will arrive, better than I can inform you; and I must solicit, your endeavors while there, to have it brought about with the least possible delay. Untill supplies can be furnished at the river, and the means of transportation provided, to justify another movement from this point, it will be better that you should remain where your horses can be fed. I say this upon the supposition that those supplies will be furnished in some short time; but were it now ascertained that we are to continue to experience the same delay which has so long retarded our operations, I would at every risk and under all responsibility again take up the line of march, so soon as the forces with you could arrive. For such a measure I should seek my justification, in the imperiousness of the circumstances by which I am surrounded: and rely for its success upon heaven and the enterprise of my followers. I learn to day that there are 224 cattle delivered at Ft Armstrong for my use, which I shall order on tomorrow. This with the supplies of meat now on hand will at least be sufficient to keep us from starving for some weeks, and perhaps until further supplies be procured from the enemy or from the lower country. . . .

TO JOHN COCKE.¹

FORT STROTHER, December 24, 1813.

Sir; From a letter recd. from Lieut Col Snodgrass on last evening, I learn with astonishment and regret, that the building of boats and forwarding of bread stuffs to this point to enable the army to move forward, have been laid aside, and all the men employed in finishing the Fort. It cannot be that this is agreeably to your instructions, as you passed Ft Armstrong—the Col. writes that he has not a force to be spared to bring on two hundred and twenty four cattle delivered to the Q.M. at that place for the army here. I have ordered him to lay aside all other business and employ all his hands in finishing the boats, bringing forward supplies of breadstuff to Ft Armstrong and without delay forwarding them on here. From the instructions you recd. from me your own knowledge of our situation, your promised exertions to forward sufficient supplies, I had and still have all confidence that your orders have been different from those stated by Col Snodgrass in his letter of the 21st Inst., and have to request that you will forward to me by the first conveyance a copy of your instructions to the Commandant at Ft Armstrong and the Q.M. employed. . . .

THOMAS PINCKNEY TO JACKSON.

FORT HAWKINS, December 24, 1813

. . . .
I have written to desire Genl Flournoy to send from Fort Stoddard a Convoy of Provisions up the Alabama to the Fork as soon as he can procure it and can send a Detachment strong enough to fight its way up, but I know not when he will be able to effect it. Genl Floyd will

¹ Jackson MSS., Letter-Book D, p. 200.

accompany this by a Letter informing you of his present situation and intention.

I have the honor to be very respectfully Sir Your Most Obedient Servant.

TO WILLIE BLOUNT.

FORT STROTHER, December 26, 1813. "at night 10 oclock."

D'r Sir: I am wearied with dating letters at this place, every exertion that was within my power has been made, to progress with the campaign and save the state from disgrace. Still insurmountable difficulties present themselves, and it appears, that I am to be left alone struggling to obtain the object. I have advised you, of the failure of General cocke to bring into the field, the fifteen hundred men agreeable to the requisition of the secretary of war that was so anxiously sought for by him to fill from his Division. I have transmitted you his letters promising supplies of breadstuffs, which was never forwarded, I have advised you of my order to him to return and pass by the way of Fort armstrong¹ and there make arrangements, for transporting, from thence to this place a sufficient supply of bread stuff, and to go from there to Rosses, and see that the contractor had a sufficient supply there, and direct his quarter master to have it immediately transported to Fort armstrong, and in case there was not sufficient supplies delivered at Rosses by the contractor agreeable to his requisition forthwith to order the quarter master to purchase at any price to fill the requisition. The inclosed letters from Colo. Snodgrass will shew you how far the regulations of the general has afforded supplies here. The finishing of the Fort in the heart of the Cherokee nation, appears to be a primary object instead of supplies for this army. I have inclosed you heretofore his order to Genl white, that occasioned the general to retrograde and not form a Junction with me and which occasioned my retrograde from Talladega; after the battle *that* has proved fatal to my arrangements. I inclose you a note I sent to Colo Lillard of this day with his answer which will shew you with what intentions and expectations the Junction was formed with me, by the east Tennessee troops. Was it not for the declarations of Colo Lillard personally, added to the expressions of his Regt, I could not believe, that the general would have made such a promise to men whose service was so much needed as the one contained in Colo Lillards note, without notifying me thereof. I inclose them however for your perusal, and a further evidence of the boasted patriotism of the State, when danger approaches.

I have Just recd a letter from Colo Carroll, from Huntsville advising me that he has about six hundred mounted men, whose officers say they have volunteered their service for sixty days, I have no authority to accept of the service of men for so short a term nor do I know of any law that would authorise it. I gave Colo. Carroll orders to raise on my own responsibility one thousand footmen for six months or during the campaign. I have wrote to Colo Carrol, if they will on the responsibility, of the government for payment, without any responsibility on me, come on and serve sixty days to bring them on, but explain to them, that

¹ Fort Armstrong was on the Coosa, 80 miles above Fort Strother.

they are not in the field by my orders or on my responsibility. I am ordered by Genl Pinckney to advance and fortify and retain the ground I take possession of, men for sixty days service answers but little purpose in such a campaign as contemplated by the government.

the Government intends to conquer the Creek nation and hold possession of it. The President has predicated his orders to Genl Pinckney on the reliance that the state of Tennessee has 5000 troops in the field, when in fact she has not one thousand that she can calculate on. I cannot think it Possible that you will hesitate under existing circumstances, to order a draft to fill up the Deficiency, occasioned by the omission of General Cocke, and the Desertion of the volunteers. When we view the conduct of Govr Meigs, and Shelby,² to aid Harrison with men, and how gratefull the general Government has been to them for their patriotism, will it be suffered to be said and recorded in history, that the Governor of Tennessee will permit a campaign so prosperously begun, defeated and with it the reputation of the state for Patriotism damd forever, for the want of his exertions, and the fear of taking a little responsibility on himself. I cannot, I will not believe it.

is the freemen of the state so lost to every feeling of true americans, lost to every feeling of the soldier and the patriot to shrink from the contest, with a savage tribe that has murdered our *fathers* our *wives* and our *sleeping babes*. If this is the case, which I fear it is, then Sir your powers is looked up to cure the evil, and to save the state and the citizens (who are devoid of noble feelings) from eternal disgrace, by immediately ordering a draft under the requisition of the late law of the state, and the requisition of the Secretary of war. I say under the law of the state, for inasmuch as the campaign is not finished contemplated by that act, and as the number of thirty five hundred men is not in the field, it is your duty to require, not only to have the requisition of the secretary of war, but the requisition of the law of the state filled, and the campaign carried on with that vigor contemplated by the late law.

here sir, permit me to be plain, is a greater responsibility upon you, in not ordering, than to order, here is a positive law that requires you to act untill the thing contemplated by the law is completely carried into effect, and particularly so as the general government has sanctioned the act of the state and believes and has a right so to do, that five thousand men are in the field for the campaign or for six months. The men having been once in the field and having retrograded, does not do away your powers under the law, or your obligations to the state and the general govment, in having the campaign continued to the full extent now contemplated by the general government.

Where does the Governor of Georgia obtain his powers from. the same as yours, from a requisition of the secretary of war for fifteen hundred men and a law of the state. The time of the first class have expired. the Governor of Georgia has ordered a draft, as I am informed by Mr Cooper, express from Genl Pinckney and are now marching thirty five hundred men up to relieve those that have served six months under

² Return J. Meigs, the younger, governor of Ohio, and Isaac Shelby, governor of Tennessee.

Genl Floyd. and will it be permitted to be said that the governor of the (once) patriotic state of Tennessee, at such an important crisis as the present, when the creeks are more than half conquered, a British force on the coast ready to aid and supply them, and reanimate their sinking spirits, I repeat will it be permitted to be recorded in the page of history that the governor of Tennessee hesitated one moment on the subject of exercising his power to carry into effect the grand object of the state and the general Government in bringing the campaign to a speedy and happy conclusion by ordering a draft for such number of men as will fill the deficiency of the quota of this state, and now absent from the service. *I hope not.* delay will not do, the campaign must not be delayed. every exertion must be made to put down the creeks and meet the British at the walls of Pensacola. There is the Point to put a speedy end to the war, and I hope your exertions will not be wanting, to enable me agreeable to Genl Pinckneys orders, there to meet the eternal enemies of our peace put an end to the war, and give peace to our southern and western frontiers.

These sentiments grow out of your letter to Colo. Carrol which this evening reached me from Colo. Carrol, in which you say you have no power to order men out, and I have given you mine with the frankness of a friend, in the present disagreeable situation of our country. I believe you have the power. I believe every patriot, will Justify your exercising of it, and the publick good requires you should promptly exercise it. I wish you to give me a speedy answer that I may know my true situation and advise Genl Pinckney what he may rely on. Genl Pinckney having requested that I should name some fit person to act as asst. D. q master for East Tennessee, I have named Mr Baxter, who sets out tomorrow morning to take a peep into the causes why I have got no supplies from East Tennessee of bread stuff with the necessary instructions to purchase. I will try if I cannot punish McGees pockett for his conduct. let me hear from you by [the next] express, my situation is a critical one, and the frontier of your state will be in an equal critical situation, if I am compelled to retrograde, with a British army to supply and aid the creeks. a posponement will not do, it will have the same evils of a retrograde and attended with equal expence to the government, the expence is more than half incurred, if you will from the whole state give me Twenty five hundred men, I will hazard with my life and reputation a full completion of the campaign with that number if spedily furnished and supplied.

I am sir respectfully, yr mo. ob. serv.

WILLIAM LILLARD TO JACKSON.¹

FORT STROTHER, December 26, 1813.

Sir, In obedience to your order of this days date I have consulted the officers and men composing my regiment and have receiv'd for answer the following 1st. they volunteerd, in the service of their country for

¹ Lillard commanded the 2d Regt. East Tennessee Volunteers, under Gen. John Cocke. This letter was copied in Jackson MSS., Letter-Book C, p. 136, with other related matter.

three months, and were to look to our own state to compensate them for their services, they march'd to Fort Armstrong, and were desirous to meet the Enemy, the commdg officer at that place order'd my regiment to build a garrison and some boats to transport provision to this place, on which duties the regiment was employ'd twenty five days. 2nd. Genl. Cocke inform'd the Regt. he had recd orders from Genl. Jackson to join his army etc in ten days, we would have the whole creek nation under our feet—shortly after this my Regt. came to this place, and directly after our arrival a number of the troops from West Tennessee march'd home, and two Regts. of their brethren from East Tennessee were order'd back to be discharg'd, and 3rd. they have been at this place fifteen days, which is the precise time Genl. Cocke promis'd this regiment to march them back from this place to Fort Armstrong. Under this impression, the Regt. left their cloathing, camp equipage etc. at Fort Armstrong, and at this time there is not more than two days rations of meal, or flour at this place and to march at this season of the year through a flat, marshy country, wading creeks and rivers for the distance of one hundred miles, and then be disappointed in meeting an enemy, as we have heretofore been, and then have at least five hundred miles to march home, without shoes is more than this Regt. is willing to bear, and during the months of Jany and Feby 1814, the regiment are induced to believe, if they were to go to the Hickory ground, or join Genl Floyds army they would not have an opportunity of seeing the enemy, by the 14th. of Jany 1814 in which day, this Regt. is entitled to their discharge.

I am Sir respectfully Your Ob Ser

TO JOHN COFFEE.

FORT STROTHER, December 27, 1813.

D'r Genl: I recd. from colo. Carrol a letter last night from Huntsville advising me, that he had reached that neighbourhood with about six hundred men, and when he reached there, was informed by the officers that they were enrolled for sixty days only. There being no law to authorise such an acceptance, or the payment of troops for such a period, and it being expressly contrary to my order, I can take no responsibility on myself for bringing them into the field or that they will be paid, I have wrote Colo. Carroll on this subject, and requested him to shew you the letter, and desired him frankly to explain to the new vollunteers there situation. after this is done, I say to him to Tender those brave men my thanks for their patriotism, and offered aid at this important crisis, with my pledge, if they will Join me under these circumstances I shall gladly accept of their services etc etc and I refer you to the letter, on this head as well as on pushing up the Cavalry and mounted men, with the new vollunteers, and make a rapid movement. This on the conditions in the letter to Colo Carroll I wish done and inclose you an order, for that purpose, should you think it advisable, after perusing and considering my letter. I am more than anxious to do this at the present moment as I know it would be gratifying to the vollunteers and some others if the campaign could be defeated. But this shall not be done. But still in this

movement altho gratifying I will not attempt it under circumstances that would hazard defeat and certain disgrace. I have wrote to Genl cocke, and frankly to governor Blount. I have stated to him candidly, that in hesitating to order a draft, he takes upon himself the responsibility of the disobedience of the late law of the state, and the failure of the campaign. if it should fail I am determined to shew I have done my duty. If the mounted men comes on, with the madison troops they will form a Brigade. I wish if your health permits you to command them, but my wishes in this is not to overrule your own. you have I hope recd my reply to the address of the honourable men who was urging for an honourable discharge, with the pledge of both field and staff. I have to repeat again to have their Pledge, their memorial and my answer published in the Huntsville paper and then in the Nashville paper. in great Haste yrs sincerely

JOHN ARMSTRONG TO JACKSON.¹

WAR DEPARTMENT, December 28, 1813.

Sir; I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Letter of the 20th. November, reporting the movements and successes of your Division of the Southern Army. These have been unparalleled in the history of Indian Wars, and are evidences of what may be done by active and intelligent Commanders and brave troops. I hope soon to hear that you have brought the Enemy to unqualified submission and am Sir,

With my great Respect, Your most Obedt. Servt.

JOHN COFFEE TO JACKSON.

HUNTSVILLE, December 28, 1813.

Major Genl. Jackson,

Sir, while confined at this place by indisposition, my Brigade was ordered, over the Tennessee River, there to await your further orders; whilst crossing the river many individuals deserted, a correct report of which has never been made to me, and painfull to inform you, Captains Cantrill and Demsey at the head of their companies moved off, contrary to the orders of Lieut. Col Allen (Col Cannon being absent sick) and left the service, many days before they claimed a discharge. Their example no doubt have had the desired effects, they have since been followed by a great part of the Brigade.¹

On the 26th. Instant, having recovered my health so as to be able to ride, I learned that my whole Brigade was recrossing the River, determined to go home. I mounted my horse and rode to the River, where I met your orders, and the Cavalry Regt. of Tennessee Volunteers, on

¹ The brief notes of the Secretary of War, acknowledging victories which the Southwest received as brilliant, must have seemed cold and unappreciative to Jackson and his enthusiastic friends.

¹ The cavalry and mounted riflemen had been allowed to retire into the settlements to recruit their horses and get winter clothing. They were on their return when they were thrown into panic by meeting the volunteer infantry on their way home. Coffee got 700 of them to the south side of the Tennessee at Ditto's, but they fell into such a stage of wasteful defiance that he advised Jackson to let them go home, since nothing good could be expected from them.

the north bank, wherein you referred the Cavalry to the Governors letter, and the benefits they could therefrom derive etc. which was read in orders to them, They immediately broke off home; with the exception of some few officers and men whose names I will hereafter mention, who report themselves as being willing and desirous of continuing in service and finishing the campaign. The next morning the Rifle Regt. finished crossing to the north side of the river, and the field officers reported that they could not restrain them from moving on homewards, but that they would endeavour to halt them in the neighbourhood of Huntsville until your answer to their remonstrance for a discharge, was received.

On the evening of the 27th, your express arrived with the answer expected, and on the morning following I waited on the Regiment and read it myself to them; when they determined, they would go home at all hazards, and contrary to your Orders, except as in the Cavalry Regt, a few officers and men who report themselves ready and willing to continue to obey orders and perform service.

Myself and Staff together with such officers and men as remain in service, are as usual subject to and await your further orders. in the mean time I shall take charge of, and provide as far as in my power for the late Volunteers from Tennessee and Madison, including Captain Hammonds Company of Rangers, and Captain Winstons company from madison County attached to the Cavalry Regt, until your orders are received. The following is the names of those officers who have remained in service, the names of the privates have not been reported to me, though a number have enrolled themselves with the new volunteers, and will be reported as fast as they are known.

John Coffee Brig. Genl, Alexr. Donelson Aid De camp, Basil Shaw Brig. Inspector, Neil B Rose Brig. q Master, Robt. H Dyer Lt. Col. Robert Allen Lt. Col, John H Gibson Major, Clement N. Reid Surgeon, ——— Fore surgeon, James Terryl Adjutant, Saml, Meredith Adjutant, Charles Kavanugh Capt, Michael Molton Capt, Robert Litton Capt, ——— Harpool Capt, David Smith Capt, on det[ai]l, George Smith Capt, Bethell Allen Capt, Joshua Haskel forage master, Robert Moore q master, Wm. Grubbe master of Sword, William Mitchell Capt, John D Raglen Lieut, Lion S Reid, Cornet, Edmund Terryl Segt. major, Alfred Cantrel Segt. major.

TO JOHN COCKE.

FORT STROTHER, December 28, 1813.

Sir: you will receive herewith inclosed, a complaint lodged by the path killer, against part of your Division on their return march from this place. If the statement, should be correct, it is a reflection on the state, as well as on the regt. Brigade or Division to whom they belong, and ought to meet with speedy and ample punishment. If any thing could have been proved against old Rattcliff,¹ of any Treason, or hostility

¹ Rattcliff was a wealthy Cherokee. After the war he presented to the federal government a large claim for catt'e taken by the soldiers. Meigs, the Cherokee agent, examined it dubiously but concluded it was valid and paid it. *Am. St. Papers, Indian Affairs*, 11. 114.

against the united States, then and in that case he was amenable to the laws of the united States, and ought to have been arrested and tried by such tribunal as had competent Jurisdiction of the offence. But that a sett of men should without any authority rob a man who is claimed as a member of the Cherokee nation, who is now friendly and engaged with us in a war against the hostile creeks, is such an outrage, to the rules of war, the laws of nations and of civil society, and well calculated to sow the minds of the whole nation against the united States, and is such as ought to meet with the frowns of every good citizen, and the agents be promptly prosecuted and punished as robbers. I have to request on the receipt of this you will cause old Ratcliff to be liberated, his property returned, and the offenders, arrested and punished. I have wrote to governor Blount upon this subject and Colo. Jonathan J. Meigs, whose duty it is as well as ours, to have Justice done in all such cases, and the offenders punished. for the credit of the Troops, from your Division it is that the guilty should be apprehended and punished, that the reputation of the honest part of your Division, may not be Tarnished by the acts of the dishonest Is it not cruel that the *whooping boy*, who fought bravely at Talishatchey and got wounded at the Battle of Tulladega, should be plundered, by the east Tennessee troops, whilst confined with his wounds. what will the general government think of the state, if such things is permitted to go unpunished. It is as much Theft as tho the property, was stolen from one of our own citizens, and the laws of the united states provide amply for the punishment. Strict inquiry ought to be made whether any commissioned officers were present, or had any knowledge of this atrocious act, and if so they ought to be immediately arrested, and tried by a court martial, and afterwards transferred to the civil authority. I have Just learnt by Doctor Vandyke that it was Colo. Wears Regt. that has committed the above felonies, and I have the fullest confidence in your exertion to have this business well prosecuted and by that means have the stain that it has inflicted in the reputation of our state therby washed out, and blotted forever. for I hope and trust it is the last of the kind that will ever be recorded, and I have to repeat again, that it is Just, that all officers should be arrested and tried by a court martial. it is stated that Colo Wear was privy to it, if so, have him arrested, if he is innocent, it is due to him that an investigation should be had, that his charecter may not lie under the stigma that it now labours under. May it be done away.²

Before I close this letter I must name again to you, that we have not one pound of bread stuff and information from Fort armstrong states there is none at that place. It appears that there is some enchantment, wrought, by the Indian prophets on our contractors, that will lead to our starvation but to counteract this *phisic*, as I advised you in mine of yesterday, I have at the request of the commander in chief of this army Genl Pinckney appointed Major James Baxter asst. D. quarter master and sent him to overlook the contractors, with full powers to buy in case

² Jackson's wrath soon cooled and when, in 1816, the Cherokees laid claims before the federal government for damages inflicted, on this and other occasions, Jackson denounced them. See Jackson to Crawford, May 8, and June 16, 1816, in the next volume.

he has not an ample supplies agreeable to your and Genl Pinckney requisitions. I now know in a few days we will have ample supplies. I wish you on the recpt of this forthwith to inform me by express, in what forwardness the fifteen hundred troops, under the requisition of the President is in and at what time they will be in the field. existing circumstances requires promptness in execution. The Indians are in our front and a British force Just arived at Pensacola. I have the honor to be verry respectfully yr mo. ob. servt.

TO WILLIE BLOUNT.¹

FORT STROTHER, December 29, "morning half after 12 OClock", 1813.

Dear Sir; I have recd. yrs. of the 22d. in answer to mine of the 12th and 13th Inst. and yrs. of the same date in answer to mine of 15th. Inst. handed you by Capt David Smith of the Volunteer Cavalry. In reply to the latter, I have to observe, that being an officer of the State, altho' under the immediate command of Major Genl. Pinckney in the U. S. service commandg 6 and 7 Districts, still if you had ordered me pre-emptorily to retrograde with my troops, I should have found some justification of my conduct in obeying yr positive order, but still a compleat justification for me in obeying could not have been found, and s[t]ill less, (under present existing circumstances) for obeying yr. bare recommendation.

Let me call yr. attention, to the real circumstances in which you and myself, with our Country, are placed, (and be assured that any observations I make, flow from the purest stream of personal regard and friendship for you—my matured opinion of the laws and facts, combined with public good and the faith of the state pledged to the Genl. Government) and let us see how far the opinion of any citizen or set of citizens of our state, who from popular motives, fears and private ease, may raise clamorous about their fire sides should deter us from doing our duty in carrying into effect the orders of the President of the U. S. and the late law of the state. My letter of yesterday by Lieut Parish (express) touched on this subject and was dictated by the same pure principles of personal regard and public good as the present. This much premised, I will return to the point.

The Citizens of Tennessee with one voice cried aloud for a declaration of war against Great Britain. The Citizens of Tennessee approbated the declaration of war as just and necessary and pledged themselves, property and sacred honor for their support of this just and necessary war. in the prosecution of this war the Creeks excited (as the people of Tennessee believe) by Great Britain, commenced an unprovoked attack on our frontier in the unheard of butchery of the Manley's and the Crawleys. The Cry was raised from East to West, and from the Norther[n] to the Southern boundary of our state for permission to carry a war of extermination into the Creek nation: and because the Genl. Government did not at once give the orders, the universal imprecations of the Citizens of the state were heaped upon her for with holding them.

¹ Jackson MSS., Letter-Book D, p. 221. Printed in Parton's *Jackson*, I. 480.

The Genl. Government found her own justification in the pressures in the North for delay—what was next? Every citizen of the state become a patriot and a soldier and professing a wish to be enrolled as the noble defenders of their countrys cause in the field of Mars (I have said professing)—about this period the barbarous attack was made on Ft Mimms—it was carried and indiscriminate butchery ensued. This gave new zest and vigor to their patriotism—it could not be restrained. The Genl. Government being informed of the intended hostility of the Creeks, had given you orders to have organised in yr. state 1500 men under the act of Congress, authorising the President to call into service 100,000 of the Militia, to cooperate with the number from Georgia, to carry a war into the heart of the Creek nation. The Legislature of the State being about to be convened, the overflowing patriotism of the State, and their indignation of the barbarity committed at the destruction of Ft Mimms, were expressed in certain resolutions, which will do honor to their framers and the State as long as they are read, and presented to the Legislature, who with equal patriotism and without delay passed a law embracing all the objects of the resolutions.

I must here refer you to those resolutions and the resolutions of the Committee to whom they were refered, on which the late law of the State was founded, the better to understand the meaning of the act, and yr. authority under the act, and from this it will be found, 1st that it was the object of the Committee, that a force ought to be marched against the Creeks, that would be sufficient to exterminate them as a nation, that an additional force to that ordered by the Secy war, to make the whole force amount to 5000 should be marched, and that every Citizen soldier engaged therein, should be exempt from all proceedings at law who might march against the Creek nation. All these objects are embraced in the law, and as there is no time of service mentioned in the act it is a fair rule of construction to see what was the object the law had in vew; and to do this, we will see the object in view fairly explained in the resolutions on which it was predicated—the object then was to *carry a campaign into the heart of the Creek nation and exterminate them.* of course there can be no doubt but the time of service, under the late law was during the campaign, unless the period of that service was altered by the acceptance and approval of the act of the state by the President of the U. S., of this 3500 men, which alteration may be inferred perhaps from the words of the Secy State which are “he the President approves the measure adopted by the legislature of Tennessee in adding 3500 men to those previously called into the service of the U. S. by the department of war”—the word “adding” will infer perhaps the same service as that required by the call of the Secy. war, but as to the length of service it cannot alter the solution of the question whose duty it is to carry this law into compleat effect: and what the object of the law is? the object is clearly shewn to be a campaign into the Creek nation, 3500 men the *additional forces.*

As to whose duty it is to carry this law into compleat effect? there can be no doubt, and that duty cannot be altered by any consent of the President of the U. S. it is therefore clearly my opinion that the Execu-

tive of the state alone has the power to carry this law of the State into effect. it is yr. duty to see that 3500 men of an additional force should be constantly in the field, until the object of the law is compleated viz until the Creeks are exterminated or conquered; and by the acceptance of the President, the U. S. are bound for the expence: and that it is yr. duty whenever you know that this number is not in the field under the law to *call out the militia of the State to fill it*, and whenever you are informed that the full quota required by the law has not been called out and organised agreeably to yr order and the law it is yr. duty to order the offic[e]r to have the full quota organised and in the field, agreeably to the law and the order of the Genl. Government.

I will state a case direct in point The Secy. war ordered you to have organised 1500 of the detached Militia, and have them marched into the Creek nation—the act of Congress that gave the President the power to call upon the detached Militia from the states, says that they shall serve 6 months unless sooner discharged by the President. Yr. officer has not that number in the field under the requisition, in fact he has no men in the field. is it not then yr. duty to see (in time of war) that the number of men called for by the President from yr state are in the field and if not in the field, is it not yr duty to call them in and punish yr. officer for disobedienc[e]? In this there can be no doubt and that you the Gov. of the state are responsible to the President for all failures to the arms of yr. country, that may be occasioned by the force ordered, not being in the field, and yr. officer responsible to you and punishable by you.

Is the campaign ended? is protection afforded to the frontiers of the Territory as contemplated by the act of assembly? is the creek nation exterminated or conquered? in short is the object of the law carried into effect? The answer is plain, is it not? Is then the number of men in the field required by the order of the Secretary War, and the requisition of the law of the state? or in other words is the 3500 additional force, as in the words of the resolution to make the whole force to be in the heart of the Creek nation 5000? in short is there 5000 men in the heart of the creek nation? there is not nor has there ever been under the orders of the Secy at War and the requisition of the law, and of this I have advised you. And are you my Dear friend sitting with yr. arms folded under the present situation of the campaign recommending me to retrograde to please the whims of the populace and waiting for further orders from the Secy war. Let me tell you it imperiously lies upon both you and me to do our duty regardless of consequences or the opinion of these fireside patriots, those fawning sycophants or cowardly paltrons who after all their boasted ardor, would rush home or remain at those fireside and let thousands fall victims to my retrograde—let us take a view of the real state of things and see how you and myself would appear in the painting.

From the act of the state and yr. letter, the President does believe and, has a right to believe that we have 5000 men in the field, and that force for 6 months service on the campaign, ready to protect the frontier of the Mississippi Territy, our own frontier and to carry a campaign into the heart of the creek nation and ready to cooperate and have been

cooperating with the troops of Georgia. This is fairly infered from the requisition he has authorised Genl. Flournoy to make on you for 1500 men, and the manner pointed out how that requisition is to be filled. I have advanced. Genl. Pinckney is ordered to take the direction of the campaign and the command of the 7th. District. You are notified thereof. I am ordered by him agreeable to his instructions, and, the plan of operations, to advance and keep possession of every pace of ground I take and fortify it, so that a regular communications shall be kept open in my rear. The Georgia army has advanced agreeably to his instructions to fortify and cooperate with me—we have got within 90 miles of each other and are ordered to form a junction at the confluence of the two rivers as speedy as possible. Genl. Claiborne is ordered to advance and fortify along the banks of Alabama and push supplies to meet us—both armies have advanced in front of the friendly Creeks and exposed Cherokees. We have pledged them protection, and the hostile creeks are now between our armies and a British force with arms and ammunition to put into the hands of the hostile party. The Chocktaws are wavering and in these circumstances I am advised to retrograde, leave the Georgia army to perish or precipitately retreat—the friendly Indians to be massa[c]red or join the enemy—the Cherokees to be destroyed or become our enemies and our own frontier to be drenched in blood by our friendly Indians infuriated with the treachery of the U. S. which will add at least five thousand desperate warriors to the present strength of our enemy, loose all we have obtained at a vast expence and blood of our Citizens—for what purpose? to please the people of the present moment which in a short time bring down upon our heads the imprecations of those very vile reptiles in the Community who are seeking for popularity and self aggrandizement, and now wishing to wear the name of patriots, and what is still worse the just indignation of our government and thousands yet unborn.

Arouse from yr. lethargy—despise the fawning smiles or the snarling frowns of such miscreants—with energy exercise yr. functions—the campaign must rapidly progress, or you are forever damned, and yr. country ruined. Call out the full quota authorised—execute the orders of the Secy war, and arrest the officer who omits his duty—order a draft for the deficiency occasioned by the desertion of the volunteers, and let popularity perish for the present—let the miscreant who never thinks of his country or its dangers, unless to promote his own views, feel the weight of the orders of his Government. Save Mobile—save the Territory—save yr frontier from becoming drenched in blood—and yourself from being damned for it by these monsters these sycophantic complainers. What retrograde under these circumstances. I will perish first. What a Gov. of a patriotic state whose citizens pressed for war, who bawled aloud for permission to exterminate the creeks, to pause or hesitate at such a crisis as this. Such conduct cannot be justified, cannot be excused—hear the voice of a friend—if you compell me to retrograde the awful consequences must and will be ascribed to you, and you are politically damned forever. I shall do my duty. I will retain the post or die in the struggle, unless ordered to retreat by my Command'g Genl. for it

would damn you to give me the order—it would damn me to retrograde without Genl. Pinckneys order. I have long since determined when I die I will leave my reputation untarnished. You have only to act with a little energy for which you will be applauded by your Government. Give me a force for 6 months in whose term of service there is no doubt, and I will try to do the ballance and all may be safe. Withhold it, and all is lost and the reputation of the state and yrs. with it.

I have noted yr letter as it respects Major Lewis, and had taken the precaution to advise Genl. Pinckney of Majr Lewis appointment, when I named Maj Baxter for the E. Division of the State. I write to Genl. Pinckney tomorrow by Express, in which I will again name the subject, and be assured that he shall not be unmoved, if I have influence to prevent it. I know there is absolute necessity for an Asst D. Q. Master on each side of the mountain. Genl. Roberts reached me last evening—he reports that he has 191 men near this place, but that they will not march into camp without I accept their services and give them a pledge that they will be held in service only for 3 months. To accept them into service under the requisition of the secreatary War or under yr order under the state law, for that term of service, I could not, Having been brought into camp contrary to my order to Genl. Roberts, but I have said to them in an address; that candor to soldiers is a duty I owe them, and after telling them my powers and that all my exertions under them should be exercised in their behalf, to have justice done them, that I would thankfully accept their services. What a humiliating circumstance that a Brige. Genl. would march men contrary to his authority or orders, and then want others to make pledges to them that he had not the power to perform. I want no troops unless under yr orders whose term of service is well explained, and then I will command them for the specifyd. time.

Had I time I would send you some certificates that will go to explain fully the rascally conduct of McGhee Junr. and the causes of our being starved. I am, Sir: with sincere respect, friendship and regard yr humble Servt.

P. S. since writing the above Genl. Roberts having halted the men two miles from this place, to obtain my pledge, that they should not be kept in service, longer than 3 months, the time for which Genl. Roberts in his written report to me had said they had tendered their service, and after my address having been read to them by the Adj. Genl., they retrograded under a pretence that I would not also pledge myself that they should be paid—in the mean time being informed by the Genl. Roport, that they had been mustered into service by the muster master, I had issued an order to the Genl. to march them into camp. The Genl. finding that there was a cloud gathering around him, has started after them post haste to bring them into camp. Whether he succeeds or not, I cannot tell, but should he not, a proper enquiry will be made why he did not.

TO JOHN COFFEE.

FORT STROTHER, December 29, “10 oclock at night,” 1813.

I had the pleasure of receiving by last nights express yours of the 27th. instant and thank you for pushing on the express, but it really

brought nothing but lengthy milk and cider recommendations of retrograding by the governors assertions of good wishes to the cause I am engaged in, and regret of want of power to aid me by men untill instructed by the Secretary of war. I have give him a good natured tickler by Lt Parish. By the express that goes on with this, I give him a *gulger*, that will make him look and see his own situation and that of the consequences of a failure or delay of the campaign. I have pointed out his duty and his power in strong language not to be mistaken. I have give him the orders of the government to me, their expectations of the force in the field from Tennessee, their disappointment in not finding it in the field when a Spanish force is before pensacola, and have asked him what answer he can make to the goverment in not having 1500 in the field under the requisition of the secretary of war from the Eastern section of the state, under his order, and why he has not called on his officer, for an answer why he has not brought them into the field, and lastly painted in high colours, the pledge we have made of protection to the friendly indians their situation if I retrograde—with a British force at Pensacola, the Choctaws wavering, my orders to advance, and the situation of the Georgia army in case I retreat, and wind up with shewing his responsibility with and his certain damnation if the campaign fails, and him sitting with his arms folded and waiting for orders from the secretary of war. I think it will arouse him from his lethargy and make him act.

I hope my answer to the address of the mounted gunmen and cavalry reached you before they seperated and that it was read to them. I also hope you have had it published in the Huntsville gazett, and then send it on to Nashville for Publication. let the world see how Colo Alcorn will look in the future with his sacred pledge signed with his own hand, and exciting and encouraging desertion and mutiny. If they go let them go, and as Capt David Smith writes to me "they will be met with the curses of their country both in front and rear."

I wrote you the other day, by express and refered you to Colo Carrols letter for further information. I hope he has made my powers known to those brave men that has come on with him. a soldier never ought to be deceived he never ought to do service for which he will not be paid. of their pay I have no doubt, but as their term of service does not bring them within any law or order, the power of directing payment rests not with me and I do not wish them to be deceived. In the name of god what is the contractors quarter masters, and adjutant Antony about. Where is the pack horses, and waggons I sent the quarter master to purchase and send on with meal. we have not one pound of bread stuff nor have we had for two days.

Can it be possible that the contractors has employed the publick horses to carry there meal from the mills to Fort Deposit. I hope not. You will please see to this. They are bound to furnish the transportation to the south bank of the Tennessee the U.S. afterwards. I am anxious to make a movement before the Holston Regt leaves me, their time is up on the 14 of January. I have sent Baxter up to Fort armstrong and Rosses, with instructions to purchase supplies at any price and to have them pushed forward to us. he will do his duty and I feel confident will discover the

combination that has starved us, founded on the intention of destroying our operations. all things will be right I hope shortly as soon as my letters get on to the war office. Should any supplies come down the river I will advise you, and as soon as breadstuff and the portage can be procured with you, to Justify a movement and your force added to the force here, is 2000, move up without further orders. should the supplies not come in a few days we will loose the Holston troops which is Eight hundred strong, few of them will march forward without coercion, and when they have but a few days to serve coercion would be improper. In a few days we could reach the hickory ground and one blow will finish the war on cosee and Tallaposa. I learn that genl adams is somewhere on the head of Tallaposa, but what he has done as yet I have not heard.

accept of my congratulations on your returning health. I hope you will be able to command through the campaign. Your name is verry highly spoken off in the Presidents message. This will be a killing stroke to your envious enemies and is as highly gratifying to me. I wish if I can to make a bold stroke, and form a Junction with the Georgia Troops, and conjointly form a Junction with Claibourne, scouring the country on both banks of the allabama. I have a party of two hundred and fifty out now on the cahaba [and] hope they may bring me some hair.

with sentiments of Esteem I am yours respectfully
P. S. I wish this express pushed on to Nashville.

GENERAL ORDERS TO ROBERTS'S MEN.¹

FORT STROTHER, December 29, 1813.

To the new troops lately raised by Brigadier Genl. Roberts, within his Brige. now approaching my encampment.

I dispatched Genl. Roberts to his District to fill up the difficien[c]ies in his Brige. That Brige. according to my opinion confirmed by the same opinion of the Govr. was engaged for 6 months' service. Nevertheless, I learn from Genl. Roberts that you have tendered yr. services for only 3 months, and that he has brought you into the field, under the assurances, that you would not be continued in it, longer than that period. You are greatly mistaken if you have been made to believe that I have a wish to entrap or deceive you. Such a thought never entered my head and such a wish is foreign from my heart. It is my duty to hold the soldier's who have been placed under my command to their engagements, at every hazard; but at the same time that I am bound to do this, it is a gross misrepresentation, if it has ever been insinuated that I would hold them to that service, longer than they have undertaken to perform it. Brought into the field as you have been, yr. services are thankfully accepted as they have been tendered; and you will never be required by me to remain there beyond the period of yr. engagements. But at the same time that I give you this assurance, it is my duty to apprise you, that I can take upon myself no responsibility for yr. pay. My best exertions however shall not be wanting to get you recognised and provided for by the Government: and it will always afford me great happiness

¹ Jackson MSS., Letter-Book C, p. 141.

to be of service to brave men who have volunteered to support their Countrys honor and defend its rights.²

TO JOHN ARMSTRONG.¹

FORT STROTHER, "TEN-ISLANDS", December 30, 1813.

Sir, By my letter of the 16th. I advised you of the dereliction of the volunteer-Infantry; and of the necessity I was under of permitting them to be marched to Nashville to recive such orders as you or the Governor might think proper to give them. Some few days after they had set out I received a letter from Governor Blount recommending that I should dismiss or discharge them, but at the same time expressing an unwillingness to attempt the exercise of any such power himself. A copy of this letter I immediately sent after them, accompanied by a few preparatory remarks, stating that I did not consider myself empowered to discharge them, but that they were at liberty to avail themselves of all the benefits and privileges held out in the governor's letter.

I also informed you, by the same letter, that having ascertained for the first time, after Genl. Cocke had formed a junction with me on the 12th. Inst that the term of service of the greater part of his men would expire in a few days I permitted him to march back that portion of them and discharge them near their homes; and ordered him to raise and send into the feild, with all practicable dispatch, fifteen hundred men, in conformity to the order of the Governor, founded upon your requisition. One of his Regiments consisting of about 700 men I have retained; but their engagements will terminate on the 14th. of next month, and beyond that period they are resolved not to prosecute the Campaign.

The cavalry and mounted gunmen whom, after the battle at Telladega, I had permitted to return into the settlements to recruit their horses and procure additional cloathing, having gotten back as far as Ft Deposit, have refused to advance farther, alleging that their engagements have expired, and that not being bound to any further service, they are determined to render no more. I had directed them to halt at the nearest point at which forage could be procured for their horses until the approach of supplies should justify me in ordering them on; but having remained until the period arrived at which they conceived themselves absolved from their engagements, they broke up in disorder; and, all but a few, are now returning to their homes in great confusion and irregularity.

The Brigade of militia, never full, consists at present of only about six-hundred privates. To fill up the deficiency I had dispatched Brig. Genl. Roberts, who commands it, to his District on the 5th. Inst; and yesterday he reported that he had brought with him, One hundred and ninety one to the neighbourhood of this place where they were halted.

² The upshot was that these recruits, 191 in number, deserted after this letter was read to them, and men and officers, with a few exceptions, marched home. Jackson ordered Brig.-Gen. Isaac Roberts to pursue and arrest them and hold them pending orders. See Jackson to Roberts, Dec. 31, 1813, in the Jackson MSS.

¹ This letter is from the War Dept. files. Like most similar letters or copies, it is in Major Reid's handwriting and signed by Jackson. See *Am. St. Papers, Milit.*, III. 787.

I thereupon ordered him to parade them, before the Fort, at 9 Oclk today ; but it was soon discovered that influenced by some unknown cause, they had taken the stud(?), had changed their course and were actually marching homewards. Genl Roberts went in pursuit of them last evening, under a belief that he could rally and bring them back ; but has returned this evening without having effected the object.

To provide as effectually as I could for the deficiency which I foresaw would soon take place in the troops under my command, I dispatched Col. Carrol to W. Tennessee, on the 4th. Inst to raise a new corps of Volunteer-Infantry to be engaged for six months, or during the Campaign. On the 27th. I received a letter from him dated at Huntsville on the 23d. Inst, informing that he had just arrived there, and that the number of men he had been able to raise, I might estimate at 600, were all mounted, and engaged for only two months. Under these circumstances I was greatly at a loss whether to accept them ; but, governed by the emergency, I concluded to do so, at the same time apprising them that I did not consider them as being fully embraced by any act of their own state or of Congress. To this effect therefore I immediately wrote Col Carrol ; and directed him to keep them in Madison, where their horses can be fed, until he should receive further orders.

This is my situation in regard to forces, and I lament, it is not more favourable in regard to supplies. To the want of these, must it be ascribed, that the campaign has not been, before this, brought to a succesful termination. All my efforts have been unceasingly exerted to remedy the evil, and had they been properly seconded I should, long ago, have succeeded. The facility of transporting breadstuff from East Tennessee, where it abounds, to Ft Deposit, might reasonably have been expected, under the arrangement which Gov. Blount had made with McGee, to ensure a plentiful supply of this article at all times. Yet notwithstanding the assurances of the governor and of Genl Cocke, the contract with McGee, and my repeated requisitions upon him, I have never received a single pound from that quarter, except about 30,000 weight deliver'd here on the 14th. Inst, a great part of which had been previously condemned at Highwassee, was afterwards packed up and brought here and again attempted to be passed off ; but was again inspected and condemned.

I instructed Genl. Cocke when he left here to take the most effectual means in his power, to have plentiful supplies furnished without delay at Ft Armstrong and Camp Ross, and transported hither ; and if he should find from the measures taking by McGee that there was a likelihood of being disappointed by him again, that he should himself immediately cause a sufficient supply to be purchased, and forwarded on.

On the 20th. Inst. I dispatched the quarter master from this place, and the ass: adjt genl to Ft Deposit, Ditto's-landing, and Huntsville, to hasten on the supplies that might be there, with instructions to purchase themselves if the proper provision was not making by the Contractors. The more certainly to effect the object I dispatched on the 22d. Inst. James Mitchell, one of the sub-contractors under the contract of Ward and Taylor, to the same places, directing him to proceed immediately to

E. Tennessee, or to any other point where supplies could be more conveniently procured; if he should find them unprovided at those places. From him I received a letter dated at Ditto's-Landing on the 24th Inst stating that he had found but a small quantity of meal at Ft Deposit, and none of meat, that at that place (Ditto's) there was not more meal than would be issued that day, and that within an hour he should get out to Huntsville, and the next day to E. Tennessee. Since then I have not heard from him.

I learn from Genl. Claibourne by a letter dated the [November 29] at Weatherford's on the Alabama about 85 miles above Ft Stoddart, that boats conveying 700 barrels of provision for the use of the army under my command were expected to arrive from the Country below, in a few days. I had expected that a concert would be established in the operations of our forces, and ultimately a junction formed; but I have lately learned that the arrival of a British force at Pensacola would probably occasion him to retrograde from the defence of Mobile Point. Should this be the case I know not what calculation to make on supplies up the Alabama.²

The militia who are now with me in the feild, believe they will be entitled to a discharge at the expiration of three months from the time they were mustered into service; which will be on the 4th. of January. I however consider them to have been bound to six-months' service, and shall not discharge them until they have performed it, unless otherwise instructed.

This then is my situation, and these are my prospects; and impressed by them, without feeling himself authorised to do any thing to change them, Governor Blount has lately recommended a return to the settlements, with all the forces under my Command, and a temporary abandonment of the Campaign. Such a measure however, even situated as I am, is as opposite to my wishes, as it is to my ideas of sound policy. Indeed I think it could not be adopted without producing the most ruinous consequences. The freindly Indians who have espoused our cause, and whom we are bound to protect would be exposed, to almost certain

² A letter from General Claiborne to Jackson, dated at Fort Claiborne, Dec. 5, 1813, here follows:

"Dear General: The Spies which I dispatched to Pensacola in consequence of the letter received from Col. Bowyer of which I advised you in my communication of the 29th ult. returned to camp yesterday evening after having visited that place.

"The amount of the information received is that there are no British forces landed, but that there are two armed Brigs and a Ship at Anchor in the bay. From circumstances it is believed that the Squadron which is there, are Privateersmen. They had captured some of our Coasters. The Spies were informed that two hundred Creeks had been in Pensacola and had recd. from the Spanish Authorities one thousand weight of Powder and a proportionate quantity of lead. This, as usual will be denied by the treacherous Spaniard. Some of the Enemy's armed vessels are in the vicinity of Mobile. A confidential officer will return from that Quarter to day, when I will be advised of the movements of the enemy. Pensacola is now the storehouse of contraband goods, the Sanctuary of old Tories, and the great support and cause of the disturbances on this Frontier. My Brave lads are badly clothed. I wish to God my numbers were augmented and I could receive authority to move in that direction. The Southern borders cannot be safe until Pensacola is taken. Six hundred barrells of provision has arrived at this post. If nothing intervenes the Volunteers and 3d Regmt. will move for Weatherfords town on Catiba in a few days, but for want of support in the Nation, will fall back to this post, as soon as we have distroyed the vilages in that Quarter."

destruction; and our frontiers be left still more subject than ever to the sanguinary depredations of an exasperated and vindictive enemy. Nor indeed in such an event could another campaign be commenced but at great additional expence and under many disadvantages; if indeed the means of recommencing could ever be provided at all. Independant of these considerations of policy, the obligations of duty would not permit me to adopt such a measure without the instructions of Majr Genl. Pinckney, who is made to beleive I will maintain the positions I have established, unless compelled to abandon them by the last extremity. Upon this belief his arrangements for the prosecution of the Campaign will probably be founded; and a disappointment in it might disconcert the whole of them.

Still retaining a hope that supplies will soon be furnished me, and that I shall not, in the meantime be left destitute of a force sufficient for the purpose, I have even signified to Genl. Pinckney an intention of again advancing beyond the Coosa and to the Hickory ground in a short time. Such a movement I am exceedingly anxious to make, as well to remove that discontent which will always be produced in the minds of Militia by keeping them long stationary, as to meet the enemy, who are again assembling below us, before their numbers and their confidence shall be too greatly increased by the tardiness of our operations. I have been cautious, however, not to give Genl. Pinckney any such assurance of advancing soon, as would, by leading him to make calculations upon it, expose him to any risk. Indeed I have not been able to give him any absolute assurance, that I could, for any length of time, maintain even the positions I have already established. All I could say to him or can to you is that when I abandon them, without instructions from some competent authority, it will be because there are no means left me of retaining them. How soon I may be placed in this unhappy situation, it were unsafe almost, to venture an opinion. If the militia who are now with me, and who at present, constitute my principal strength, should, in spite of all my endeavours, abandon me and the Campaign on the 4th I shall be left with only a few individuals—brave indeed, but certainly incompetent to make any further advances, and perhaps to retain for any great length of time the extent of Country we have conquered. This is an event however which I trust may not happen, and which my best exertions shall be used to prevent; and altho I cannot give an absolute assurance, I am not without a strong confidence that I shall be able to retain my present positions until some further and effectual provision can be made to attain *all* the objects of the expedition. That provision, I hope you will pardon me for suggesting, ought not to be delayed, nor made upon a contracted scale. The Governor of Tennessee, whose aid I have repeatedly and pressingly solicited, strong as his wishes are, does not consider himself authorised to grant it.

If it is really the purpose of the government that the hostile Creeks should be effectually subdued, and a strong lesson furnished to all who are or may be seduced by the real Instigators of this war, as well as to the Instigators themselves would it not be well to invest the Governor of Tennessee with such power as may enable him to draw forth and

command the strength of his state. The system of expedients, temporary in their duration and limited in their operations, will never be found, if I may be bold to say so, to answer the purposes of effectual warfare—such a warfare as while it does honor to our Country, may also do her some solid and lasting good. If sufficient supplies could be regularly furnished, I entertain no doubt, after what has been done, that with three thousand men, or even a smaller number, imperiously bound to service and feeling the strength of that obligation, all the objects of the government in this quarter of the union, could in a short time be attained. That these objects should be soon and completely attained, I imagine I see and even feel the necessity so clearly that I cannot doubt it is equally seen and felt by the government. Neither can I doubt that under such an impression, the best means in their power will be thus applied. Under such a persuasion I shall with my last exertions that can be used without rashness, endeavour to maintain my present positions until otherwise instructed.

It will not be inferred, I presume, because a number of the forces under my command, whose term of service, in my belief, had not expired, and whom at all events I was not empowered to discharge, have abandoned the campaign, that no means were used to prevent it. Indeed I have left no means untried. No less than two open and daring mutinies have I been compelled to put down by force. I say by force, altho that force was not exerted. On the 18th of November the militia were thus reduced to order; and on the 9th. Instant, I was driven to the same resort by the Volunteer-Infantry, which then equally succeeded. But it was soon discovered that the spirit which was suppressed for a time was far from being extinguished. In a few days it was ascertained upon the best authority that they had immoveably resolved not to recross the Coosa; and I had no means of Compelling them without hazarding the lives of the few companies of brave men in whom alone I could rely. Nor could I have resorted even to this desperate measure with any hope of success. It was therefore necessity alone which gained them permission to be marched to Nashville, there to await such orders as might be given them. What orders you *will* give, and what future disposition, if any, you mean to make of them, I am very anxious to know. The governor informs me he has sometime since written on this subject, and I presume it will not be long before I hear your determination.

31st. Decr. 1813. I have today received a letter from Governor Blount (a copy of which I send you ³) stating that altho he was not at liberty to grant a discharge to the Militia, or to say how long they were bound to service, yet that when they entered the service, he considered them bound to only 7 months' and expressing a wish that at the expiration of that period they might be discharged, or dismissed, until the president's will be known. The contents of this letter, at his request I have made known to them this evening; and the result can easily be foreseen. They will not remain beyond the 4th of next month; and altho I do not feel

³ This copy is not the War Dept. files. The reference is doubtless to Governor Blount's letter to Jackson of December 22, 1813, *ante*.

myself authorised to grant them a discharge, or a dismissal from the service (being of opinion they are bound to six months' service) yet under present circumstances I shall not oppose them by force. What your opinion and wishes upon the subject may be, I hope I shall be soon advised. Notwithstanding the gloominess of the prospect I am still resolved to maintain my positions until I receive instructions, and until means are provided, if they are meant to be provided, for the further and more effectual prosecution of the campaign. My force will be small but I rely with confidence that it will be sufficient for this purpose.

I dispatch Genl. Roberts in pursuit of those new troops whom he lately brought on, and who so shamefully deserted, with instructions to exert all the means and power he possesses to have them apprehended and marched to Head Quarters under a strong guard. It is high time that energetic measures should be adopted, if any good is to be hoped for from militia.

I have been prevented by the difficulties of cutting a passage over the mountains in the fore-part of the campaign, and by the confusion which has existed in my Camp since, from sending on Inspection returns. Accompanied with this I send you a draft of this Country drawn by my topographical Engineer. As explanatory of one of the principal causes which compelled me to retrograde after the battle at Telladega I send you, also, a copy of the order from Genl. Cocke to Genl. White, issued on the 6th. Nov. which caused the latter to withhold from me the cooperation I had been made to expect when I set out thither. I presume it requires no comment.

I have the honor to be

TO JOHN COFFEE.

FORT STROTHER, December 31, 1813. "11 o'clock at night."

Dr. Sir: I recd. your letter this evening by express, the contents observed, in reply you will find inclosed the address aluded to, and I wish you to have them immediately published with my address to the volunteer infantry, which I herewith also inclose.

Believing as I did that the militia were in for the campaign or six months, and finding that the governor in his of the 7th. and 15th. stated that the[y] were detached for 6 months, hearing that they were determined to march of without leave on the morning of the 4th. January I had notified all officers of my information, and ordered them to be ready at their posts to keep down mutiny and I was determined at all hazards to prevent them untill this evening, when I recd. a letter of date the 26th instant from the governor giving his oppinion that they were only to serve but three months, but he had no power as the[y] were in the service of the united states to discharge them, that power being vested in the President, but that it would promote the Publick good; with all such damd. milk and water observations, which is well calculated to raise mutiny in the minds of the men, keep their good oppinion of himself, and throw the responsibility on me. I will disappoint him. I say to them

if the governor who is my superior will take no responsibility on himself, I of course being a subordinate officer can give no discharge, that I am under the immediate orders of Genl Pinckney, and the orders to discharge must come from him to him from the President, that I am ordered to advance with all the force under my command and to cooperate with the Georgia Troops, that I cannot risque the responsibility of consenting to let them go, but from the letter of the Governor, I will not hazard the step to prevent them by force. I am compelled by my orders from genl Pinckney to keep the ground I obtain, that a regular campaign and the conquest and Possession of the country inhabited by the Hostile creeks are the objects of government, and I cannot consent untill ordered to let one man depart, and have ordered Colo Hays not to muster a single man out of service untill ordered by the government, or by the express orders of the Governor. he has wrote some of the most extraordinary letters you ever read.

I have exerted every nerve to progress with the campaign, and as soon as I get over one difficulty another presents itself or is raised, by the meaning and u[n]meaning expressions of the governor, the mutiny of the Troops, all occasioned by the underhanded designs of officers who wish to raise their popularity on my downfall. Genl Roberts on 5th. instant under my order went to his Brigade to bring up the deficiency of his Brigade.¹ he brought on 191 men within two miles of head quarters, as he reports who had tendered there service for three months, was mustered into service as he reports for three months, and which was halted, untill the general (mark me after they had been mustered) came in to make a bargain with me that they should not be held to service for a longer time than that for which they were engaged. the proposition at once convinced me he had been holding out or some person else false colourings with respect to my having become a tyrant another pledge wanted that the three months should stand for a tour of duty that they should be paid was another.

I replied I had no power to keep them longer if volunteers than their engagement, that If drafted Militia the law decided the question, that I knew no law that authorised a volunteer tender of three months, of course could not be responsible for the pay, and after reflecting on the subject sent them an address containing a plain and candid statement of what I would do, that is they should be discharged at the end of their engagement, that I would with all my endeavour and influence procure that they should be paid, but not having any controle over the government could not Pledge myself for the payment, and their services, I accepted with pleasure, they had been mustered and marched, they were in the service whether I accepted or did not accept, but I made the address to set aside all objections. It was sent and read to them and the Genl ordered to march them in. He returned after following them 20 miles without effecting any thing. he sees instead of getting me into difficulties he has got himself and these men I have ordered him after them, and authorised him to call on any force in the service of the united states in the county

¹ See Patton, Harris, and Pickens to Jackson, Feb. 2, 1814, *post*.

of madison on the state of Tennessee that he may think necessary to arrest confine and bring (the officers by name) in close custody and confinement the officers and men composing said detachment etc etc etc. This I think will bring the citizens and soldiers to their senses, and the Genl too. for it is stated, but with what truth I cannot say, that he has under the rose been saying a good many things, and that it was necessary that these Pledges should be made by me etc etc or they need not Join and that they were halted out of the lines for that purpose that the[y] swore they were not going to be entraped etc. Capt Davis came in and reported himself last night, he is greatly alarmed and distressed and is gone after his company. The officers must be made examples of. more of this hereafter when we meet.

you must recollect to have noted in the paper that the Pledges of those worthy companions of the worthy Colo. Alcorn under his and their hands is Published, the names of those brave men who have staid must be named, to save them from the eternal disgrace that awaits these honourable men who thought the[y] were fast damning you and myself by defeating the campaign. My order to you recognises the Pledge given that directs you to let them go to their homes. I inclose you a copy least you may not have the original with you and it must be Published in the same paper and following the Pledges. This will prove to the world that the indulgence given was founded on the consideration of the Pledge, and it formed a new engagement, that bound the whole for the campaign leaving out of view the old engagement or the law.

any of the officers who can raise companies for six months or the campaign and in case the governor will not act, for three months but if the men can be got for a longer time than three months as few of the latter as possible you will detach on that service. The officers that have staid will receive pay untill the secratary of war discharges them, this he will not do untill the expiration of the service of twelve months, or the expiration of the two years, and I fear the men will loose their pay and the Capt. be sued for the arms they have recd.

on the subject of supplies, I have no information except from your quarter the prospect brightens at Fort Deposit, and I have sent Baxter up to stay at roses [Ross's] and send on the provisions on that rout. I expect 400 barrels of flower and corn meal at Fort Deposit by the 4th. of next month. This McGee is bound for, but I wish them all to be inspected or marked and I will have them inspected here, he has delivered here flower and meal condemned at highwasee.

So soon as supplies can be had I wish you to order up all the force. four or five hundred horsemen could do great deal of service and there are as young Chenubee tells me a great deal of corn at the Fish pond Towns² which are abandoned by the creeks. I have had a detachment out for some days. I expect them in tomorrow from their stay I hope they will bring in hair. Lashley and Chenebee sent me a scalp the other day, and the red sticks are so situated that if we had supplies we could cut them up entirely if there is 1000 horse after these militia all go we could

² On the Tallapoosa, above Oakfuskee.

play the Devill with the creeks, and they militia I think will go, and I wish they and they volunteers had a smoke tail in their teeth, with a Peticoat as a coat of mail to hand down to there offspring.³

As soon as supplies of breadstuff is on, bring up the rear with all you can get and we will make a noble push. Tell these three months men or two months men we are in a Just world and the[y] cannot think but a Just government will pay their brave soldiary. I think of all damnd Rascals I ever saw, is some of the Holston soldiers, nothing can escape them I keep no copies of letters. We have not sleep three hours in four nights. Reed and myself are worn out where is Searcy that he has not come on, say to him we want him up as early as he can ride. Major Winston with all his men you must bring on with you. Say to the Brave Madisionians as the volunteers of Tennessee has disgraced themselves, I hope they will aid in supporting the sinking charec[tor] of the State. With best wishes adieu.

Mark Inclosed is the original orders and addresses. I wish them carefully preserved, altho I have copies of them.

P. S. as soon as the scout returns if they effect any thing I shall forward the information by express. horsemens of suffici[ent] force could by scouting destroy a great many indians, the campaign, must progress, at all hazards I must keep this fort untill ordered by Pinckney to retrograde. When more at leisure and my head more at ease I shall write more enteligably. I am fearfull you will not be able to read or understand it, but I am compelled to send it to you as it is.

AGREEMENT BY WHICH JACKSON EMPLOYED JOHN FIELDS
AS OVERSEER.¹

January, 1814

Articles of agreement this day entered into between Andrew Jackson and State of Tennessee of the County of Davidson of the one part and John Fields of the other Wineseth that the Said Andrew Jackson has employed the Said Fields as an Overseer for the Space of one year commencing on the Twenty fifth of Decer. 1813 and ending on the Twenty fifth of Decer. 1814 next on the Termes Following that the Said Fields Shall Take Charge of all the Lands the Said Jackson dose put under him to mak[e] a Croop and Faithfully make a Crop in the manner the Said Jackson may direct and attend to Said Jacksons Stock in a picticular manner and all the working Tools and every other thing which may be put in charge of him Said Fields and to attend having fire wood got and fires made as Mr. Jackson may direct and the Said Andrew in part doth agree to pay Said Fields Two Hundred Dollars in Trade all but Thirty Dollars in Cash at the expiration of Said Services The Said Jackson is to let Said Fields have a certain horse for one Hundred Dollars to use Subject to Said Jackson having in his power to pay him the Said Fields

³ In the usage of the time to send a man a petticoat was to accuse him of cowardice. Col. John Williams writing to Jackson, Jan. 22, 1814, said, "I am mortified to hear of Col. Lillard's conduct. It is disgraceful in the extreme. A petty coat ought to be presented to him".

¹ Copy.

one Hundred Dollars and Taking Said Horse Called Clum at the expiration of Said year. In witness whereof we have hereunto Set our hands and affixed our Seals this ——— day of Jany. 1814. Said Jackson to fix Said Fields eating Lodging and washing Time of Said Servic[e] in pursuance of us[age].

TO WILLIE BLOUNT.¹

FORT STROTHER, January 2, 1814.

Sir: Yr letter of the 24th. Nov., containing yr opinion respecting the term of service of the Volunteers, which I was so desirous to receive before the 10th Ult, was handed me on the 31st. It had, by inattention, been left in Huntsville. The same express bore me yr. letter of the 26th ult. According to yr. request, I have shewn it to Col Wynne and Major Turner, who, by permission, have made its contents known to the Brige. of Militia. The effects which it was likely to produce were foreseen, but could not be prevented.

They are determined to abandon the campaign on the 4th. inst. A disposition to do so, which had existed among them before I had labored hard to remove, and had in a great measure succeeded in the endeavor. I had reasoned with them upon the impolicy, and [*sic*] well as the risk and disgrace of the measure, at such a moment and under such circumstances; and had very candidly told them that if they did attempt to execute it, it was my duty, and that duty I would perform, painful as it might be, to oppose them by force. This Argument with the others which I used, had determined them, as I was assured by many of their officers, to remain, until they could be lawfully discharged. But the moment it was made known to them that they had the sanction of yr. opinion that they had been called out, on a tour of only 3 months, they at once determined to remain no longer, and I have no means left to change this determination, but a resort to force, which under such circumstances, I do not feel myself at liberty to use.²

JOHN ARMSTRONG TO JACKSON.¹

WAR DEPT January 3, 1814

Sir. It is thought most advisable under all circumstances that the construction given to their engagements by the organized Volunteers of 1812 be admitted. In no case however have Volunteers of the same description refused to make good three hundred and sixty five days. The Militia may be considered as having been called into service under the law of 1795 which limits the service to three months. The President is the more disposed to make this Decision as the State law provides that a period of three months shall be deemed a tour of Duty and as the Spirit and Patriotism of Tennessee leaves no doubt but that a succession

¹ Jackson MSS., Letter-Book D.

² In a letter to Coffee, of the same date, Jackson said he feared that Blount's action "has been bottomed on events that have taken place in the Eastern Section of the State."

¹ Copy.

of corps competent to the object of Government will be regularly provided.²

ORDER TO ARREST WILLIAM M. KIRBY.

January 4, 1814

Major Bradly officer of the day having reported,¹ that as he went round the guards for the protection of the camp, that he found, guard no 3, who was commanded by Lieutenant William M. Kirby of Capt Gordons company of the 2 Regt. of Tennessee militia commanded by Genl Isaac Roberts, had abandoned his guard, and that the whole extent of the camp, covered by the protection of guard no 3, was exposed to the enemy. The adjutant General will receive the sword of the above named Lieut. Kirby of the second Regt. of Tennessee militia. he will consider himself under an arrest and conduct [himself] accordingly.

ANDREW JACKSON Major Genl

Head quarters January
4th. 1814.

whereupon James W Sittler acting adjutant general to the army from the State of Tennessee commanded by Major General Andrew Jackson that he read the above order to the said Lt. Kirby and demanded his sword—when the sd. Lt Wm. M Kirby refused to deliver it, and observed it would protect him to the Tennessee river and that he was not under the command of Genl. Jackson, that he was a freeman.

J W SITTLER Adjt Genl

upon the above report the commanding Genl gave the following order—
To the adjutant General James W. Sittler

Head quarters Fort Strother

January 4th. 1814. you will forthwith order the guards to parade, with Capt John Gordons company of Spies, and forthwith proceed to arrest the said Lieutenant William Kirby of guard no. 3 of Capt Gordons company 2nd. Regt of the West Tennessee militia belonging to the Brigade commanded by Brigadier Genl Isaac Roberts now in the service of the united States, and in case, you are attempted to be opposed by force, oppose force to force, and arrest him at all hazards and consequence.

² Armstrong, writing to Governor Blount, Jan. 31, 1814, said that the paymaster of the army would be ordered to pay the Tennessee troops just discharged. But Blount did not act in the matter, and on Mar. 23 again wrote to the Secretary of War for instructions. Armstrong wrote him Apr. 15, 1814, as follows:

"The President is pleased to authorize your Excellency to discharge from the service of the United States, the Militia alluded to, if they have not been already discharged by General Pinckney. My letter of the 3d. Jany. last was intended to operate as an instruction on this subject—it contained the decision of the President in the case, and was addressed to your Excellency as the functionary having the best means of making it known to the parties concerned."

It was not until May 20, 1814, when the campaign had come to a successful close, that Governor Blount at last gave the order to Col. Robert Hayes which effected the discharge of these volunteers.

¹ Major Bradley's report, Jan. 4, 1814, is as follows:

"Sir, On visiting my guard at about four O'Clock P. M. of this day I found neither the officer of the guard (Ensign Gray of the 1st guard, 1st Regt. of Genl. Roberts brigade) nor was there any centinels at their posts, belonging to that Regt.—conceiving it my duty, I hereby report. Yours respectfully"

Spare the effusion of blood if Possible, but mutiny must be put down and him arrested. I say positively arrested at all hazard if your force is sufficient.

ANDREW JACKSON Major Genl²

In pur[su]ance of the above order, I ordered the guards and Capt John Gordons company to parade and procede forthwith to arrest the said Wm M Kerby. On my arrival at his quarter, he was not to be found; I proceeded to search the lines (who were all paraded) for him I found him at the head of his company marching off, I ordered him to "halt," this order was not obeyed, I then ordered the guard to stop him, and demanded his sword this he refused to give, I then gave orders to the guard to fire if he did not immediately surrender his sword; upon this he the said Lieut Wm M Kerby cocked his gun, and some of the soldiers cocked theirs also. Genl Jackson came up and personally deman[d]ed his the said Leut Wm M Kerbys sword, this was not complied with. The Genl then levelled his pistol at the said Lieut Kerby; I stept between the Genl and said Kerby, and again demanded his sword, and observed to him that he had better give me the sword, and save the effusion of blood. At this time Dr Taylor came runing up to Kerby and took his sword from out of the scabbard, and presented it to me; I refused to recieve the sword from Doctor Taylor, and observed to him (Dr Taylor) hand it to Lieut Kerby, and let him give it to me; upon this Dr Taylor returned the sword to the sd Kerby, and he then gave me his sword. I ordered the guard to take the sd Kerby and keep him under a strong guard untill further orders and he is now in custody.

J W SITTLER Adjnt Genl

TO WILLIAM M. KIRBY.¹

FORT STROTHER, January 5, 1814.

Lt. Wm. M. Kirby, I have recd. your petition, accompanied with the certificates of your Officers. The offences you have been guilty of, are amongst the most inexcusable which a soldier can commit. The reasons you have assigned in your prayer for pardon, if they can palliate, are far from justifying your conduct. The conduct is inexcusable on any grounds. The best claim to the interposition of mercey, which is to be found in your petition, is the repentance which is manifested: but that alone had been insufficient to entitle you to it. Your officers have given a certificate which operates much on the mind of your Genl. They represent you as a man of worthy character and one who has never before deviated from the faithful discharge of his duty. You are young, and they believe you to have been led astray by the influence of others. Your Genl. is compelled to believe so too—for but for this he cannot account how a man who sustained such a character, could have acted so criminally. Your uniform good conduct as a soldier hitherto, your youth, and the probable seduction, which has been practised upon you by others

² Up to this point the order is in Jackson's handwriting, but from this place to the end it is in Reid's.

¹ Jackson MSS., Letter-Book C, p. 157.

more experienced (supported by the testimony of such respectable officers) strongly incline your Genl. to mercy. These considerations, aided by the repentance you have manifested, have influenced your Genl. to grant you a liberation from your arrest. The Adj't will restore Lt Wm. M Kirby his sword.²

TO HUGH L. WHITE.¹

FORT STROTHER, January 6, 1814.

Sir. Your letter of the 26th was handed me last evening by Col. Williams express. I am exceedingly pleased with the promptness with which he is disposed to aid in the present campaign, and with his happy anticipation of Genl. Pinckneys order, which before this he will have recd. I am also pleased to hear that Genl. Cocke is taking measures to raise an army of 6 months men, in conformity to the expectation and requisition of Government.

The present situation of our affairs requires that the most efficient and prompt measures should be adopted. On the 4th inst. the whole Brige of Militia left me except one small company, and on the 14th inst. I shall be abandoned by all or nearly all of Col Lillards Regt. The men whom Genl. Roberts had been detached to raise, to fill up the deficiencies in his Brige., having arrived within two miles of my camp, all of a sudden took the stud, changed their course and returned home. This was done, notwithstanding they had been regularly mustered into service, and notwithstanding I had condescended to send them a written assurance, hearing that they entertained some doubt on the subject, that their services would be thankfully recd., for the term for which the[y] had been tendered viz 3 months, and that after permitting them to return at the expiration of that period, I would use my utmost exertions to get them paid. Notwithstanding these untoward circumstances, or rather influenced by them, I have ordered up the new raised volunteers, now in Madison, who will arrive here on the 10th. instant, and immediately afterwards I shall again cross the Coosee, and recommence active operations. The enemy I learn are fortifying at Oakfuskey² on the Tallapoosee, whence I shall endeavor to dislodge them as soon as possible. Inclosed I send you some copies which you are quite at liberty to make any use of you think proper. You will see in them, some part of the foundation of my expectations when I entered the enemys country; but by no means all. I had labored incessantly from the time the act of assembly was passed,

² The following is an extract from Maj. James Baxter to Jackson, dated at Camp Ross, Jan. 14, 1814:

"The East Tennesse iads are going home dayly I have to lend a deaf ear to some expressions that is grating to my ear but am not able to contend with the whole. There arrived here last evening a majr Bradley who observ'd to me you had honourably discharged a Lieut. in a company of West Tennesse, Militia on Guard after having refused to Obey the officer of the Day in the discharge of his duty, complaint being made to you, you should have sent your aid for his sword and he refus'd to give it up, that you went your self and you and the Lieut. stood, he his firelock and you your pistol p[r]esented at each other this was the conduct that procur'd him this discharge. I would thank you for a Sketch of the truth on this subject should you write me." . . .

¹ Jackson MSS., Letter-Book D, p. 251.

² One of the largest of the Creek towns, about 35 miles up the river from present Tallassee.

authorising the calling into the service 3500 men, in addition to the 1500 required by the President, to provide the means of supporting them when they should have passed the Tennessee line.

I had seen Genl. Cocke in the month of Sept. at Nashville, and had urged him to use his best endeavors to have bread stuff provided in E. Tennessee; and he had assured me that he would. Afterwards and just before I left Nashville on the present campaign, I had written him upon the same subject, pressing him with the utmost earnestness. When I had gotten to the place of rendezvous near Fayetteville, I again wrote a joint letter to him and your father, pressing the same subject, and shortly after arriving there, I recd his letter of the 2d. Octr., assuring me of approaching supplies. I, also, before I got to the Tennessee River, recd. your fathers letter of the 6th. Octr. and Col Meigs of the 30th. Septr. giving me similar assurances. Having gotten to the river, and finding that the supplies which I had expected had not arrived, I crossed under the fullest belief that they would soon descend the river from E. Tenne. In addition to this hope I had the assurances of the contractors that twenty days rations would immediately be furnished me. I remained a week at Camp Coffee in the constant expectation of receiving supplies from Genl. Cocke and from the Contractors. Just when orders were given for marching, the contractors informed me, that they could furnish me no longer. They were superseded, and others appointed in whose assurances, it was believed reliance might be placed. The line of march was taken up—still under the full persuasion, that when I got to the next point on the Tennessee, (at Ft. Deposit, Thompsons creek) I should receive supplies from E Tennessee, sent on by Genl. Cocke. I remained there several days and still none came; but confidence was still had in the new contractors, and learning that the enemy had assembled near the Ten Islands, and were about to destroy Chenubby's Ft., which I was urged by the strongest entreaties to relieve, I determined on hastening to meet them. Before I left Ft. Deposit however, I wrote another letter to Genl. Cocke and your father, urging them again to send on supplies, and remonstrating on account of the disappointments I had already been made to experience. Before I got to the Ten Islands, it became evident that the new Contractors could not furnish me; and it was then necessary to appoint others. A man of known standing and wealth had signified a willingness to accept the appointment, and accordingly Col. Pope was appointed, connected with Jas Mitchell, remarkable for his industrious habits. Mitchell himself had come on with a letter from the Quarter Master, in which the willingness of Col. Pope to accept the appointment was expressed, and having given the most positive assurances, that they had the means, and would exert them, of providing for the army, he was sent back immediately to give notice of the appointment, and to aid in performing the duties which appertained to it. This however did not prevent me from continuing my entreaties to Genl. Cocke, and before I arrived at the Ten Islands, I wrote him again by express, urging him not only to send on the supplies which he had advised me he had on hand, but to use his utmost exertions to procure additional supplies in E. Tennessee—to send them down to the depot which I had

established at the mouth of Thompsons Creek, and to hasten with his forces to form a junction with me, bringing along all the supplies he might have the means of conveying. Nor was I confined in my application or in my expectations to E. Tennessee alone. I urged the Gov. of Georgia and the Commander of the Georgia forces. I urged Genl. Flournoy, Genl. Claiborne and Col McKee. I urged the Gov. of Tenne. I sent dispatches E. W. N. and South, entreating every man who could be supposed to have the means to furnish me with supplies. All this caution was used to provide against the bare possibility of the privations I afterwards experienced, but did not at that time expect. E. Tenne. I knew abounded in supplies of the articles which I the most needed, and I could not doubt after the assurances I had recd., that the most effectual means of procuring and forwarding them on, would have been used. Yet I was di[sap]pointed, and because I was, I am charged with rashness. But I mind not the charge. Had I not been less supported than ever a general was, even my worst enemies would not have been impudent enough to urge it. I believe you will come to think with me concerning a certain great man of our land. I know you will, when you come to know him as well. I should be very happy to see you again in my army, and I am sure I shall be gratified, unless you can be better engaged for your Country.

TO WILLIE BLOUNT.¹

FORT STROTHER, January 7, 1814.

Sir: Genl. Roberts Brige. abandoned me on the 4th. inst. all except Capt Willis's company consisting of 19. Col Lillards Regt. will abandon me on the 14th.²

Urged by the present situation of our affairs and the great anxiety they pretended to feel to meet the enemy I entreated, in the most pressing manner I knew how, the continuation of their services for only 20 days beyond the period of their engagement. This was puting both their sincerity and patriotism to the teste, and today I recd. their written answer thro Col. Lillard, stating that only three of them Capt Hamilton and two of his men, could think of remaining beyond the 14th. Inst. The moment of extremity however is not a moment for hesitation or wavering. I have ordered up the new-raised Volunteers, brought on by Col. Carroll into Madison, and they will arrive there on the 10th. Inst. The next day I shall again cross the Coosee and recommence active operations. I shall meet the enemy in the first instance at the Fish traps, on this river, about 60 miles below here, and afterwards at Oakfuskey on the Tallapoose where they are fortified in. God knows what the result will be, but I hope it will add no additional disgrace to Tennessee. My force is feeble, but I trust pretty well purifyd. by the late purgations. Has Tennessee really come to a dead stand? Will neither her patriotism nor her powers admit of any further measures? Do inform me, for I now know practically,

¹ Jackson MSS., Letter-Book D, p. 261.

² Jan. 5 Jackson wrote to Lillard a long and urgent letter asking the men to volunteer for at least twenty days (Letter-Book D, p. 261). Lillard replied on the 7th that the regiment refused pointedly to stay longer than Jan. 14, with the exception of "Captain Hambleton and 2 of his men" (*ibid.*, p. 161).

that "hope deferred maketh the heart sick". Yet I do not despond. There is a crisis, even in the misfortunes of men, when despondency never reaches the heart. I have heard of a famous Republic of old, whose citizens sometimes devoted themselves to their country, without feeling it; but I forget whether they had been previously abandoned by that country?

I have the honor etc

TO JOHN WILLIAMS.¹

FORT STROTHER, January 7, 1814.

Sir: Day before yesterday your letter of the 25th. instant dated at Knoxville, was handed to me by your express. Accept my best thanks for the prompt and decisive measures you have taken to aid in the prosecution of the present campaign. Before this reaches you, you will have received the order of Genl. Pinckney, which you have so happily anticipated. Never were your services more needed, than at the present moment. I am left almost destitute of an army. On the 4th. Inst. the whole Brige. of militia except one small company abandoned my camp; and on the 14th. I shall be abandoned by Col. Lillards Regt. I cannot but lament that at such a moment, the Executive of Tennessee should have not felt himself authorised to take measures for providing reinforcements. I have had many difficulties to contend against, but they are far from having conquered my determination. I have ordered up the new raised volunteers now in Madison, who will arrive here on the 10th. instant, and on the next day I shall again take up the line of march. My first movement will be to the "Fish traps" on this river, about 60 miles below here, where a party of the Enemy are said to be assembled; and afterwards I shall move to Oakfuskey on the Tallapoosee, where a considerable body of them are fortified in. The sooner you can bring up your Regt., the better will it be for the objects of the Campaign. My forces, weak at any rate, will be still farther weakened by the divisions I shall be compelled to make for the protection of the depots I have established. But further delay I find, will only produce farther difficulties. A prompt movement has become indispe[n]sible. . . .

THOMAS PINCKNEY TO JACKSON.

MILLEDGEVILLE, January 9, 1814.

Sir: Your Letter dated the 26th of December did not reach me until the last evening. Your preceeding dispatches of the 14th December had led me to conclude what would probably soon be the diminished state of your force. I therefore immediately ordered to your support Col: Williams' Regiment of 12 Months Men, and wrote to the Governor of Tennessee urging him to complete the requisition of the Secretary of War of 1500 Men for the time authorised by Law. I learn from the

¹ Copy. Jackson MSS., Letter-Book D, p. 258. Colonel Williams had been recruiting the 39th Regiment in East Tennessee, and General Pinckney's order was to move to Jackson's support with all the men he had. See also Secretary Armstrong to Jackson, Jan. 13, 1814, and General Pinckney to Jackson, Jan. 9 and Feb. 10, 1814. Jackson MSS.

Person who brought your Letter that Colonel Williams' Regiment is marching to join you; if the 1500 of the Quota should also be forwarded by Govr. Blount you will in my opinion have force sufficient for the object to be attained. the largest computation that I have heard of the hostile creek Warriors made by any competent judge is 4000. At least one thousand of them have been killed or disabled, they are badly armed and supplied with ammunition, little doubt therefore can exist that 2000 of our Men would be infinitely superior to any number they can collect: we have beside the assistance of the Cherokees (and now the Chickasaws) in your quarter; the friendly Creeks with the Georgians, and probably the Choctaws with the Mississippi Troops. If this should reach you in time, I would therefore recommend that you should not embarrass yourself with the 60 days mounted men, for admitting that you can obtain shortly a sufficient supply of bread stuff and corn for forage, which seems doubtful, and if each mounted man were to lead with him a pack horse, that horse could not carry more than eight days scanty subsistence for himself, the man who leads him and the horse that man rides: it must therefore be nearly impracticable with Troops thus provided to penetrate 150 miles at this season of the year into an Enemy's Country where you can not depend on obtaining subsistence, fight at least one and perhaps more battles, destroy the hostile Towns in your route and return to your Deposit of Provisions in the above time: and if practicable the necessity of retiring would render the advantages obtained of comparatively little importance; as has been already proved by the victories gained by the Tennessee and Georgia Troops not having been attended with more decisive consequences. The only mode therefore in which it appears to me that you can obtain permanent advantages is to rely upon the States Quota of detached Militia for 6 months and Col: Williams' regular Regiment: by the time they have joined you may probably have accumulated a supply of provisions at Fort Strother, and even then there are but two modes in which you can advance with security on account of provisions; the one is that which I originally suggested of embarking your provision, spare ammunition etc on one of the Rivers and marching near the course of the River in concert with the progress of the boats; driving before you the Indians and destroying their settlements on your route to prevent them from impeding the progress of your boats or interrupting your communication with them. by this mode if any impediments should be in the navigation, the army might be marched to the shoals or fall and would afford a force sufficient to convoy the boats with their lading beyond them. The other is to cut a Road for Waggon on your progress, and to intrench a Camp sufficient to repel Indians which might be effected by the Army in two days, in every thirty or forty miles of your progress, leaving a party of about 100 men in each with 6 or 8 waggon attached thereto, which waggon should be kept constantly running to and from the adjoining post to keep up an uninterrupted supply of provisions drawn from your principal Magazine at Fort Strother: about 5 such posts and 40 Waggon would insure your subsi[s]tance, secure the stores brought on and relieve the sick and wounded; these garrisons

might also repair the intermediate roads and furnish small escorts for the Waggon passing between and this at the expense of 10 or 12 days labour, and 500 men left as Garrisons, which would probably reduce your force to 15 or 18 hundred men, with which number well supplied I should have no doubt that you would be superior alone and much more so when united with the Cherokee and Chickasaw force, to any number the hostile Creeks could bring into the field. Both these methods will appear slow and perhaps not altogether suited to the ardent zeal and energy which you have hitherto manifested; but upon the fullest consideration I have been able to give to the subject, they have in my opinion the fairest prospect of being attended with permanent success.

I am happy to inform you that Genl Floyd has so far recovered from the effects of his wound that he will probably take the command of his army: arrangements were made for him to commence his movement in advance from Coweta tomorrow; and I hope in the course of 10 days he will have established a strong post at the Tuckabatchie Town at the bend of the Talipooa about 25 miles from the confluence with the Coosa: as he will then have his communications sound by a chain of posts from Fort Hawkins on the Okmulgee to the Talipooa, he will be able to act with effect on the strong settlements in the Fork. The friendly Indians state to Genl Floyd that the army of Mobile on the 30th ulto destroyed the Town of Chooksaputka on the Alabama between thirty and forty miles below the Forts and that a firing was heard afterwards near Tustige. . . .

The Conduct of Majr Genl Cocke appears to be unmilitary, and if you had previously issued contrary orders to him or to Genl White highly reprehensible: and such as would be a fit subject for the animadversion of a Court Martial: of this however you who are acquainted with all the attendant circumstances can form the most correct judgment. I have the honor to be very respectfully

Sir Your Most Obedient Servant.

HUGH L. WHITE TO JACKSON.

KNOXVILLE, January 14, 1814.

Dear General, Whilst this world is infested with so many scoundrals, I deem it improper, that honest, and honorable, men, should be suffered, to remain, on other, than good, terms, for want, of the truth being told. This sentiment must be my apology for troubling you on a subject, in which, it may be thought I have no concern.

A few days since a letter from you reached General Cocke at this place, by which he was directed to cause Ratcliff and his property to be liberated, and in which his capture is reprehended in very strong terms. it unfortunately happens that those expressions are to be applied to Captain Rufus Morgan and his company, because they were the captors. As I too well know the numerous instances in which the property of indians, and indian countrymen has been wantonly pillaged and destroyed, and believe, that when writing you were only apprised of the capture, without knowing by whom made, or from what motives, I feel myself at no loss

to account for the strong language with which the order of release is accompanied. But when you are made acquainted with the circumstances attending the taking, and the motives which produced it, I have ventured to say and still believe, that I know you too well, to suppose, that the term plunderers, or any other term of reproach, will be, by you, considered applicable, either to Captain Morgan, or his company.

Without any military experience Captain Morgan, voluntarily entered the service from those motives which actuate the patriot only. without a frown, he, in every instance, not only discharged his own duty: but kept his company in a disposition to do theirs likewise—during my stay at camp, my tent was pitched at his fire, therefore it is, that I do not speak of him, at random.

When first at Fort Strother, Ratcliff was the subject of conversation, I then heard some person (who I do not remember) say, letters found, at Catauley Town, placed his character in a suspicious light. upon my return to Fort Armstrong I repeated what I had heard; and have no doubt, in Captain Morgan's hearing. When last at Fort Strother, the same thing was stated by some of the Gentlemen from West Tennessee. in consequence of these statements, the idea had become very general, amongst the people, from East Tennessee, that Ratcliff had corresponded with the Red Sticks, and that a fear his letters, had been taken with Catauley, had induced an abandonment of his dwelling. When I left Fort Strother, Capt Morgan had not set off, he had no expectation, at that time, as I believe, of meeting with Ratcliff. The next morning, shortly after passing Ratcliffs farm, I overtook, three or four men from East Tennessee, who told me they had found out where Ratcliff and his negroes were and that they were going to take them; and asked my opinion on the subject. My advice was, not to touch him, as they had no orders, and were not possessed of the Evidence against him. this advice they followed.

I have only named this circumstance to shew, how prevalent the idea was, that Ratcliff and his property ought to be taken. On my rout I saw the old man and some of his negros at John Ratcliffs and the residue of his negros some miles this side. Captain Morgan and his company came the same road after me, and (as I had done) accidentally, fell in with Ratcliff and his negros, took him and the property which they believed to be his, under a conviction, I have no doubt, that they were doing an act, which, would meet the approbation, of every officer, of the Government. I have understood and believe, that about the time of the capture, Captain Morgan met with Judge Kelly, and not willing to depend upon his own opinion, alone, took that of the Judge, who, recommended the taking. I met capt. Morgan a short distance below Knoxville on his return—his company, Ratcliff and his property were with him, and I believe they had no property along, but what they believed to be Ratcliffs—the Capt. told me what he had done. I advised a Report to be made to Genl. Cocke, as he said, he felt at some loss, what to do with the property and never had expected or wished any personal benefit whatever from it. I understood he did write Genl. Cocke. I said nothing to capt. Morgan, respecting my opinion, of the propriety, of taking the negros—as the

opinion could be, then of no use, and might make him, uneasy. Old Ratcliff told me that after he was taken, nothing belonging to the indians, was molested by, either the Capt. or his company.

I know, none, can more readily, than yourself, realise the feelings of an honorable man when he receives censure, for an act, that he thought praise worthy; and am convinced, that although, you will not fail, to inflict a wound where you believe duty compels it; Yet, you will feel a pleasure, in healing that wound whenever it can be done with propriety.¹ As Col: Williams is the bearer, I need say nothing of news. On monday I go to Clarkesville—expect to be at Nashville February throughout. Believe me, when I assure you, that I am, as I ought to be,

Your friend

TO JOHN WILLIAMS.¹

FORT STROTHER, January 15, 1814.

Sir, My disposable force at this place crossed the Coosa river this day and myself and suit will cross in the morning on an excursion against some hostile town on the Coosa and Tallapoosa rivers.² I leave a weak, but energegetic force for the protection of this post, until a detachment from your regiment, or until Capts Smith Molton and Jetton

¹ After receiving this letter Jackson wrote (Feb. 1, 1814) to Capt. Rufus Morgan as follows:

"Sir I have just received your letter of the 11th ulto., which is the first intimation I had that you were the officer that had arrested Ratcliff. The information I had received both as to Ratcliffs imprisonment, the taking of his negroes, and the taking of the hooping Boys Horses was from the path Killer, and from Doctor Vandyke, that Colo. Wears Regt. had committed the act of violence on both the hooping Boy and Ratliff. When I wrote to Genl. Cocke, I wrote with the honest indignation of my heart against such acts, surrounded with daily and nightly acts of atrocity, which heightened my feelings, But believe me when I say to you however I might condemn the act of arresting an individual and his property even believing him to be a villian shielded by want of proof, or however harshly I might reprobate the act committed on the property of a friendly Indian who fought and bled with me, still I never could be brought, to attach base or impure motives or intentions to Capt. Morgan in doing the act. It was certainly true, that I had when Bob Cataula was taken found a letter in his possession, from Ratliff that brought suspicions on him, but it did not amount to proof of treasonable correspondence with our enemies, or I should have arrested Ratliff and had him tried before a military tribunal, but still the arrest and punishment of Ratliff would not [have] justified a confiscation of his property. He belonged and was claimed as a member of a friendly tribe of Indians waring on our behalf with the hostile creeks, consequently he is entitled to all the privileges and protection of any other member of that nation, untill convictive proof of his treason is produced." (Jackson MSS., Letter-Book E, p. 36.)

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

² The march here mentioned was Jackson's first excursion against the Creeks at the Horseshoe Bend. While he was encamped on Emuckfau Creek, three miles from the Horseshoe, he sustained a severe attack from the enemy but beat it off, with considerable loss to the Creeks. He did not feel strong enough to attack the main defenses, and returned to Fort Strother. The Creeks, who thought they had driven him back, followed and fell on his rear-guard as it was crossing Enotachapco Creek and fought so fiercely that it was with difficulty that the rear-guard got across. The two engagements were considered victories by the whites, and they did much to encourage the men. Replying to the above letter, on Jan. 22, Colonel Williams said he would comply with the request and that he would bring 600 men to Jackson's aid, only 180 of whom had arms. The promised aid, however, did not reach Fort Strother until after Jackson's return. He had artillery also; for on Jan. 18, 1814, the quartermaster-general was ordered to provide "four strong horses to hawl a few pieces of artillery belonging to Colo. Williams's Regt". See Letter-Book F, p. 43.

of the Volunteer Cavalry and Capts. Smith and Harpool of the regiment of mounted gun men (who I am this evening informed are on their march to Join me, comes up to their aid. I have therefore to request you in case neither of the said companies pass you before the receipt of this, to detach and push up to this place by forced marches one hundred men of your regiment; The balance of the regiment, will move up and wait my return or further order at this place.

I am very respectfully your obdt and very Humble Sevt

WILLIAM B. LEWIS TO JACKSON.

NASHVILLE, January 26, 1814

Dear Genl. We are in daily expectation of a messenger from Camp, communicating the pleasing intelligence of an other brilliant victory over the enemy; this expectation is predicated upon a letter from camp, stating that you had taken up the line of march on the 15th. Inst for the confluence of the Coose and Talaposa rivers. . . .

. . . . The Volunteers have been doing every thing in their power, since their return to injure you and Genl. Coffee; but, the injury which they wish to inflict on *you* will recoil with tenfold vengeance on their own heads—they have succeeded too well I fear, in lessing Genl. Coffee in the estimation of his fellow-citizens. I am authorised to say from the best authority that you stand as high here in the estimation of the intelligent part of the community as you ever did, and ten times higher in the East end of the state than at any former period. It seems that the White and Cock[e] connection has dissolved, and that Genl. Cock has gone to the wall. I have seen some merchants of Nashville just returned from Pittsburg, who say that Genl Jackson and his Tennessee volunteers were the theme of public and private conversation, that in that Country the Kentuckians were completely put in the back ground by the Tennesseans. . . .

THOMAS PINCKNEY TO JACKSON.

MILLEDGEVILLE January 26, 1814¹

Sir; General Floyd moved from Fort Mitchell near Coweta on the Chatahouchie on the 18th of this month toward the old Tookabatchie Town in the bend of the Talipoosa;² this Town is 45 miles distant from Fort Mitchell and 25 above the confluence of this River with the Coosa: his force consists of between 14 and 15 hundred of the Georgia State Troops and 500 friendly Creek Indians: as he will intrench an interme-

¹ In another letter to Jackson, of the same date, Pinckney arranged for a chain of communication by mounted men between Milledgeville and Jackson's headquarters. Jackson was to establish posts, with riders, 35 or 40 miles apart, as far eastward as Etowah village on the Hightower or Etowah River. Another series would extend from Pinckney's headquarters westward to the Standing Peach Tree, near the Shallow Ford of the Chattahoochee, and the interval between that place and Etowah, said to be about 40 miles, was to be served by riders meeting half-way.

² Tukabatchi was an Upper Creek town on the Tallapoosa River, opposite Tallassee. It was a tribal centre and it was here that Tecumseh appealed to the Upper Creeks for war against the United States.

diate post on his route and establish another to secure the passage of the river, I think it probable he will not commence his operations in the Fort until the end of this or first of the next month, and after leaving small garrisons in the intermediate posts his force may be reduced to 1200 white and 500 red Warriors. The principal force of the Enemy is said to be at Hoithlawaulie³ about 9 miles lower down the Talipoosa than the Tuckabatchie old Town; if he shall succeed in defeating these he will then proceed to destroy all the Towns within striking distance of the Forts.

The Okfuskee settlement on the Talipoosa is the only point at which we are informed of any other collection of hostile Indians below the Fishtraps, it is hoped Genl Floyd will be able to destroy or disperse these; and if circumstances would admit of your routing the Enemy said to be collected at the Fish Traps or Coosa Village the War must I think, speedily terminate.

Having now sent off supplies sufficient to last Genl Floyds Army for the remainder of their term of service I shall be able in three Weeks from this time to place on the Talipoosa sufficient provisions to support your Detachment [provided it shall not exceed fifteen hundred Men]⁴ for 10 days or a fortnight, and from that time we can keep up the supply from this State; if therefore your march is retarded for want of provisions, and you can collect sufficient to supply your Troops during their operations in advancing to the confluence of the Rivers you need not prepare supplies sufficient to maintain your Detachment on their return, but it is essential that you should give me immediate information of your force and intention, that adequate preparations may be made. . . .

TO MRS. JACKSON.

FORT STROTHER, January 28, 1814.

My Love: on last evening I returned to this place, from an excursion against the Hostile Creeks who I had been advised was collected, in an new and fortified camp on the Tallapoosee river, near the mouth of a creek called emuckfa. their spies discovered my approach, and attacked me in my camp at 6 oclock a.m. on the morning of the 22nd Instant, expecting no doubt, to make my fate the fate of Genl Winchester on that day 12th months. I was prepared, and my troops tho raw met their bold and ferocious attack with firmness and undaunted resolution. The Brave Coffee, Carroll, and Sittler flew to the point of attack, encouraged the brave men, who was no less bravely encouraged by Colo. Higgins who commanded them. The Battle raged, untill it was sufficiently light, to discover and distinguish our enemies from our friends, when I was informed that that part of the line where the battle waxed hottest was very much thinned being many wounded. I immediately ordered the only reserve I had Capt Ferrell commanding about forty raw infantry to repair to the spot. the[y] were led briskly by Colo. Carroll to the weak point, and Genl Coffee ordered and led on the charge, with Colos. Carroll

³ Huhliwahli.

⁴ Brackets are used in the manuscript.

and Higgins. the enemy gave way at all points. the friendly indians entered the persuit which was continued about two miles, in which was slain and counted twenty four Indians and enemies. as soon the persuit was over, on examining I found we had five killed and several wounded. It was impossible to move forward immediately, my wounded could not be left exposed. I ordered Genl Coffee, with four hundred white men, and about three hundred friendly Indians to follow to their Encampment and burn it if, it could be effected without too much hazard, but if fortified not to attempt it, untill the artilery could be brought up. he proceeded without delay explored the encampment, found it fortified, and immediately advised me thereof, and returned to guard the artilery up. this was a providential movement for he had not returned more than half an hour, when the enemy approached me on the right fired on some of Capt Gordons company who was out looking for an indian they on piquet the night before had shot. Genl Coffee came to me and asked for 200 men to go round and attack them, the order was given, but instead of 200, not more than fifty men went, chiefly composed of his old officers, Capt. E Hammonds old company Capt. Russle and a few of his Spies, Capt Elliott and a few of his company Capt Mann and a few of his of this I never was apprised untill after the Battle. as soon as the engagement commenced, I endeavoured to reinforce the genl with 150 indians, and whilst in the act I found it was intended as a faint to draw my attention to that point when they intended to attack my camp on the adverse flank. but before this could be done I was prepared to receive them. They officers and men recd them again with stubborn firmness, extracted their fire, immediately charged, and broke they enemy, which was persued a second time one mile and a half with slauter twenty three being killed by the whites. As soon as the pursuers returned and my lines closed I ordered Jame Fife a chief of the friendly creeks with one hundred and fifty of his warriors to aid Genl coffee. he obeyed, and as soon as he Joined the general a charge was made by the whites broke the Indians persuit made, they enemy entirely routed, the slain of the enemy by the whites estimated at from forty five to fifty on our side there was four killed and several wounded, amongst the killed was our friend major Alexander Donaldson who bravely fought and bravely fell and General Coffee wounded slightly. as all this little Sparten band did, who went out and fought with the general in that affair—both officers and men faithfully did their duty. in these three affairs my wounded was so increased, my horses starving my men in some degree began to be panic struck. I could not advance and burn the Town, but determined to prepare my litters and commence my march for this place on the morning of the 23rd, I had twenty three men in litters. my march was slow but cautious. I expected another attack. I had a harycane¹ to pass, I wished to avoid an attack there, I passed it in safety and encamped for the night, having taken the necessary precaution to secure my camp against a night attack. The night was rainy, and from the si[g]nals I expected an attack in the morning. to prevent the enemy from obtain-

¹ Meaning, a place devastated by a hurricane or cyclone.

ing any advantage over me whilst crossing a large creek called enotchopco² I ordered a new road to be cut, over it to avoid an ambuscade, and to draw the enemy after me over a peace of ground, that I could slaughter the whole of them. all things cautiously prepared, every arrangement made for the protection of front flanks and rear, I took up the line of march on the morning of the 24th. approached the creek the advance crossed, and the advance of the flank colums without interruption the sick in the centre had also passed and whilst, the last litter was advancing up the bank, the alarm gun, was fired. I felt rejoiced, the ground was of my own choosing, and I knew if the men would stand and fight I would destroy every nine out of ten of the enemy. I had confidence in the rear guard, who was commanded by Colo. Perkins and Stump, with whom I had left the brave Colo. Carroll, to superintend the order of the rear, my little Spartan band, the guards and artilerist at the time of the alarm was about to descend the bank of the creek with Capt. Ferrells militia company who I had placed in the rear to protect the sick and support the rear in case of an attack, the guards was commanded by Lt. Armstrong in the absence of Capt Deaderick who had been for some time confined to his bed with indisposition. on the alarm gun being fired Lt. armstrong with his wonted bravery ordered the guards to form, unharnish the artillery, before this could be effected the right and left column of the rear guard with part of the centre, broke like Bullocks with their Colos. at their head or centre, rushed precipitably forward, the left column, plunged down the bank of the creek, with their Colo. at their head, threw several of the guards into the creek, rushed forward for the centre, throwing every thing into confusion. I met this column on the bank of the creek, my salutations were harsh my orders preremitory to which advance to the aid and protection of the brave who had halted with the brave guards to aid in stoping the overwhelming hosts of Indians that they were bravely advancing to meet, but all in vain. I attempted to draw my sword, it had become hard to draw, and in the attempt I had like to have broke my left arm or I should have halted the fugitives. the right column fled around the right [*sic*] column, and got into the advance of the line of march, which was then the rear of the Battle. Colo. Carrol had halted about 25 of the centre column, and the Brave artilerists in obedience of their order advanced in a most galling fire in the face of the enemy to the top of the hill where the[y] poured upon the enemy a tremendous fire, whilst the brave Lt with five or six men were dragging the artilery to the top of the hill. it was then that my heart bled for those brave men. I had ordered assistance but in vain, they were obliged to conquer or die. the cannon fired, the musquets roared, and the riflemen amongst whom was Small with carroll at their head did there duty. the cannon roared again, this Spartan band charged and broke the enemy. by this time I had a few brave men across the creek, they with the indians, Joined in the persuit. Colo. William Cocke 65 years old had advanced to the front and Joined in the chase and killed an indian. Capt. Gordon who was in front at the head of the spies rushed, to the fight, and entered

² Enotochapco.

into the persuit, which was continued for two and a half miles with considerable slaughter. Capt. Russle of the Spies who was in the rear says there were upwards of 500 indians in view. in the first of the action the[y] carried off all their dead and wounded. there were twenty five bodies found dead on the field, and I have no doubt but in all there has been actually killed on the field of Battle by the whites and friendly Indians, two hundred, and had it not been for the cowardly conduct of those two officers (for the men were brave if the officers had shew the example) I should have killed the most of these barbarians without half the loss I sustained. the[y] are now under an inquiry before a court martial. they ought to be shot. they were the cause of the death of several brave men. in this last affair we lost four killed and several wounded, some of whom is since dead. this last was a signal victory over them, they lost all their packs and was never saw or heard of more, during my return march. on the subject of my private and domestic concerns you and colo Hays, with Mr John Hutchings must regulate it. I have not time to spend many thoughts upon wor[ld]ly pelf or geer. My station is arduous and my duty severe. I will perform it. as to the vile slanderous vipers, I despise them as the crawling worm that rolls through the slime untouched, unnoticed by any. you may assure yourself and my friends, that intoxication is not a crime in me nor have I been intoxicated since I left you and this thousands can prove, and the fiend is not in human shape that dare say to me that he has saw me intoxicated in camp or any where else since I left Nashville. I have only time to add that I do not wish you to permit Fields to abuse clum. I expect I shall take him and keep him. one hundred dollars is too little for him, but of this I shall say more hereafter when time will permit. I am anxious to see you and my little andrew, had I been aided with troops, and provisions I should have made every hostile village smook before this. raw troops with officers at their head seeking for popularity will not do, but I am in the field, I know I have the confidence of general Pinckney. I shall do my duty, and with the blessing of kind providence will conquer my enemies, both foreing and domestick [enem]yes. accept my blessing kiss my little andrew for me, I will send him Lyncoya. give my love to all friends and believe me to be your affectionate husband

TO THOMAS PINCKNEY.¹

FORT STROTHER, January 29, 1814.

Sir, I had the honor of informing you in a letter of the 31st. ulto forwarded by Mr. McCanless (Express) of an excursion I contemplated making still farther into the enemys Country with the new raised Volunteers from Tennessee. I had ordered those troops to form a junction with me on the 10th. Inst. but they did not arrive untill the 14th. Their number, including officers, was about 800; and on the 15th. I marched them across the river to graze their Horses, on the next day I followed with the remainder of my force, consisting of the artillery company with one six pounder, one company of Infantry of forty eight men, two com-

¹ Jackson MSS., Letter-Book E, pp. 19-27 and 29-30. Abridgment in Parton, I. 486.

panies of spies commanded by Capts. Gordon and Russell, of about thirty men each, and a company of Volunteer officers headed by Genl. Coffee, who had been abandoned by their men, and who still remained in the field, awaiting the order of the government, making my force exclusive of the indians about 930.

The motives which influenced me to penetrate still further into the enemys Country with this force, were many and urgent. The term of service of the new raised volunteers was short, and a considerable part of it had expired. They were expensive to the government, and were full of ardor to meet the enemy. The ill effects of keeping soldiers of this description long stationary and idle, I had been made to feel too sensibly already, other causes concurred to make such a movement not only justifiable but absolutely necessary. I had received a letter from Capt. McAlpin, of the 5th. Inst. who commanded at Ft. Armstrong in the absence of Colo. Snodgrass informing me that fourteen or fifteen towns of the enemy situated on the waters of the Talipoose, were about uniting their Forces and attacking that place, which had been left in a very feeble state of defence. You had in your letter of the 24th. ulto. informed me that Genl. Floyd was about to make a movement to the Talipoose near its junction with the coose and in the same letter had recommended temporary expeditions against such of the enemys towns or settlements as might be within striking distance as well to prevent our men from becoming discontented, as to harrass the enemy. Your ideas corresponded exactly with my own; and I was happy in the opportunity of keeping my men engaged, of distressing the enemy, and at the same time of making a diversion that was calculated to facilitate the operations of General Floyd.

Determined by these and other considerations, I took up the line of march on the 17th. Instant, and on the night of the 18th encamped at Tallidega fort, where I was joined by between Two and Three hundred friendly indians,² Sixty five of whom were Cherokees, the balance Creeks. Here I received your letter of the 9th. Inst. stating that Genl. Floyd was expected to make a movement from Coweta, the next day and that in Ten days thereafter, he would establish a firm position at Tucabatchee; and also a letter from Colo. Snodgrass who had returned to Ft. Armstrong, informing me that an attack was intended to be soon made on that Ft. by nine Hundred of the enemy. If I could have hesitated before I could now hesitate no longer. I resolved to lose no time in meeting this force which was understood to have been collected from New Yeucah, Oakfуска and Eufawla towns,³ and was then concentrated in a bend of the Tallipoose, near the mouth of a creek called Immuckfa, and on an Island below New Yeucah. on the morning of the 20th your letter of the 10th. Inst. forwarded by Mr. McCanless, reached

² Jackson's white troops numbered 900, few of whom had been under fire. The Indians were badly armed and dispirited.

³ New Yeucah, sometimes written New Yorka, but on most early maps written New York, was on the Tallapoosa, about 55 miles above Tukabatchi. Eufawla was 25 miles above Tukabatchi, on the same river. "Immuckfau" is more properly "Emuckfau".

me at the Hillabee creeks, and on that night I encamped at (one of the Hillabee villages) about 12 miles from Immuckfa. Here I began to perceive very clearly, how little knowledge my spies had of the country—of the situation of the enemy, or of the distance I was from them. The insubordination of the new troops and the want of skill in most of their officers, also became more and more apparant. But their ardor to meet the enemy was not diminished, and I had a sure reliance upon the Guards, the company of old Volunteer officers and upon the spies—in all about one hundred and twenty five.

My wishes and my duty remained united, and I was determined to effect, if possible, the objects for which the excursion had been principally undertaken. On the morning of the 21st. I marched from enotachopco, as direct as I could for the bend of the Tallipoose, and about 2 Oclk P.M. my spies having discovered two of the enemy endeavoured to overtake them but failed. In the evening I fell in upon a large trail, which led to a new road, much beaten and lately travelled. Knowing that I must have arrived within the neighbourhood of a strong force, and it being late in the day I determined to encamp and reconnoitre the country in the night. I chose the best scite the country would admit, encamped in a hollow square, sent out my spies and Picquets, doubled my centinels and made the necessary arrangements before dark, for a night attack. About ten Oclock at night one of the picquets fired at three of the enemy, and killed one, but he was not found untill the next day. At 11 ock the spies whom I had sent out returned with the information that there was a large encampment of Indians at the distance of about three miles, who from their whooping and dancing seemed to be apprised of our approach. One of those spies an indian in whom I had great confidence, assured me that they were carrying off their women and children, and that the warriors would either make their escape or attack me before day. Being prepared at all points, nothing remained to be done but to await their approach if they meditated an attack, or to be in readiness, if they did not to pursue and attack them at day light. While we were in this state of readiness, the enemy, about six oclock in the morning commenced a vigorous attack on my left flank, which was as vigorously met. The action continued to rage on my left flank and on the left of my rear for about half an hour. The brave Genl. Coffee, with Colonel Sitler the adjutant General and Col. Carroll the Inspector General, the moment the firing commenced mounted their horses, and repaired to the line, encouraging and animating the men to the performance of their duty. So soon as it became light enough to pursue, the left wing, having sustained the heat of the action, and being somewhat weakened, it was reinforced by Capt. Ferrills company of Infant[r]y and was ordered and led on to the charge by Genl. Coffee, who was well supported by Colo. Higgins, and the Inspector General, and by all the officers and privates who composed that line. The enemy was completely routed at every point, and the friendly Indians joining in the pursuit, they were chaced about two miles with considerable slaughter. The chace being over, I immediately detached Genl. Coffee with four hundred men, and

all the indian force to burn their encampment, but as it was said by some to be fortified I ordered him in that event, not to attack it.

On viewing the encampment and its strength, the Genl. thought it most prudent to return to my encampment and guard the artillery thither. The wisdom of this step was soon discovered. In half an hour after his return to camp, a considerable body of the enemy made its appearance on my right flank and commenced a brisk fire on a party of men who had been on the picquet guard, the night before, and were then in search of the indians they had fired upon—some of whom they believed had been killed. General Coffee immediately requested me to let him take two hundred men, and turn their left flank, which I accordingly ordered. But through some mistake which I did not then observe not more than fifty four followed him, among whom were all the old Volunteer officers. with these however he immediately commenced the attack on the left flank of the enemy, at which time I ordered two hundred of the friendly Indians to fall in upon the right flank of the enemy, and cooperate with the General.

This order was promptly obeyed, and in the moment of its execution what I expected was realized. The enemy had intended the attack on the right as a feint, and expecting to divert all my attention thither, meant to attack me again, and with their main force on the left flank, which they hoped to find weakened and disordered. They were disappointed, I had ordered the left flank to remain firm to its place, and the moment the alarm gun was heard in that quarter I repaired thither and ordered Capt. Ferrill to support it. The whole line met the enemy with astonishing entrepidity, and having given a few fires, they forthwith charged with great vigor. The effect was immediate and inevitable. The enemy fled with precipitation; and were pursued a considerable distance by the left flank and the friendly Indians, with a galling and destructive fire. Colo. Carroll who ordered the charge, led on the pursuit, and Colo. Higgins and his regt. again distinguished themselves.

In the meantime Genl. Coffee was contending with a superior force of the enemy. The Indians whom I had ordered to his support, and who had set out for this purpose hearing the firing on the left had returned to that quarter, and when the enemy were routed there, entered into the chase. That being now over I forthwith ordered Jim Fife, who was one of the principal commanders of the friendly creeks, with one hundred of his warriors to execute my first order. So Soon as he reached Genl. Coffee, the charge was made and the enemy routed. They were pursued about three miles, and forty five of them slain, who were found. Genl. Coffee was wounded in the body, and his aid de camp, A. Donelson killed, together with three others. Having brought in and buried the dead, and dressed the wounded, I ordered my camp to be fortified, to be the better prepared to repel any attack which might be made in the night, determining to commence a return march to Ft. Strother the following day. Many causes concurred to make such a measure necessary. As I had not set out prepared or with a view to make a permanent establishment, I considered it worse than useless to advance and destroy an empty encampment. I had indeed hoped to have met the enemy there, but hav-

ing met and beaten them a little sooner, I did not think it necessary or prudent to proceed any farther: not necessary because I had accomplished all I could expect to effect by marching to their encampment, and because if it was proper to contend with, and weaken their forces still farther this object would be more certainly attained by commencing a return, which having to them the appearance of a retreat would inspire them to pursue me: not prudent because of the number of my wounded, of the reinforcements from below which the enemy might be expected to receive, of the starving condition of my horses, they having had neither corn nor cane⁴ for two days and nights, of the scarcity of supplies for my men, the Indians who joined me at Talidega having drawn none and being wholly destitute, and because if the enemy pursued me, as it was likely they would, the diversion in favor of Genl. Floyd would be the more complete and effectual.

Influenced by these considerations, I commenced my return march at half after ten on the 23rd. and was fortunate enough to reach Enotochopco before night, having passed without interruptions, a dangerous defile occasioned by a hurricane. I again fortified my camp, and having another defile to pass, in the morning across a deep creek and between two hills, which I had viewed with attention as I passed on, and where I expected I might be attacked, I determined to pass it at another point, and gave directions to my guide and fatigue men accordingly. My expectation of an attack in the morning was increased, by the signs of the night, and with it, my caution. Before I moved the wounded from the interior of my camp, I had my front and rear guards formed, as well as my right and left column, and moved off my centre in regular order, leading down a handsome ridge to Enotochopco creek at a point where it was clear of reed, except immediately on its margin. I had previously issued a Genl. order, pointing out the manner in which the men should be formed in the event of an attack, on the front or rear, or on the flanks; and had particularly cautioned the officers to halt and form accordingly, the instant the word should be given. The front guard had crossed, with part of the Flank column, the wounded were over, and the artillery in the act of entering the creek, when an alarm gun was heard in the rear. I heard it without surprise, and even with pleasure, calculating with the utmost confidence on the firmness of my troops, from the manner in which I had seen them act on the 22nd.

I had placed Colo. Carroll at the head of the centre column of the rear guard—its right column was commanded by Colo. Perkins, and its left by Lt Colo. Stump. Having chosen the ground I expected there to have entirely cut off the enemy, by wheeling the right and left columns on their pivots, recrossing the creek above and below and falling in upon their flanks and rear. But to my astonishment and mortification, when the word had been given by Colo. Carroll to halt and form, and a few guns had been fired, I beheld the right and left columns of the rear guard precip[i]tately give way. This shameful retreat was disastrous in the extreme. It drew along with it the greater part of the centre column,

⁴ The cane, abundant in most parts of the Alabama forest, was good food for horses.

leaving not more than twenty five men, who being formed by Colo. Carroll maintained their ground as long as it was possible to maintain it, and it brought consternation and confusion into the centre of the army, a consternation which was not easily removed, and a confusion which could not soon be restored to order. There was then left to repulse the enemy, the few who remained in the rear guard—the artillery company and Captain Russells company of spies. They however realized and exceeded my highest expectations. Lieutenant Armstrong who commanded the artillery company, in the absence of Capt. Deaderick, confined by sickness, ordered them to form and advance to the top of the hill whilst he and a few others draged up the six pounder. Never was there more bravery displ[a]yed than on this occasion. amidst a most galling fire from the enemy, more than ten times their numbers they ascended the hill and maintained their position untill their piece was hauled up, when, having leveled it, they poured upon the enemy a fire of grape, reloaded, fired again, charged, and repulsed them. The most deliberate bravery was displayed by Constant Perkins, and Cravan Jackson of the artillery, acting as gunners, in the hurry of the moment, in seperating the gun from her limbers—the rammer and picker of the cannon was left tied to the limber. as soon as they were about to fire, this was discovered. Jackson amidst the galling fire of the enemy pulled out the Iron ramrod of his musquet, used it as a picker, primed with a catridge and fired the cannon, Perkins pulled off his bayonet, used his musket as a rammer, drove home the load with the muzzle of his musquet, Jackson again used the ramrod as a picker, the catridge as a powder horn, and fired her again. The brave Lieutenant Armstrong just after the first fire of the cannon with Captain Hamilton of East Tennessee, Hiram Bradford and Jacob McGavock all fell, the Lieutenant exclaiming as he lay, my brave fellows some of you must fall but you must save the cannon.

A number about this time crossed the creek, and entered into the chace. The brave Captain Gordon of the spies, who had rushed from the front, endeavoured to turn the left flank of the enemy, in which he partially succeeded, and Colo. Higgans, Colo. Carroll, and Captains Elliott and Pipkin pursued the enemy for more than two miles, who fled in consternation, throwing away their packs, and leaving twenty six of their warriors dead on the field. This last defeat was decisive and we were no more disturbed by their yells. I should do injustice to my feelings, if I omitted to mention that the venerable judge Cocke at the age of sixty five, entered into the engagement and continued the pursuit of the enemy with youthful ardor; and saved the life of a fellow soldier, by killing his savage antagonist.

our loss in this affair was five killed and wounded, among the former was the brave Capt. Wm Hamilton from E. Tennessee who had with his aged father and two others of his company, after the period of his engagement had expired, volunteered his services for this excursion and attached himself to the artillery company. No man ever fought more bravely, or fell more gloriously, and by his side fought and fell with equal bravery and Glory Bird Evans of the same company. Capt. Quarter who commanded the centre column of the rear guard, preferring

death to the abandonment of his post, having taken a firm stand in which he was followed by 25 of his men, received a wound in the head, of which he has since died.

In these several engagements our loss was twenty killed and seventy five wounded four of whom have since died. The loss of the enemy cannot be accurately ascertained. One hundred and eighty nine of their warriors were found dead, but this must fall considerably short of the number really killed. Their wounded can only be guessed at. Had it not been for the unfortunate retreat of the rear guard in the affair of the 24th. Inst. I think I could safely have said that no army of militia ever acted with more cool and deliberate bravery. Undisciplined and inexperienced as they were their conduct in the several engagements of the 22nd could not have been surpassed by any regulars. No men ever met the approach of an enemy with more intrepidity or repulsed them with more energy. On the 24th. after the retreat of the rear guard, they seemed to have lost all their collectedness, and were more difficult to be restored to order than any troops I have ever seen. But this was no doubt owing in a great measure or altogether, to that very retreat, and ought rather to be ascribed to the want of conduct in many of their officers, than to any cowardice in the men, who on every occasion have manifested a willingness to perform their duty, so far as they knew it.

All the effects which were designed to be produced by this excursion, it is believed have been produced. If Genl. Floyd is operating on the east side of the Tallipoose, as I suppose him to be, a most fortunate diversion has been made in his favor. If an attack was meditated against Ft. Armstrong, that has been prevented. The number of the enemy has been diminished and the confidence they may have derived, from the delays I have been made to experience has been destroyed. Discontent has been kept out of my army, while the troops who would have been exposed to it, have been beneficially employed. The enemys country has been explored and a road cut to the point where their forces will probably be concentrated, when they shall be driven from the country below. But in a report of this kind and to you who will immediately perceive them, it is not necessary to state the happy consequences which may be expected to result from this excursion. unless I am greatly mistaken, it will be found to have hastened the termination of the creek war, more effectually than any measure I could have taken with the troops then under my command.

In reviewing my report of the late battles on the heights of Emuckfa and Enotochopco, I observe in the hurry of the moment, that I have omitted naming my staff. In justice to them and every individual member thereof, I have to remark that all did their duty, was firmly at their posts assigned them and rendered me every aid in distributing my orders at every point required. That Doctr. Shelby Hospital Surgeon at the time of the attack at Enotochopco was with Colo. Carroll in the rear, he did his duty, the whole staff deserve my thanks.

I am much indebted to my two aids for their exertions in restoring order from confusion at Enotochopco and distributing my orders on all occasions. My whole staff in the whole of the affairs must and [will]

receive my thanks. had I attempted to [point] out each member of my corps by name that deserved my thanks and their countries approbation I might have done injustice to others of the line, who are equally praise worthy, that I was not advised of—when all did their duty praise and thanks are due to all.

TO RICHARD K. CALL.¹

FORT STROTHER, January 30, 1814

Sir, having been abandoned by your Company contrary to my express orders on the 4th Inst. Having yourself remained at your post, followed me and bravely faught [*sic*] at Emuckfau and more bravely with the guards to whom you had attached yourself at the battle of Enotachapco. there the guards and those attached to them covered themselves with glory, and by their bravery Saved my rear from havack and distruction. having returned to this place where there is no troops for you to command you have leave to return to your home and there await my further orders or the orders of the commander in chief Major Genl. Thomas Pinckney.

On your retirement you carry with you my grateful acknowledgement for your Services and the bravery you displayed with the artillery Company on the banks of Enotachapco on the morning of the 24th Insant.

Accept Sir my best wishes for your future Welfare.

I am respectfully

Your most Obt Servt

S. B. PATTON, JAMES HARRIS, AND JAMES B. PICKENS TO JACKSON.¹

FORT STROTHER, February 3, 1814.

Honoured sir, Having for some time laboured under considerable mortifications with respect to the way we were called and treated by ou[r] B.G.² we are bound by the ties of honor and patriotism, to make known to your honor, the true statement of the facts, relative to the whole procedance. In the first place having received orders from B.G. Roberts to appear in Fayetteville on the 17th December 1813, with the companies then under our command, then and there to be mustered into service to march against the creek indians, to fill up the deficiency of his brigade then in actual service, there arose some doubts with respect to his authority in calling on companies in that way, also having frequently understood that his brigade then in service was bound for six months. We therefore called on our companies to go. as many of them as felt a willingness to serve their country came forward and offered themselves

¹ Manuscripts of Mrs. Jane Brevard Darby, Tallahassee, Florida, a granddaughter of Governor Call (governor of Florida 1835-1840), to whom the letter was written.

² Jackson MSS., Letter-Book E, p. 140. On this incident see Jackson to Coffee, Dec. 31, 1813, *ante*. Jackson took it under consideration and, on Feb. 15, 1814, ordered Brig.-Gen. Isaac Roberts to attend a court martial as witness in the trial of Capt. James Harris (Jackson MSS., Letter-Book F, p. 28). On Feb. 17 the tables turned and Roberts was ordered to trial before a court martial at Huntsville, Ala., on Feb. 23. Capt. James Harris was one of the witnesses. See Jackson MSS., Letter-Book F, pp. 49, 55, 60.

² Brigadier-general.

as volunteers for a tour of three months. And not feeling willing to return ourselves under his call of the 9th. entered into certain conditions with him for a three months tour unless sooner discharged. there being no muster master present the said Roberts agreed to the terms and very faithfully promised to march us home again provided General Jackson did not receive us as three months volunteers, not as deficiency of his brigade, and gave in writing with his own signature to it that we should be dischar[g]ed at the expiration of three months, from the day we mustered into service with him.

We started from Fayetteville on the 19th. on these terms having no doubts but that we would be received and serve our tour. on the 22nd. we met Colo Hays and there was mustered properly by him for three months agreeable to our conditions, as above. we then thought all was right however in a little time, some talk arose whether or not Genl. Jackson would agree with what had been done, whereas Genl. Roberts was ordered to fill up the deficiency of his Brigade and our return was for three months and Volunteers, the General immediately observed that that would make no difference with us as we were bound to no person yet but himself and if the Genl. Jackson was the least coy about it, that he still should not have us and that he would not suffer us to go into the fort, untill he, Roberts, would first go in and complete the condition in writing notwithstanding our having been mustered into service legally. However notwithstanding the numerous obstacles, starvation Queries etc that arose, we surmounted every difficulty that arose still willing to defend the enfringed rights of our country and still taught to believe by our Genl. that we were still free, untill our conditions was still sanctioned by our Major General. Under these circumstances we came on till within about 3 miles of this place, where we ordered by our General to halt untill further orders. he himself left us in the care of his aid Abner Pillow with orders to come no nearer than that distance untill Genl. Jackson did agree to what he had agreed to with us, and to what the muster master also had done, this was on the evening of the 28th. There was several runners came to our camp that evening from the fort with news that the General that is Genl. Jackson would not receive us except for six months. amongst the rest came a certain Mr. May with orders from Genl. Roberts for us not to offer to come in nor to move from that place, till farther orders which we should receive in the morning. This began to stir the people to think of going home, some began to fix to start expecting Roberts would give orders for us to return, and that he would go with us agreeable to his promise (Roberts was then in high estimation with us). However at length the B.G. returned accompanied by the Adjutant General, with an address which he delivered in a very cold manner without saying any thing else pro or con, the B.G. then observed Gentlemen you have heard the address read now make your choice, whether or not agreeable to the conditions you can go, in the men being roused by the news received before were somewhat irritated. The B.G. nor A.G. never offered to order us to march in at all, but appeared to leave it to the choice of the men. They soon left the place on the 29th hungry and without provision. Genl. Roberts followed us that night to

our camp accompanied by Colo. Brown with orders he said to march us back, also he said he had a second address from Genl. Jackson, which he would show to captain Harris in the morning, which he failed to do, when asked by Captain Harris, what the amount of the second address was, he answered near like the first only a little more flattering, he observed when he received the order from Genl. Jackson to follow us, that he sat down to write a refusal to the order as our terms had not properly been complied with, but on second thoughts concluded to come. he never ordered us to march back at all only observed he was ordered so to do, he observed to us when about to start that he had employed Lieut Davis to go on forward and buy provision to take us home, but on second thoughts he said probably Jackson would say he was assisting us away. The next news was we were reported deserters. the above are facts that can be proved. . . .³

TO THOMAS PINCKNEY.¹

FORT STROTHER, February 5, 1814.

Sir, I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your several letters of the 26th Ult. with the inclosure. they reached me half after eight oclock P.M.

The plan proposed for opening an expeditious and certain communication with you at head quarters, is certainly proper and will promote, the certainty of cooperating with the Georgia army, and ensure advantages over the enemy. For the want of this communication, there was a want of concert and cooperation between the Georgia army and myself. Had I have known the position of Genl. Floyd on the 22nd. ulto. I could have forced my way to him, where I could have procured some small supplies, to have supported my small army on their return I shall send a sergeant and 12 men from Captain George Smiths company of mounted Gunmen, with this return express, to take post at the different stations, pointed out by you in your letter of the 26th. ulto. Cotemporary movement, I made in the late excursion to the Tallipoose as

³ The end of the matter was the conviction by a court martial, at Fort Strother, on Feb. 18, 1814, of Captains James Harris, Samuel B. Patton, James B. Pickens, and Pleasant Nelson on charges of mutiny. The sentence of the court was suspension from military command, for twelve months, and loss of pay due them. The court announced that the sentence would have been heavier had it not appeared that Brig.-Gen. Isaac Roberts, their superior officer, was largely responsible for the mutinous conduct. In this connection much interest attaches to the following letter from Jackson to Governor Blount, dated Feb. 8, 1814: "The greater part of the troops, that were reported by Genl. Roberts, to have mutinied and deserted, has been brought up by him, and the 4 captains are to have their trial on the 15th. Instant, for *sedition, mutiny, desertion, and disobedience, of orders*. It is all important in this investigation that the General should be present—he is summoned and ordered to attend, But it is intimated by the Captains, that in order to screen himself, from investigation, he intends to go directly on and resign. I have to notify you, that charges are exhibited against him, and on those charges, he would have been arrested, had it not have been, that he is wanted as a witness against the others. I therefore notify you of his situation that you may not accept of his resignation if tendered, untill his conduct is fully investigated, and him exonerated from the charges exhibited against him. You will therefore please notice, that he cannot consistently resign under such circumstances, and should he tender a resignation, you can give him the above reasons for not accepting it". Jackson MSS., Letter-Book E, p. 67.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 115.

stated to you in my report of the 29th. ultimo and forwarded by Express, I hope will have had a beneficial effect upon the success of Genl. Floyds. movement. I received a letter from Genl. Floyd on the evening of the 28th. of date the 24th. dated at camp Hull 24 miles from Hoithlawalee, advising that he had reached that place on the 20th. and had caused an entrenched camp to be thrown up, that on the 24th. he intended to have made an attack on the enemy at Hoithlawalee. For which purpose the army would have marched on the 24th. had it not have been for the incessant rains.

A runner, who the Spoke Hagee or mad spoke, a friendly creek, who has joined me lately from the Cowetaus, has returned and says that nine days ago, the Indians attacked Genl. Floyds camp penetrated it, and began to plunder, when the Army charged and routed the whole. The same runner informs, that proctor with one hundred warriors, with all their women and children are trying to get up to the friendly party, to beg my protection and sue for peace—that a large number of the war party with their women, children and Negroes, are advancing above the Hickory Ground, but their intentions are not fully known, but the runner supposes they want peace as they have fell out with the principal red sticks,² and the Tallipoose Indians, and great commotion is amongst them at this time. I shall keep a watchful eye over this party and be prepared to destroy them should their intentions be hostile. The whole war party has sometime since abandoned the fish traps, and taken a position between that and the mouth of the coose, and the last certain accounts was that this party, with Alebamians, were concentrating their forces, at Taskeega at the junction of the Coose and Tallipoose on the west side of the coose. The coose towns has long since been abandoned, and it is my opinion that the greatest force of the hostile creeks will be found on the Tallipoose near New jauca,³ at the mouth of Emuckfa near where I fought them on the 22nd ultimo.

These are my impressions, from the information of the different runners. I give this only as impressions not information on which any military movements should be made, I shall in a few days be in possession of information that can be relied on, and against the 25th. I shall be able to make a movement that will put a speedy end to the creek war.

I shall be able with Colo. Williams s Regt. the 39th to sweep the Coose and cahaba, cross the coose to its Eastern Bank scourge and scour the Hickory Ground form a junction with the Georgians and with your promised aid of supplies, in fifteen days thereafter destroy every warrior on the Tallipoose. This done nothing remains but to sweep the Alabama, scour the Black Warrior with the mounted men and friendly creeks and cherokees, let them form a junction with the chactaws and chickesaws, who have raised the sharp knife (for information on this head I refer you to Col. McKees letter received by express which I enclose) move the Infantry direct to there by a coup de main carry into complete effect the ulterior measures of the government by destroying the origin and cause of the war. This done the defence of the lower Mississippi or

² Hostile Creeks.

³ See letter of Jan. 29, *ante*, note 3.

mobile will be easy. With Colo. Williams's Regt. this can be effected in a short time. An order he has received to day occasioned me to address you half after 2 O'clock P.M. of this day, and forwarded the same by express half after three with instructions to McCanless to bring me an answer on or before the 17th. instant. I hope it is consistent with your power and your wishes to let Colo. Williams's Regt. remain with me. Without some regular support it is impossible to keep new troops in any state of subordination or introduce discipline amongst them. This I have fully experienced. Take him from me, my old officers who had experience, knew the value of strict subordination, being without command, and raw and inexperienced officers in their stead—my Guards thinned in the battle of Enotochopco. It will be impossible to wield these new troops either with advantage to the service, or to the credit of the commander. I therefore hope that Col. Williams with the 39th. Regt. will continue with me until we reach mobile. I am exerting every nerve to have sufficient supplies up, so soon as this can be effected, I will make a movement, and should it be prior to the 25th. I shall advise you. It may be advisable to raise a depot for provisions on the east bank of the Coosa river at *Actaucha* or where the mountain cuts the river in two. *Actaucha*, is about forty miles from the mouth of the Coosa river, from which point every information agrees we will have to carry our supplies, from this quarter over land. If a supply can be furnished at the junction of the two rivers, for as many troops as will be able to conquer and overrun the country, it will expedite my movement. At *Actaucha* can be left a sufficient force to protect the Garrison and guard the supplies, from this place, and as soon as the Tallapoosians are conquered may be transported to the confluence for further operations.

I have the Honor to be

THOMAS PINCKNEY TO JACKSON.

FORT HAWKINS, February 5, 1814.

Sir, General Floyd has again defeated the Indians while on his march to, and within eight miles of the Tuckabatchie old Town at the bend of the Talapoosa, the official account of which action is herewith. But having with him but a scanty supply of provision, and his men's time having nearly expired, he has been compelled to abandon the idea of advancing, and by a letter received from him yesterday dated from the battle ground on the 1st February he informs me that he should retreat the next day to Fort Hull 7 miles in his rear, and after providing for the safety of his sick and wounded should retire to Fort Mitchell on the Chatahouchie.¹

Under these circumstances, Sir, you must not rely on any cooperation from these Troops immediately neither should you proceed to the fork of the River unless you can bring a full supply of provision with you, because although I have made a Contract which is now executing for

¹ Fort Mitchell was about twelve miles south of the site of Columbus, Ga., but on the Alabama side of the Chattahoochee. It is fifty miles from the Tallapoosa as the crow flies.

placing the quantity of provision mentioned in the above Extract on the Chatahouchie, this retrograde movement of the Georgia Troops will prevent it from being conveyed to the Talipooa which is distant about 55 miles and completely in possession of the Indians.

The advance of the South Carolina Militia consisting of about 1000 Men who are to relieve the Georgians passed Milledgeville yesterday, they will probably be here on Sunday next, the 6th February and reach Fort Mitchell on the Chatahouchie on the 13th or 14 of the Month. The North Carolina Troops will probably not reach that post before the end of the Month. When the whole are assembled the disposable force to act in the Fork after leaving garrisons in the intermediate posts, will consist of about 1500 Militia; between two and three hundred Regulars and probably from three to five hundred friendly Creek Indians. As soon as they shall have established themselves on the Talipooa and a sufficient supply of provision shall have been placed thereon I will give you information by express: *before which you must not rely upon any support of Men and provisions from this quarter.*²

MRS. JACKSON TO JACKSON.

HERMITAGE, February 10, 1814

My Dearest Life. I received your Letter by Express. Never Shall I forgit it I have not Slept one night Sine. What a dreadfull scene it was—how did I feel. I never Can disscribe it. I Cryed aloud and praised my god For your safety. how thankfull I was—Oh my unfortunate Nephew¹ he is gon how I Deplore his Loss his untimely End. My Dear pray Let me Conjur you by every Tie of Love of friend ship to Let me see you before you go againe. I have borne it untill now it has thrown me Into feavours. I am very unwell—my thoughts Is never Divirted from that dreadfull scene oh how dreadfull to me—the mercy and goodness of Heaven to me you are Spard perils and Daingers so maney troubles—my prayers is unceasing how Long o Lord will I remain so unhappy. no rest no Ease I cannot sleepe. all can come home but you. I never wanted to see you so mutch in my life had it not have Been for Stoeckel Hayes I should have started oute to Huntsville. let me know and I will fly on wings of the pureest affection. I must see you pray My Darling never make me so unhapy for aney Country. I hope the Campaine will soon End the troops that is now on their way will be sufficient to End the ware in the Creek Country you have now don more than aney other man Ever did before you have served your Country Long Enough you have gained maney Larells you have Ernd them and more gloriously than had your situation have been diferently and instid of your Ennemys Injuring of you as theay intended it has been an advantage to your. you have been gon a Long time six monthes in all that time what has been your trials daingers and Difficulties hardships oh Lorde of heaven

² Feb. 20, 1814, General Pinckney informed Jackson that Floyd, "on account of scarcity of provisions, had been forced to fall back nearer the frontier". Fort Hull, 135 miles from the Georgia frontier, was left garrisoned by 300 men under Col. Milton. Jackson MSS.

¹ Lieut. A. Donelson.

how Can I beare it. Colo Hayes waites once more I Commend you to
 god his providential Eye is on you his parental tender Care is garding
 you. my prayers my tears is for your safety Day and night. farwell my
 I fell two much at this moment our Dear Little Son is well he sayes
 maney things to sweet papa which I have not time to mention. the chest
 blessings of Heaven awaite you Crown your wishes. health and happy
 Dayes untill we meete. Let it not be Long from your Dearest friend
 and faithfull wife untill Death.

RACHEL JACKSON

VERSES ENCLOSED TO JACKSON BY HIS WIFE.

February 10, 1814[?]¹

How I hail this Spring's returning
 It will thee, my love, restore;
 Safety danger past endearing,
 Sure we meet to part no more.

Fame is thine, lo: crouds aver it
 And her smile is dear to thee
 But I charge thee, don't prefer it
 E,er again to home and me.

Thou, thy country's call obeying
 Hast her battles nobly fought;
 And thy ready zeal repaying
 See, she gives the laurels sought.

But have I no claims, my rover
 Claims as fondly dear to thee?
 Yes, O yes: and wandering over,
 Thou wilt rest with love and me.

Ha: methinks thy glances reading,
 From thine eyes my fate I know
 Duty still love's claim impeding
 Thou again must seek the foe.

Of my fears too dread revival
 Yet, with tearful joy I see
 Duty is the only rival
 Potent over love and me.

Indorsement: I Send Some Vir[s]es for your amusement I thought very
 suteable to the present Case.

¹ No date is attached to these verses, nor is it possible to say that they were written by Mrs. Jackson. But the sentiment is so similar to that in her letter of Feb. 10, 1814, that they are placed after it.

TO THOMAS PINCKNEY.¹

FORT STROTHER, February 12, 1814.

Sir, I have this moment received your letter of the 5th. Instant at Fort Hawkins, mine of the 27th. ultimo and 5th Instant, will have given you fully, the success of my operations on the late excursion against the hostile creeks, and my views of future operations, since which I have received no certain information, regarding my supplies, that will justify a positive assertion of the day I may be able to make a movement, I have received by the hand of Lieut Wyatt, a letter from the Quarter Masters Assistant, at Huntsville, advising me that every exertion is making to get waggons to Hasten up the necessary supplies, for my army, that thirty five is added to those in service—from Ross's I have not heard any thing for some days, but I have every confidence in Major Baxters exertions. My fears are, that the contractor will disappoint him in the promised supply of meat ration, we will *purchase*. I have ordered all the baggage waggons belonging to the new raised troops, to be employed in Bringing up supplies. I have halted them at Ross's, and those from west Tennessee in the rear of Deposit there to be supplied, without interfering with the supplies for this point.

I have agreeable to your order, in yours of the 26th. established the posts, and have recd yours of the 5th. by Lieut. Bandy, who Captn. Smith had sent on, to station the mounted men agreeable to my order, bottomed on yours of the 26th., he has stationed two men—1st. Post at Turkey town, 25 miles from Fort strother 2nd. post Fort Armstrong 35 miles, two men, 3rd post fork of coose 32 miles, 4th. post Hightower river 23 miles, at this stand three men—the reason of three men being left here, is the scarcity of forage, it will take one man to forrage for the other two. I cannot conceive what has detained Mr. Thos. D. Murry with my report to you of the 29th. Ultimo, he left me on the 30th. in the morning. My letter to you of the 4th. Instant, will advise you of the order recd. by Colo. Williams from Genl. Flournoy to send on the recruits of the 39th. to New orleans.

I have now the pleasure to inform you, that he has recd. direct from the war department, as late as the 4th ultimo, orders to form a junction with me. This gives certainty to his [destination], and a confidence in me, that as soon as I can get up my supplies, all your orders for the extirpation of the creek Indians can be speedily executed—it will give weight to my orders, and enable me to keep down mutiny, and introduce subordination into the ranks, all important to success, and a speedy termination of the creek war.

Finding that the 39th. Regt. was without music, that Edmond Hunt a Drummer claimed as a regular enlisted soldier (which he denies) had been apprehended in Knoxville, as a deserter last summer, by Lieut Colo. Sevier, and attached to Captain McClellands company of the 7th. Infantry. Colo. Williams of the 39th. finding Hunt in Knoxville, and being without music, ordered him to remain, with his Regt. untill further ordered. Colo. Sparks of the 2nd. Infantry gave orders that Hunt should

¹ Jackson MSS., Letter-Book E, p. 82.

be arrested, from the 39th. as a deserter, and confined and sent on to the 7th. Regt. It is believed that the 7th. Regt. has a better band of music than any other Regt. in the service of the united states—under these circumstances, not having a drummer in my whole Division that can beat the necessary calls, I have ordered Captain James Doherty, commanding at Highwassee, who has Hunt in confinement, to deliver up the said Hunt, to the officer bearing my order, untill your pleasure be known on the subject. When he arrives, he will be delivered over to the 39th. there to be safely kept, to await your order which when recd. will be promptly obeyed—it is not contended, that Hunt belongs to the 7th. Regt. of u.s. Infantry. It is said by several officers, that the Adj. Genl., has written from the war office, to Hunt and states that Hunts name is not to be found, on the records of the war office since the expiration of his first enlistment. It is impossible that raw troops can be diciplined without good music, and in a short time Hunt can instruct such raw music, as is with the 39th. and the Regt. can be progressing in their dicipline.

I have read your letter of the 5th. Instant, with care and attention, my conduct shall be moulded agreeable to its directions, and the moment I am in possession of supplies I will move, and shall in due time pryor thereto advise you thereof, giving you every information I can collect, my Ideas and intentions. in the meantime, shall be happy to receive any instructions you may be pleased to give me, and execute any order you may be pleased to honor me with. I have not recd. correct returns from the new raised troops, as soon as I do receive them will give you the strength—from the returns already recd., there are about 3000 effectives embodied, two thirds of whom have good arms. Finding that I could not leave this post without inconvenience to the service I have ordered on the Inspector General of my Division to organize and dicipline the troops. I shall have twenty Boats ready here by the 20th. Instant. I expect several from Fort Armstrong Loaded, shortly, and the moment a movement can be made I shall take up the line of march. I need not say to you the mortifications the various delays has occasioned me. I trust sir you will find when I have the means, I use it with expedition, and under your guidance with success.

I have the honor to be, in great Haste . . .

P.S. this leaves me at 5 oclock P.M.

TO THOMAS PINCKNEY.¹

FORT STROTHER, February 16, 1814.

Sir, On the 14th. Instant one hundred and thirteen of the warriors of the Kealegians,² with their wives and children reached Talledega Fort, on the 15th. the chiefs visited me—they inform that the Newyaucaus., Oakfuskees, Eufaulces, the remnant of Hillibee and Fish ponds, with many from other Quarters of the hostile party, has returned to the Island, and bend of the river near Emuckfa and are determined to hold that place, to the last—this will be the hot bed of the war party untill distroyed.

¹ Jackson MSS., Letter-Book E, p. 97.

² Kailaidshi.

This in my opinion is the first point I ought to destroy. As soon as I can make a movement, I will be compelled to transport my provisions by water, to what is called the three Islands on the coose—there I must make a deposit for my provisions, and from that point, whilst a garrison is erecting, and provisions coming on, I must distroy those deluded victims doomed to destruction by their own restless and savage conduct. This will on the East of the coose perfectly secure my rear. I wish your instructions on this point—on this day a principal chief of the Kealegians who the King of the town says he was fearful was lost reached me with five others making 119, with their females, there is four others not up. I sent them a talk the other day, stating they must take their stand, that they must be either with us or against us. I have no doubt but at the Battle of Emuckfa and Enotochopco, the greater part of the warriors was there.³ I have found it necessary to speak plain to the whole of those neutral characters, who continue dancing with the red sticks, and pretending friendship for us. I have given a day to wit the 25th. Instant that they must take their side. I have said also, that the Red sticks, who have been active in exciting and promoting the war are not to come in under this, that they are not half punished for their crimes, that before they need expect peace they must kill their prophets, distroy their chiefs that excited them to break the treaty with the united states, and forget the peace talk of Genl. Washington, and deliver up those principal chiefs who committed the Massacre at Fort Meims—on these terms they can ask for peace, and unless they submit to those terms, destruction awaits their nation.

I have not heard from Major Baxter at Ross s. since I last wrote you, but I am fearfull I am again to experience inconvenience from the failure of the contractors, and delay in the transportation of my supplies to this place. I have halted all the troops except Colo. Williams Regt. and a broken Batalion of Militia, who are barely enough to secure the garrison, make catridges and Build the necessary boats, in the rear of my supplies for this place, to prevent the provisions necessary for my movement to be issued, or any part thereof, untill the troops reach this point.

When I order them up, I shall be in readiness to move on the moment I can concentrate them at this point, and a few days thereafter I shall distroy (if it meets your views) the hotbed on the Tallipoose. I have every branch of my General staff except one aid (Major Searcy) now exerting themselves to procure waggons to bring on the supplies. I hope by this time there is one hundred and fifty waggons engaged on the different routs, that is from Ross s. to Fort Armstrong and from Deposit

³ The following "List of friendly towns on the Waters of the Chattahouchie and Flint Rivers" exists in the Jackson MSS., Military Papers, II., folio 141, Dec. 8, 1813. On the Chattahoochee: Kus,se,taw, Cowetaw, Cowetau Tal,la,has,see, Ousachees, Hitchetee, Palachoochee, Sau,woo,ga,loo,chee, Hatch,a,chuppaw, Eufaulau, Oke,te,yoc, en,ne, O,e,ki,waw, Chis ki tal o fa. Supposed to be in Florida: Ta,math,lee. O,che, is,see, Talla has see. On Flint River: Che haw, or, A,ma,cul,lee, Oak,mul,gee, O,tel,le who yau nau, Uchee. On St. Marys: Choo,co,cha,tee. In Florida east of St. Marks: Mic,kee,soo,kee, Wa,ces,saw, A,loch,e,waw. "The whole contains by estimation 3400 able bodied Warriors the number Says Cornells, is in fact greater." Alexander Cornell, half-breed, was resident agent and interpreter to the Upper Creeks.

to this place. The very moment the supplies at this place will justify it, I shall order up the two Brigades, and proceed direct to accomplish the campaign, following such rout as you may please to direct. I shall keep you constantly advised of my situation, supplies, and intended movement, and if Genl. Floyd can advance, and take possession of the East bank of the Tallipoose at any point that I can be informed of, and can be enabled to furnish me with a few days supplies, I shall only take 7 days rations with me, I will scour the Tallipoose from Emuckfa down to Genl. Floyd. What has become of Murry Express, who left me the 30th. ultimo, and was the bearer of my report of the causes and events that lead to and occurred in my late excursion, I cannot tell he must be drowned. Inclosed you will receive a letter to Genl. Floyd which I sent on to him on the 10th. by a Kealegian, as express, he returned it on the 16th Inst he became alarmed, fearfull as his people had left their towns, that the red sticks might way lay and distroy him—will you please to have it forwarded to Genl. Floyd.

I have the honor to be sir

TO MRS. JACKSON.

FORT STROTHER, February 17, 1814. "all asleep."

My Love. I have inclosed to general Coffee a copy of a letter recd. this night from major Genl Pinckney, with a request that he send on the copy to you. I have sent the letters to Mr John Hutchings with a request that he deliver them to Genl Coffee and you. from the Rascally, lying conduct of many men, in my absence, who have basely deserted the standard of their country at a time when their services were most wanted, and left me with a few faithfull followers to be buried in the creek country, and their frontiers to be drenched in the blood of their wives and children, these cowardly fellows I learn have, [been] endeavouring to throw a shade over my charector. It is in vain for such cowardly rascals to try to injure a virtuous man. But under those circumstances I know it will be grat[ifying] to you to learn that I have done my duty and meet the reward due to a faithfull soldier, the approbation of his superiors. I send the letter. I have to request as soon as you can you will send the one I sent some time since from the secretary of war and this from major general Pinckney to major William B. Lewis. I have said to him in a letter of this date you would send them to him. I am affectionately your Husband

TO THOMAS PINCKNEY.¹

FORT STROTHER, February 17, 1814.

Sir, I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 10th. Instant by one of the posts, it was handed me half past 10 oclock A.M: inclosing the Adj. Genl.s order to Colo. Williams, to remain with me. I had late last evening recd. by express, a dispatch from the Secretary of war of date 13th ultimo advising that Colo. Williams had

¹ Jackson MSS., Letter-Book E, p. 101.

been ordered to join (me) with the recruits of the 39th Regts. Believe me, General, that this is truly pleasing and will give certainty to a speedy termination of the creek war. I anticipate the pleasure of saluting you reviewing your combined forces at the junction of the coose and Tallipoose.

It would afford me much pleasure to hear that Genl. Floyd had scourged those savage dogs, before he leaves the service. I think him a valuable officer and if Colo. Milton² should reach him, with his little Regular Band, Genl. Floyd will defeat 2000 of them—the cowardly dogs cannot stand a charge. Colo. Miltons Regt. would drive 1000 of them, and the riflemen on the flanks and the friendly creeks in the centre in chace would commit great slaughter—it is in this way alone the Indians can be killed, to stand and fight they outhide and outshoot us. It is by the charge I distroy from eight to ten of them, for one they kill of my men, by charging them I have on all occasions preserved the sculps of my killed. they have never got but one from me in battle, that was in the chace, a fine fellow too eager in pursuit of a wounded Indian, outran his comrades, was killed and sculped, before his companions could reach him—if they got this away it is the only one, this was at Tallidega.

Half past 2 oclock P.M. I am this moment honoured with the receipt of yours of the 9th. Inst. by Mr. Murry. It is truly grateful to me that my conduct with my comrades in arms, in the late excursion, has met your approbation, we shall always endeavour to deserve it.

I have read with pleasure that part of your letter that relates to Colo. Russell of the 3rd. united states Infantry, and the exertions making to form a junction at the confluence of the coose and Tallipoosee, and open an avenue for supplies up the Alabama—a certainty of supplies at that Quarter is a certainty of a termination of the Indian war in a few days. I have ordered my mounted men in the rear to advance down Cohaua scour it as low as an east course will strike the old coose towns, and up to this place. This excursion will be performed, and the mounted men ready to move forward with the main body. I am pushing my spies down the coose and westwardly. I expect the coosees will betake themselves for subsistance to the Cohaua, part will attempt to escape to the west side of the Mississippi, and part of the infatuated, will join the Tallipoosees at Emuckfa to prevent their escape across the Mississippi. I have requested Colo. Mckee to have all the warriors of The Chickesaw and Choctaw nations on the Black warrior against the 25th. Instant. If they do their duty in this quarter, I pledge myself, with the Smiles of heaven, we chrush the creeks in all the next moon. I have duly noticed reference to your letter of the 5th. I shall attend *well* to your admonition and direction. I shall have 20 Boats in the water here by the 20th and 25th, I expect from 10 to 15 well loaded down the coose from Fort Armstrong and new Deposit on the conetrauga. I expect employed on the two routs 160 waggons. I have labouring on the different routs five hundred men repairing opening and bridging the large creeks, that has delayed the passage of the waggons, this number of waggons will soon

² Col. Homer V. Milton, of the 3rd Regiment of Infantry.

bring up the supplies, as soon as they are in motion and the roads are repaired. I shall have all my fixed ammunition ready if a supply of cartridge paper can be got up in time. Attention and Industry will not be lacking to push the campaign.

I have directed to be sent from the army, every invalid, and person not well equipped. I shall not feed a useless mouth, and Colo. Williams regt. will enable me to reduce my militia to order a strict regimen of discipline, without which the best materials is little better than a mob. I have ordered a court martial on the 4 Captains for mutiny agreeable to General Roberts Report, mentioned to you in mine of the 31st. ultimo. The trial I expect will close tomorrow, as soon as they are over I will inclose you a copy of the proceedings. I expect to arrest the Genl. it has leaked out in the Testimony on the trial that he was a principal in the mutiny.

I have the honor to be

THOMAS PINCKNEY TO JACKSON.

FORT HAWKINS, February 17, 1814.

Sir, Your dispatch by Serjeant Ross has been received and he has been furnished with a fresh Horse to proceed to Charleston according to your instruction to him.

Your Letter of the 31st January states that you have inclosed Reports made to you by Genl. Roberts: only one report however accompanied that Letter, it was dated 30th January and related to the misconduct of the new Troops whom he had brought forward to make up the deficiency in his Brigade; the whole of whom deserted except Lieut: Davis and five men. I presume therefore that the Generals report containing a more favorable Statement and reporting to you the non-commissioned officers and privates whom he had brought forward and whom you pardoned; was omitted by mistake. It is however not material because as from your knowledge of the parties and all the circumstances attending the transaction you are enabled to form the most correct judgment of the Conduct which it will be expedient to pursue with respect to the four delinquent Captains and the disposition of those whom you have pardoned; I should if I had received it probably have done what I now do, which is to refer the whole business to your decision.

I received lately a letter from Governor Blount dated at Nashville, stating that you would be shortly re-inforced by Five thousand of the Tennessee Militia, these together with the 39th Regiment and your small Corps of Spies and Artillerists will amount to near Six thousand Men, a force certainly much greater than the occasion requires: that however would not be objectionable, because I think it the best policy to carry if possible an overwhelming force against your Enemy whereby the celerity with which the war might be terminated would be productive of economy, and the superiority of force spare the effusion of blood: but I much fear that this large number of consumers will be out of proportion to your supplies, and thereby what was intended to add to your force, will in effect diminish it, and all the bad consequences you have already ex-

perienced for want of supplies be repeated. Nothing but this want has in my opinion prevented the Talipooosa Settlements from being destroyed by the Army under General Floyd, but they were so long languishing for want of the necessary transportation to carry every ounce of their provision and forage to a distance of 150 miles that their time will expire in a few days and they will leave to their successors to finish what they have begun. I must therefore repeat the recommendation contained in my letter of the 9th of this Month, that you apportion your force to the supplies you can command and not keep an useless consumer of provisions with your Army. Col: Williams' Regiment with the 1500 detached Militia, for which only I made a Requisition to the Governor of Tennessee would in my opinion have been a force better adapted to our circumstances than the numbers ordered into service by Governor Blount: but it is possible that his may have directions on that subject direct from the Government of the United States. You will however take care that they do not embarrass your operations and impede your progress.

I am of opinion with you that the best and most expeditious mode of conveying to the Mississippi Territory the reinforcements called for by General Flournoy¹ will be by the course of the Alabama, for which purpose you are therefore authorised for the present to detain them with you; but if your prospects of being supplied with provisions and the means of transportation should become more doubtful whereby your progress to the fork of the Rivers shall be impeded, you will be obliged to forward these reinforcements by the circuitous and tedious route of the Mississippi.

I inclose the Copy of a Letter lately received from Mr. B McGhee the Contractor of the United States for the State of Tennessee, the supply he speaks of, was ordered to be furnished early in December when I sent one of my Aides to Tennessee for the purpose of promoting your supplies. You will of course communicate with Mr McGhee informing him of the quantity of provision with which you will require him to furnish you.

The North Carolina Troops will not probably arrive so as to enable the Army in this quarter to recommence operations in force until the beginning of March. Fort Hull their advanced post is near the military road leading hence to Fort Stoddart and within 15 miles of the Tuckabatche old Town, at the bend of the Talipooosa which Town is 15 miles distant from the confluence of the Rivers. Haithlawaulle the principal rendezvous of the Talipooseans is 9 miles lower down the River and about 60 miles below the Ocfuskee Town you intended to attack on the 22nd ulto.

If you should be able to move down the Fork at an earlier period, you must of course destroy the Okfuskee Settlements on your route and it is probable that such of their Warriors as shall not be either killed or made Prisoners, will take refuge at Haithlawaulle: it will then be desirable that you should make a short halt at Tuckabatchie old Town, whence you may be joined in a few hours by Col: Milton of the 3rd U S. Infantry with between two and three hundred Regulars and four Pieces of

¹ Cf. Flournoy to Jackson, Nov. 9, 1813, *ante*.

Artillery and perhaps five or six hundred South Carolina Militia and some red Warriors; this accession of force and particularly the information they will be able to give of the Enemy and local positions, will enable you more effectually to secure all the hostile Indians who may remain near the confluence of the rivers.

You will as soon as you shall have passed the Ocfuskee Towns send repeated information by runners passing down the East side of the River to Col: Milton to inform him of your progress and intentions.

The Kialigee Indians who are situated between the Ocfuskees and Haithlewaulecs, have been permitted to enjoy a kind of neutrality, are friendly to us, and have conveyed intelligence of the Enemy's movements. You may find them useful in the same way.

I have the honor to be

ORDER TO ISAAC ROBERTS.¹

FORT STROTHER, February 19, 1814.

Sir, The trial of Captains Harris, Patton, Nelson and Pickins, before the General court martial whereof Captain George Smith is President, has disclosed facts, that makes it my duty, to promote the good of the service, and introduce order and subordination in the army, prevent mutiny, desertion, and sedition in future, to order you under an arrest; you will therefore deliver your sword, to the acting Assistant Adjutant General Major Wyott, consider yourself under an arrest and act accordingly, you will confine yourself to Fort Strother, and its vicinity; you will be furnished in due time, with a copy of the charges and specifications, upon which you are arrested and the names of the members that will be detailed to sit on the General court martial which will be ordered for your trial.²

I am Sir Respectfully

TO MRS. JACKSON.

FORT STROTHER, February 23, 1814.

My Dear: I wrote you some time since inclosing it, with a letter to Genl Coffee under cover to Mr John Hutchings, with a letter under cover to genl Coffee from Genl Pinckney which I directed you with the copy of a letter some time since inclosed that I had recd from the secretary of war to send to Wm B Lewis. Mr John Hutchings reached me last evening missing the express I had employed to carry them to him at his own house. Where these letters may reach Mr Hutchings I cannot tell, but I have directed him to employ an express to follow them and

¹ Jackson MSS., Letter-Book F, p. 41.

² Mar. 5, 1814, Jackson issued the following order to Brigadier-General Roberts: "Sir I am this moment informed by express, that the general court martial whereof Brigdr. Genl Thomas Johnston is President, Convened for your trial has finally acted on the same and as the proceedings of said court before the[y] can be carried into execution, and made publick must be forwarded to the secretary of war by him to be laid before the President for his approval or disapproval—you will consider yourself continued under an arrest untill that time retire to your home and there conduct yourself, accordingly, I am Sir yr mo. ob. serv."

have them sent on to you. Having some money transactions, I have wrote Doctor Butler to whose hands I have directed Mr Hutchings to forward the papers, to go on by Genl Coffees, to you and from thence to Nashville, deliver a letter to Mr James Jackson, erange the business intrusted to his care and return to his own house and there attend to the business as directed. I hope he will hand you the letters, and you will send the copies, of the one from the secratary of war and Genl Pinckney to Major William B. Lewis Nashville.

Business in the quartermasters department requiring at present every attention Mr Hutchings will be employed in this branch untill the supplies are up. Supplies is the only thing that retards my movement. they have laboured lately, but Jack will give new spring to them. he reached me about 3 oclock yesterday. he had more business done in the department, than had been done for a week, he is off this morning to Huntsville. We have had nothing but rain here for several days, the roads bad the waters high, but the greater the difculty, the greater must be the exertion to surmount them. I wrote you yesterday. with my best wishes and affection to you and my little andrew, adieu.

TO THOMAS PINCKNEY.¹

FORT STROTHER, February 26, 1814.

. . . . I named to you in mine of the 17th Instant that this investigation would lead to the arrest of General Roberts, it accordingly did. his trial is now progressing at camp Johnston near Huntsville, it will terminate to day as I am advised, as soon as it is I shall send by your Head Quarters to the President of the united states the whole proceedings, from which you will be the better able to judge of the difficulties I had to encounter with such officers at the Head of Raw troops. I have duly reflected on the propriety of your observations relative to equalizing the force to my supplies.

The aggregate force of the requisition from the war department of 1500, added to Colo. Williams's Regimt. whose agregate strength is 550, will make an agregate 2050. indisposition and other causes may fairly be calculated on to reduce this force one fourth, will leave of effectives 15,50. At fort Armstrong there must be left fifty men, at Fort Deposit fifty, at this place to keep up the communication with Deposit, and a Deposit to be established below on the coosee river, and defend the lower Deposit, will take an effective force of 650, at least an agregate of 900—in all 1050, which deducted from the above agregate of 2050, will leave 1000 men of which cannot be safely calculated more than 750 effectives. I know from actual experience, that one fourth is too small a deduction from an agregate report of an army, or detachment, it will come nearer one third. The last volunteer corps proved how little reliance can be placed on the report of raw troops just entering the service, they generally give the original strength of their companies when mustered. This was the manner of the returns of the volunteer corps, with whom I marched on the late excursion and on the morning I left Tali-

¹ Jackson MSS., Letter-Book E, p. 139.

gega, I had the whole counted in parade, which when added to the guards, I had but seven Hundred and sixty seven including all officers of the line. It was not prudent for me to disclose this deficiency at this time. Knowing it would only tend to intimidate, and continued the report, as made to me at Fort Strother, some of this deficiency was occasioned by actual sickness, others from the coosee fever, but such was the fact, and always will happen with militia. I here state to you the agregate of the Militia from East and West Tennessee, from Genl. Doherty of the 30th. ultimo he says about 2000 including 213 mounted men commanded by Colo. Brown, volunteers for four months, the balance for six months. Genl. Johnston from West Tennessee on the 20th. Instant 2165 aggregate, making an aggregate of 4165—will make an effective force of 3000 men, when adding colo. Williams's. Regmt. may calculate on an effective force of men badly armed of 3500 of this number it will take 1000 to guard the Deposits, and keep open the communication, leaving 2500 of a disposable force—five hundred effectives to be sent to Genl. Flournoy—2000—which will perhaps be as small a force as will be necessary to crush the war speedily. I have ordered Genls. Doherty and Johnston, to discharge every soldier, not well equipped for active service and I do not expect that there will be three thousand effectives marched to Head Quarters.

THOMAS PINCKNEY TO JACKSON.

FORT HAWKINS, February 26, 1814

Sir, Your Letter of [16th (?)] and 17th February were received yesterday. I am not acquainted with the situation of the three Islands on the Coosa, but I presume it is as low down the river as the navigation will admit; at that point therefore it will certainly be right to entrench a fort, and if you bring down to it a considerable quantity of provision, your operations will be thereby greatly facilitated; but if the distance thence to the Okfuskee Settlements should exceed forty miles; I would recommend your establishing an intermediate post to which, while you are proceeding against the Enemy, Waggons or Pack Horses, whereof you may have consumed the loads on your march to that intermediate spot, may go back to the Depôt at the three Islands, and return again with an additional supply, in which case, if want of provision or any casualty should compel you to retreat, you will find supplies so much sooner. you will have the comfort of a place of security for your wounded, and you will not have the mortification of giving up so much territory.

Since the return of General Floyd from the nation Col: Milton with 300 Men has maintained his station at Fort Hull within 15 miles of the settlements on the Tallipoosa, and if we were not possessed of that, and the chain of Posts leading to it, he must have fallen back at least to the Chatahouchie. Your Plan of a simultaneous movement by Col: McGee with the Choctaws and Chickasaws on the Black warrior, and securing the Kahaba with your mounted men is a judicious arrangement; and I entirely approve of your completely routing the Indians at the Ocfuskee settlements and destroying their Towns before you proceed lower down

in the Fork. I understand the position they have taken is strong; you will therefore no doubt endeavor to draw them from it by feint attacks and retreats, or by passing it as if proceeding down the River, while the main body is concealed in the rear; or that you will use any manoeuvre which will suggest itself to you to prevent them from reaping the advantage of their situation; and if they cannot be enticed from it, you will when you attack them in it, alarm them at points where you do not intend to make your real attack to draw their attention from the spot where you propose to bend your principal force. I am assured, Sir, that any thing I can suggest to you on this subject is superfluous: I only recall circumstances of this kind to your recollection because I know the Ardor of your Troops unless directed by your prudence, would in similar cases expose them to difficulties which though their courage would surmount might occasion a greater expense of blood than necessary; which I should be the more desirous to spare because though the necessity for it is inevitable, I feel the same reluctance in opposing our fellow Citizens to these savages as, if I were a Gamester, I should feel in staking dollars against cents.

General Floyd arrived here with the Georgia Militia yesterday. I have not heard of the North Carolinians having left their rendezvous at Salisbury though I presume they must be on their route: I have sent an Assistant Adjutant General with funds to meet and accelerate their movements, but I have no hope of any of them reaching Fort Hull before the middle of March, and until they shall arrive Col: Milton will be constrained to act on the defensive; only manoeuvring in such a manner as may keep the Enemy in his neighbourhood on the defensive. I have the honor to be very respectfully

Sir Your Most Obedient Servant.

TO WILLIAM CARROLL.¹

FORT STROTHER, February 28, 1814.

Sir, I have been nearly *hipped*. with the delays of the Quarter masters department from letters recd. by express last night, I find from their contents, that a sufficient supply of waggons are on the road, to bring up the necessary supplies, to justify a movement. I have ordered it—the same express that hands you this, will hand Genl. Johnston my order to take up the line of march, bringing on with him the supplies, leaving the powder that may be there carefully stored, bringing on with him every pound of lead that can be had, to the amount of 4000. lb. from the length of the service of Genl. Johnstons Brigade—it being half expired, this step is necessary, and we must risque the supply of provisions. I have wrote Major Baxter to use every exertion to have all supplies from that quarter hurried on, and if he lacks waggons to send on the provisions to Fort Deposit, and I will have them brought on from there, here, and pushed after us to the next Deposit. I expect the two Brigades to form a junction with me by the 8th. proximo, and I have to request all your attention to the Quarter masters department. I have a bountifull supply

¹ Jackson MSS., Letter-Book E, p. 133.

of powder, but want lead, every pound that can be brought up must be. If the court martial has finally acted on Genl. Roberts's case, I wish the proceedings forwarded, they have to go by Genl. Pinckney, to the president for approval. I therefore wish the record well made up, and you will direct Genl. Roberts (If the case is finally acted on) to retire to his home consider himself under an arrest—untill the approval or disapproval of the President is made known to him. I have just sent a detachment of the cherokees, and my men after a party of red sticks, who has advanced as high up as Killy's town,² and has taken some of his negroes. In haste
I am, Sir Respectfully . . .

GENERAL ORDERS ON LEAVING FORT STROTHER.¹

FORT STROTHER, March 2, 1814.

Genl. Order

In case of an attack in the night, each Infantry Regiment will form 25 paces within the line, in perfect silence, and continue their position, untill otherwise ordered. The Cavalry will form within the lines of encampment, as near the centre as practicable, and await the orders of the commanding General. The Artillery Company will form on its parade and await further orders. Should an attack be made in front while on the march the front Regiment of the centre column, will display to right and left on the centre. The Regiment of Infantry, forming the right column, will wheel on the left, and form alinement with the centre Regiment—the left column will wheel in like manner on the right and form alinement on the centre, and on its left flank—the rear Regiment of the centre column, will display column to the right and left, and move up as near the baggage waggons as possible, and remain in that position, untill otherwise directed. In case of an attack on the baggage and waggons, the commander will defend it, with all his force by placing his Regiment in the best situation that may present itself according to circumstances to accomplish the object. On an attack being commenced on the rear, the Regiment in the rear, will display to the right and left on the centre, and front the enemy, giving space to the Infantry in the same Columns to form in alinement, with the centre Regiment on its right and left. The front Regiment of the second column facing to the right about, and displaying to the right and left from the centre, will form the protecting force to the baggage and stores, in the same manner as the rear Regiment is directed to do, in case of an attack in front.

Should an attack be made on either flank column, the front and rear Regiment of the centre column will immediately wheel by the right and left as above directed, and form a line with the Regiment attacked, on its right and left flank. The Cavalry will give space for the regiment to pass, that forms that part of the column, they had previously occupied, and the flanking Regiment of Infantry, not so attacked, will form and protect the baggage and stores as before directed. The Cavalry will in every instance form, equally on the right and left flank of the alinement,

² Kelly's town, on the Coosa, 35 miles below Fort Strother.

¹ Copy.

about 60 yards to the right and left of each flank, and in line with the line of battle, and in that position use their utmost endeavours to turn the enemys flank, and attack in rear, and at all events prevent the enemy turning their own flank, and that of the Infantry.

The Artillery company will form, and move as ordered by the commanding Genl.

The Topographer will furnish each General of Brigade, and Colonel Williams, with a plan of encampment, and line of march agreeably to the foregoing order.

By Command

ROBT. SEARCY

Aid de Camp to the Commanding General.

GEORGE DOHERTY TO JACKSON.¹

CAMP FOUR SPRINGS, March 2, 1814.

. . . . All seem anxious to hasten our departure, and I believe would do credit to themselves and state, were they not infatuated by incendiaries not attached to this army. I mentioned in my last, the uneasiness of the troops under my command, which I attributed to their remaining so long in a state of inactivity [which], as you know, Sir, is a never failing cause in the minds of the militia, but to my astonishment I have recently found by indefatigable pursuit, that Major Genl. John Cocke has been the chief instigator of their mutinous resolutions.

I would have given you the items of their proceedings in my last dispatches, but did not like to trouble you with a relation of things, which I thought came immediately within the limits of my own jurisdiction, and of course my duty to suppress any insurrection which might take place within it, and upon investigation punish the ring leader, which I have found to be the aforesaid Genl. John Cocke. His insidious expressions which had like to have proved fatal to this part of the army, and which can be maintained by those, whose names will be annexed, I will give you near verbatim.

On his first arrival at this camp, on being asked he observed "that the quota of six months men from E Tennessee was not in proportion to that of west Tennessee, that he did not think the governor was correct in calling out the whole number from East Tennessee". On being asked whether he would go on in command, he observed, that "he would not, for if the men were taken to Jackson, they would be placed in a situation he did not like to mention, which he could not endure to witness, as it would not be in his power to extricate them"—that "they would suffer for provisions as the Genl. had not five days provision on hand"—that "those who had a desire to serve a six months tour, would be compelled to serve it in mobile, and those who had not, had better return home now from this camp"—that Jackson had the Regulars under his command, and would turn his artillery upon them, call to his assistance the 3rd U. S. Infantry, commanded by Colo. Gilbert Russell making in all about fifteen hundred, and would compel them to serve six months—nine months—

¹ Jackson MSS., Letter-Book E, p. 167.

and a year if he chose". He has also stated to them, "that they (by law) were intitled to $1\frac{1}{4}$ lb of fresh pork per day, and if they stayed much longer, they would be compelled to take $\frac{1}{2}$ lb bacon, for that Mc.Gee had written to you to that effect", with many insinuations, which appear to have been intended to induce the troops to return home, and thereby defeat the objects of the campaign. What could have engaged the Genls. assiduity, to render abortive the designs of government, I am at a loss to know, but certain it is, that he has used every exertion, to diffuse anarchy and revolt among the troops from the Colonel down to the cook. I was about to take rigid measures with him, when this morning he left camp for home and I am happy he is gone, for during his stay the camp was in incessant confusion.²

TO THOMAS PINCKNEY.¹

FORT STROTHER, March 4, 1814.

. . . . Since mine of the 16th. of February, I have had the country and river explored by some friendly Indians, from their report, and the report of Qualls a whiteman of the creek nation, I find that the coosee can be descended with boats in safety to the mouth of cedar creek, six miles by land, eight by water below the three Islands, and at that point there is a good scite for a garrison. This point is 27 or 28 miles below Talledega, and about 12 or 14 miles above where the Indians say, the river cuts the mountain in twain, and about forty miles from the mouth of the emuckfa on the Tallipoosee. This is the lowest site on the coose river, to and from which waggons can pass to its bank from the Hickory ground or from this point. This will gain upon the enemy on the Tallipoosee from 25 to 30 miles, and on our enemies on the coosee about fifty five miles, and from which I can operate to any point within striking distance, have my supplies brought up by water, preserve my boats, explore the coosee, and if found to be navigable, the next movement to the junction—as soon as the fall of the waters will permit, I shall send on my Typographer with a sufficient escort to mark the site, and as soon as my rear gets up will make a movement to it. I can be as easily supplied there as here, by leaving a few good boat builders, and sufficient escort. the current is rapid, and a boat will go from Fort Strother to the mouth of cedar creek in three days, and perhaps less if there is a swell. I feel much indebted to you for your instructions, and view of my future operations, they are judicious, well calculated, to ensure safety, and success, and shall be studiously kept in view—be assured, Genl., it will always afford me pleasure to receive any instructions from you; your wisdom and experience would under any circumstances give them great weight, but particularly so under present circumstances, to receive from you

² Supporting these charges is a letter from Maj. James Baxter to Jackson, from Camp Ross, Feb. 22, 1814, in which is the following statement: "General Cocke is here at this time I fear his visit to the troops here will be attended with no good consequences, since his appearance here men in camps have got rather disorderly and indeed for my part I can not see what his business is, if it is not to throw difficulties in the way of prosecuting the campaign, I presume Genl. Doherty has named something of these things to you, I think him to be a good honest man and friend to his country Genl. Cocke is not going Out and in gods name what is he lounging about camps for."

¹ Jackson MSS., Letter-Book E, p. 155.

as my superior on every occasion instructions—they will greatly tend to a speedy termination of the creek war, which I well know you with myself have sincerely at heart. . . .

GEORGE DOHERTY TO JACKSON.

FOUR SPRINGS, March 6, 1814.

Sir, Yours of the 2d. Inst. arrived last evening both yours of the 28th. ult I also received—the first I immediately answered in it I mentioned my doubts of the fidelity of the troops in consequence of a contagion diffused among them by the breath of Genl. Cocke and am sorry To state that my doubts have since been reallized. In my dispatch of the 3d. I mentioned my entention to march the next morning and I gave orders accordingly. Shortly after revallie the Troops assembled at the beat of the drum and gathered in Colo. Allison's Regt. from all Quarters. on enquireing the cause of the uproar To my astonishment I was informed that They had beat up for volunteers to go home: they Said that Genl. Cocke had told Barkly Boyd A Substitute from Carter County (a Capt. when at home) that if he would take the men home he would give them their discharge in Knoxville for they were illegally drafted the whole Camp Accordingly was in confusion, and those who did not join them in action did in words. I had not a company to depend on to oppose their force and consequently could not make an example of them if detained they took up the line of march about half past 8 a: m many of them returning immediately I found from report that 184 had deserted. I had directed No ammunition to be fired from its scarcity lest it should be wasted which rendered it completely out of my power (immediately) to pursue them. But as soon as I could issue powder I detached Capt. Levens horsemen after them but they had dispersed and taken different routs so that few Could be overtaken this event throwing into confusion and disorganizing the Brigade prevented my marching that and the next day. I shall take up the line of march this morning with about Eight hundred effectives exclusive of those at Fort Armstrong under command of Majr. Clasky whom I have directed to be relieved by Capt. Hampton, Colo. Bunch will march with me my rout will be through they Valley mentioned in your last. I have left capt. Richardson and Hawkins with their Companys under the direction of Majr. Baxter to form the guards named in your last. I have not as yet received a return from Majr. Allen of those at fort deposite but presume you must have received it before this time. When I shall have marched one so that I can make an accurate statement of my strength I will advise you thereof by express.

I have taken legal measures, for the apprehension of the deserters directing them advertised In the Knoxville Gazett and also have directed the Colo, and officers of different counties to confine and send back as many of them as may come within their boundarys an express leaves here this morning for that purpose and if Justice cannot be done to [men so] highly deserveing death there is no use for any United States Law nor for Tennessee to lift her head Among her Sister States.

I am with high esteem

TO WILLIE BLOUNT.¹

FORT STROTHER, March 10, 1814.

Dear Sir, On the 7th. Instant I inclosed you a copy of a letter from Genl. George Doherty, which advised you of the strange, and unaccountable proceedings and conduct of Major Genl. Jno. Cocke: and in the letter which covered that enclosure, I called upon you as the executive authority of the state, to have him immediately arrested under the act of congress, making it penal, for any individual to entice or persuade soldiers in the service of the united states to desert. I now inclose you a statement of Genl. Dohertys further detailing the acts of Major Genl. Cocke; and the desertion and conduct of the troops acting under the influence of his advice. It is certain if such conduct be permitted to pass unpunished, the character of our state must sustain an irreparable injury: and our boasted patriotism be viewed as a mere pretence, and a bubble. As the executive authority of the State, it surely appertains to your duty to see that the requisitions of the Genl. Government upon the state be carried into effect.

Now the requisition of troops to be raised in Tennessee which was made by the Secretary of war through you, and by you ordered to be filled from the first division, has *not* been complied with, by Major Genl. Cocke in conformity to that order. Nay he openly declares, he has not executed that order, and that the draft was illegal, and has laboured in various ways to thwart and defeat the present expedition. It therefore becomes a duty I owe the public service to demand of you the immediate arrest of Majr Genl John Cocke for disobedience of orders, Mutiny, Exciting mutiny and not suppressing the same, for unmilitary, unofficer-like, and ungentelemanly conduct.

So soon as I shall be advised of his arrest and of the appointment of a court Martial for his trial, I will forward the specifications and the proof; and it is fair to give him notice, that in the specifications will be embraced his conduct, as an officer, from the 1st day of October 1813 to the 8th day of March 1814, in which will be particularly included his order to General White of the 6th. of November 1813.²

MRS. JACKSON TO JACKSON.

HERMITAGE, March 11, 1814.

My Dear Husband. your Letters wer handed me by Docter Butlar of the 23rd of Febry agreeable to your request I handed him the Diferent Letters you Honoured me with the perusal of it is very pleasing To me indeede. Those wretches that tryed to screne Themselves by trying to

¹ Jackson MSS., Letter-Book E, p. 170.

² Various references in the Jackson MSS. keep us informed of the trial of General Cocke, which was postponed from time to time. Finally he was acquitted, probably because the important witnesses, officers of the militia, were with Jackson in Louisiana. The following letter from James Jackson to Jackson, Nashville, Jan. 13, 1815, gives us the most specific statement found on the subject: "It is supposed Genl. Cock has been acquit by the Court Martial, all the important witnesses were absent, principally from not expecting he would go into a trial, but there was no exertions made to get them here. Genl Johnson during the sitting of the Court, become candidate for Governor and It is supposed by some *East Tennessee flattery* induced him to do so."

injer you and Genl Coffee has been a greate advantag to your Charrecters and has Disgraced themselves Etarnaly theay ar Dead no theay dont raise ther Eyes or heads in the world. As you justly observe a virtuous man will meet the rewards Due to that high merit and Let me assure you no man is or can be more praised and applauded then you are I took the Liberty of incloseing your Letter of the 28 of jenury of the lat battles at Emuckfaw To Mr G Walker as I know him to be a particulr Friend he has returnd it in one from himself Davd Says you and G Coffee are higher in Kntukey then here. Some writer Saide while Genl Harrison was makeing his appeareance in the Drawing room and ball rooms Gel Jackson was makeing Conquests through manner (?) and Every disadvantage possible. Jackey Caffery If Ever he reaches will hand you this he has just arived full of patriotism Determined to go on poor youth how I pitty him no friend to advise him Nor give him the Least assistance he is a fine youth. I am almost afraid to name aney Domestic Concerns your Dear Little Andrew is well never did I See a Stroger mark of affection then in that Child you[r] Lett[er] he Claspt it to his bosome and went to bed with it Some time in the Night he Calld oute where is my paper Letter I hunted and put it in his hand he then put it in his bosome. Parson Hoge Calld to See me yestardaye. He told me not to fear the Lord that was powerfl to Save was with you when So good a man Sayes those things It Cheres me and may his gardian Care and protection forever Surround you be with you in the hour of Dainger of oh Greate God forever bless you is the prayer of your Ever faithfull and affectionate wife

I thought I was Done but if I had full Confidence this would reach you in time I Could write a volum many things to saye. Major Butlear is at Cincinnatie we ar in hopes of seeing him his appointmet iS Conferred that of Ajt and in his Last Letter prospects of promotion higher Still. Doct W Butler handed them Letters to H [W?] B Lewis himself Safely and this young Soldier goes to you full of heroism. Sister Caffery Sends her Bellsings her prayes for you. Cowper sayes the sun Shine we enjoy is ther prairs of sutch as her I never knew as good a woman and one so neglected by her Brother's well may she pray for you more Consolation then all her other friends. oh how I h[ave(?)] feel on your going into so much Dainger so often. oh Glorious Lord god almighty protect you from all Dainger Crown you with victory returne you once more. Adieu my darling in the hands of the god of all good I Commend you to his Blessed Care you must be happy forevar I see you will your goodness your virtue all insure it. I have tryed to git Little Lincoai Brot home but theay are all in too much of a hurry the old jentlemen has promised me to bring him to me. I Expect him in a Day or two. R J

THOMAS PINCKNEY TO JACKSON.

FORT HAWKINS, March 11, 1814.

. . . . I much regret the embarrassments with which you have to contend from the misconduct of men who to gratify personal envy or resent-

ment, or to obtain transient popularity would sacrifice the best interests of their Country: the directions you have given to Brigadier General Doherty to crush at once every act of mutiny and sedition among the Troops under his command are correct: the laws are sufficiently strong for this purpose if administered with decision and firmness. I would however advise you not to give your personal Enemies advantage over you by measures, in which it is not well ascertained, that the law will support you: and as I presume that General Doherty is still within the State of Tennessee it would be safest and nearly as effectual, either to drum out of Camp with ignominy, individual citizens not of the Army engaged in the practice you describe, or to deliver them over to the civil magistrate with an accusation on Oath of the offences they have committed; all of which I presume would be punishable as misdemeanors: and the act of persuading Soldiers to desert, is made particularly penal by the 19th Section of the act of 1802 fixing the military establishment of the United States.

If individuals follow the Army into the Enemy's Country where the civil process of the Courts cannot extend, they can only there be restrained from their misdeeds by the military power to which they would in that case render themselves liable. The Jealosey which prevails in our Country against all military authority is the foundation of the above advice; for I would no more give my civil opponent a legal advantage over me, than I would willingly suffer an enemy in the field to throw himself on my flank. . . .

TO MRS. JACKSON.

FORT STROTHER, March 12, 1814.

My Dear. This will be handed you by James who has been verry sick a long time recovered, took a relapse, and is so far recovered, that I hope he will be able to reach home. I send a little Indian boy, named charley, given me by a friendly chief of the creeks, and the one I named to you I intended to give to Andrew Jackson Donelson.¹ You will treat him as he has been treated here untill I return. I have a severe attack of the Bowell complaint originating from cold, from which I am not all together relieved, but I hope in a few days, I shall be well. I have the promise of Colo. S. D. Hays, to send me his boy from Huntsville if he does you will have to give him squire untill I return. I hope in a few days to be in motion. The unexpected, vissit of Genl John Cocke to the camp of the Eastern Brigade, his unexampled Rascally and mutinous conduct has, delayed that [branch] of the army, and the mutiny he excited carryed of, one hundred and ninety three men. I have demanded his arrest, and explanary punishment awaits him. Notwithstanding all the exertions that has been made to defeat the campaign, with the permission of heaven I will put an end to it in a few days. May the choicest blessings of heaven wait upon in my absence adieu.

¹ Mrs. Jackson's nephew.

GENERAL ORDERS, CASE OF JOHN WOODS.¹

HEAD QUARTERS FORT STROTHER, March 12, 1814.

At the General court martial of which Capt. Thomas Gray is president was tried John Wood, a private in Lieut. Barretts volunteer company of Militia for, disobedience of orders disrespect to his commanding officer, and mutiny. To which charges the prisoner pleaded not guilty. The court after mature deliberation on the testimony adduced, unanimously found the prisoner guilty of the three charges and specifications exhibited against him, and do sentence John Woods the prisoner to suffer death by shooting, at such time as the commanding Genl. may direct.

The commanding General approves the sentence of the General court martial, and orders that it be carried into effect on the 14th Inst. between the hours of ten and two oclock, in presence of all the troops at Fort Strother, who are to be paraded, and marched to the place of execution for that purpose. The sentence will be executed by a sergeant and twelve men to be detailed by the Adj. of the 39th Regt. for that purpose, and under the superintendence of said Adjutant.

By Command ROBT. SEARCY aid de camp to the commanding Genl.

THOMAS PINCKNEY TO JACKSON.

FORT HAWKINS, March 13, 1814.

Sir, I was prepared to send off the Express with the Letter herewith, when I had the honor of receiving your dispatch of the 6th Current: as you have therein furnished proof of the Misconduct of General Cock I have no hesitation in instructing you to have the Law put in execution against him: You will therefore please to have the affidvits of the witnesses taken and forwarded to the District Attorney of the United States in Tennessee, desiring him to take measures for bringing the offender to Justice, in order to prevent in future practices so detrimental to the Service of the United States. The 17th Section of the Act of Congress of 11th January 1812 intituled an Act to raise an additional military force, punishes the offence of inticing Soldiers in the Service of the United States to desert, by fine not exceeding \$300, and imprisonment not more than twelve months, but it may be submitted to the District Attorney how far the conduct of General Cocke may warrant his apprehension, for an offence of a more serious nature. How far the General may under present circumstances be within the reach of a General Court Martial for offences committed while in the service of the United States, shall be submitted for the opinion of the Judge Advocate of the 6th District. . . .¹

¹ Jackson MSS., Letter-Book F, p. 72. John Woods was arrested by soldiers of the 39th Regiment, regulars, in obedience to an order of Jackson's dated Feb. 23. Long afterwards Jackson's political opponents used the execution of Woods and other militiamen to support their allegation that he was a cruel and despotic military commander. No commander of an American army ever suffered more from the spirit of mutiny in his army than Jackson. The executions, complained of by his political opponents for their own purposes, were justified, if ever such executions are justified.

¹ Before this letter was written Jackson wrote to Governor Blount demanding Cocke's arrest. To this demand the governor, on Mar. 20, 1814, sent the following reply: "*Dear sir; I recd. yours of the 10th Instant inclosing a copy of Genl. Doherty's to you of the*

TO JOHN WOODS, GENERAL ORDERS.¹

FORT STROTHER, March 14, 1814.

John Woods, You have been tried by a court martial on the charges of disobedience of orders, disrespect to your commanding officer, and mutiny; and have been found guilty of all of them. The court which found you guilty of these charges has sentenced you to suffer death by shooting; and this sentence the commanding General has thought proper, and even felt himself bound, to approve, and to order to be executed.

The offences of which you have been found guilty are such as, cannot be permitted to pass unpunished in an army, but at the hazard of its ruin.

This is the second time you have violated the duties of a soldier, the second time you have been guilty of offences, the punishment of which is death when you had been regularly mustered into the service of your country, and were marching to head Quarters, under the immediate command of Brig Genl. Roberts, you were one of those who in violation of your engagement, of all the principles of honor, and of the order of your commanding General, rose in mutiny and deserted. You were arrested, and brought back; and notwithstanding the little claim you had to mercy, your General, unwilling to inflict the severity of the law, and influenced by the hope that you would atone by your future good conduct for your past error, thought proper to grant you all a pardon. This ought to have produced a salutary impression on a mind not totally dead, to every honourable sentiment, and not perversely and obstinately bent on spreading discord, and confusion in the army. It unfortunately produced no such impression on yours, But a few weeks after you had been brought back, you have been found guilty of offences not less criminal than those for which you had been so lately pardoned and which if the law, had been rigidly enforced, would have subjected you to death. This evinces but too manifestly, an incorrigible disposition of heart, a rebellious and obstinate temper of mind, which, as it cannot be rectified, ought not to be permitted to diffuse its influence amongst others.

An army cannot exist where order and subordination are wholly disregarded—it cannot exist with much credit to itself, or service to the country which employs it, but where they are observed with the most punctilious exactness. The disobedience of orders, and the contempt of officers speedily lead to a state of disorganization, and ruin; and mutiny, which includes the others aims still more immediately at the dissolution of an army. Of all these offences you have twice been guilty; and have once been pardoned. Your General must forget what he owes to the service he is engaged in, and to the country which employs him, if by pardoning you again, he should furnish an example to sanction measures which would bring ruin on the army he commands.

6th, two days ago; and last night yours of the 7th inclosing the copy of Genl. Doherty's to you of the 2d. Instant came to hand. The contents of those letters created surprize, and they are highly important to the public interest. It becomes my duty, on application, to comply with your demand for the arrest of Major Genl. John Cocke, of which, when made, you will have notice, agreeably to your request, that you may be prepared to exhibit specifications in support of your charges accompanying the demand for his arrest."

¹ Jackson MSS., Letter-Book F, p. 77.

This is an important crisis; in which if we all act as becomes us, every thing is to be hoped for towards the accomplishment of the objects of our government; if otherwise, every thing to be feared. How it becomes us to act, we all know, and what our punishment shall be, if we act otherwise, must be known also. The law which points out the one, prescribes the other. Between that law, and its offender, the commanding General ought not to be expected to interpose, and *will not* where there are no circumstances of alleviation. There appear to be none such in your case; and however as a man he may deplore your unhappy situation, he cannot as an officer, without infringing his duty, arrest the sentence of the court martial.²

TO THOMAS PINCKNEY.¹

FORT STROTHER, March 14, 1814.

. . . . I shall leave 450 men at this place, to defend the fort, guard and bring up the supplies and push them on to the next Deposit. This will be established at the mouth of cedar creek, equa-distant from this point to the hickory ground. The Topographical engineer who was sent forward to fix its scite, has just returned; and represents it as being by no means the best that can be imagined, tho the best he could find any where about the proper distance. He has given it the name of Fort Williams. I have ordered the 39th. Regt. to take charge of the boats, provisions, and magazine stores, and protect them to the new Deposit, whilst I lead the remainder of the army thither by land.

A part of my troops are crossing the river to day on their march. They have been detained a little this morning—mutiny having again shewn itself in my camp. A private (John Wood) having been sentenced by a court martial to suffer death by shooting, that ceremony is now in the act of execution. I regret exceedingly that Genl. Doherty's Brigade is not present to witness it.

I have ordered the line of march to be taken up at 12 oclock with seven days bread rations and two of meat. It will take me some time to get over the river, and owing to the badness of the roads and my having thirty miles of the way to cut, I do not calculate on arriveing at my first point of destination in less than six days. So soon as I shall be united with them, by the 39th. Regiment, I shall leave a sufficient protection for the depot, and march with the remainder of my force, direct for Emuckfa, where I hope to destroy a pretty numerous and troublesome confederacy. That being done I shall return to the depot, get a fresh supply of provisions² and march to the hickory ground. From Emuckfaw I shall endeavour to send one express to you direct.

² The same court martial that convicted Woods convicted Ensign John Yandal of using seditious language and sentenced him to be severely reprimanded by his captain, at the head of his company, his sword to be broken, and himself to be prohibited from holding military office for a year. See *ibid.*, p. 74.

¹ Jackson MSS., Letter-Book E, p. 177.

² Mar. 13 Jackson had at Fort Strother 276 barrels of flour which were estimated at 174 rations each, or a total of 48,024 rations. See Jackson MSS., Letter-Book F, p. 74.

J. M. C. MONTGOMERY TO JACKSON.

FLOYDSVILLE, GEORGIA, March 20, 1814.

. . . . As you will no doubt recollect me¹ as we went to School together to old Mr Stephenson on the Catabaw and as we both suffered by the last Warr, I lost a brother and If I dont Mistake in addition to suffering yourself as a prisoner you lost one also and being both now engagd the common cause, I should be much gratified to receive a few lines from you by each arrival as the line of expresses are now directed to pass this Station, you will no doubt recollect to have seen mention of my name in the foul fight on the Tallipoosey by Genl. Floyd. I had not an efficient command under the Genl accept on that rout. I acted as Adjutant and []² on the plains of Autose, I went as a private into the army (leaving a family of thirty five in number) but was early appointed to act in the Quarter masters department and as early as the 31st. of October was appointed Special commission the immoluments of which are nearly equal to that of Lieut. Colo. my appointment now about that (or nearly so) of a Major, but was within about sixty five miles of my family near the Standing peach tree.

If you should not recollect me I am the son of James Montgomery brother to Robert who was prisner and Wm who died in the service in the last Warr, a brother to John who was taken prsioner at the hanging Rock battle who died a prissioner in Charlestown, you may recollect that I was in the Service in the year 92 in Cumberland when you acted as Commissary or contractor that sucess may crown all your endeavours and that you may still continue cover yourself with Glory is the prayer of Sir

your Obedient Servt etc

MRS. JACKSON TO JACKSON.

HERMITAGE, March 21, 1814.

My Dear Husband: your affectionate and Ever Dear Letter of The 21 Febary I received with joy mingled with Sorrow and tears. I read the indearing Lines of what Consolation and Comforte was in Every worde. I was Like Dear Andrew when I gave him one of your Letters tielling him his pappa had sent him. That he huged it to His bosome as a treasure of Intrinsic value I never knew so strong a mark of gratitude and affection all one night he kept it under his Heade and Loost it I was obligd to git up and find it before he would go to Sleepe againe he is well talks very much of his Little Lyncaia. I am vexed that none of our friends will Fetch him to me. Collo Hayes Sayes he Calld For him

¹ The writer begins by saying he served under General Floyd and was in the battle of Autosee. When he wrote he was superintendent of artificers in the United States service and was stationed at Floydville, on the Chattahoochee River to build some boats for transporting supplies. So little is known of Jackson's early life that it seems well to publish all facts, however minute. From this letter we learn that he went to school to Mr. Stephenson, on the Catawba River.

² The editor is not able to decipher this word. The handwriting is very difficult. Nothing exists to show what Jackson thought of the letter.

but he was not in a situation to travil at that time owing to indisposition. Col Warde Promised me to fetch him when he wente to madison. you mentiond andrew Lamenting the Loos of Theadoure he saw me sheding tears Saide he Sweet Mother what are you Crying for I told him Does It take you all to Cry for one Little thing Said He and sercly Ever names him since he dont like the other Andrew to have the little Indian boy you Spoke of. I told him we Could not keepe so maney he saide they Cold waite and he wold Eate with them. I Dont know wher this letter will reach you knowing your intended Expidition and that the tim was past some since oh my Love my Heart bleeds for you the Daingers and trials perels and DiffyCulties dayly awaits you but I see you have set your foot on a rock that never Can be shaken oh how often I have thanked that supreme Governor that rules and Directs the just and virtuous you say his overruleing Power is more Conspicous in the field of battle then in our peacfull dwelings shurely that is Correct its Christian Like I Can almost say thou arte a Cristian. I hope you are goodnes and virtue points oute all your ways. By the grace and help of that god who has you in his heavenly parentel Care may he Condesend to be with you in the hour of Dainger of difficulty bare you Conquerrer through Support you with a mighty power. Your fortitude and firmness never was Equeled none was so tryed in our Day. Major Butlar has returnd all Can see their Husband but poor me. He tells me not to repine at your absence the never faideing Lawrels you have gaind should quiet my mind oh no how can I be at rest while you are sufering Continueal Daingers hardships and a painfull wound perplext with men and ther Base Conduct Invaloped in Clouds of Difficulies. Blessed be the god of Heaven you have triumph over them all. Genl Pinkeny's Letter with the Secretarys I saw in the whig¹ of last week. The Dreadfull Catastrophe of Nashville you Doubtless have herd your Friend Mr Duncan Robertson was one of the suferrers with maney others since that two attempts to set it on fire by some villion. farwell my Dear hopeing soon to meet you. Let not fame nor honour keep aney longer from my wishes then this Campain.

my Compits to Jhohney Hutching Gl Coffee. I hope the youth J Caffery reached you in safety. I felte much interested for him to see a youth withote aney purson to befriend him but a widowed aged Mother and my Self but his patriotism led him Forward and I will warrent his bravery as a Soldier the old Lady Sill appears malencholy. She sends her blessings to you. says [s]he sent a young Hero to fight for you. comand his as you please. I gave him some money and a hunting shirte some articles permit me to have you an Ellgant sute of uniform sutch as your grade is intitled to with pleasure it will be Done. I feare you are forgitfull of your Dear self the next Letter tell me when I may hope to see you. Mr James Jackson has been very attentive to me and maney others Collo Anderson Calld to See me. the Choisest blessings of Heaven rest and abide with you attendg angels garde you Throuh Every seene of perel and Dainger is my prayer nightly and beleive me your affectionate wife

¹ The *Nashville Whig*.

TO THOMAS PINCKNEY.¹

FORT WILLIAMS, "59 MILES BELOW FT STROTHER," March 22, 1814.

Sir: I reached this place in safety on the forenoon of yesterday; and the boats, a few hours afterwards, fastened on the shoals a mile and a half above here. I shall be compelled to take out the lading, and bring it hither in perogues. You will learn by the report of Col. Williams which I enclose you, his opinion of the navigation of the river; and below this point, it is represented by the Indians, as being still more difficult. If rain should not fall in a short time, to raise the waters I must resort again to land-transportation; and in the meantime I shall make the best arrangements in my power for such an event.

Owing to the delay occasioned by the hanging of the boats I shall not be able to commence my march to Emuckfaw, sooner than the day after tomorrow. I shall leave a sufficient number of men, for the defence of this place and to scour the circumjacent country.

Notwithstanding the assurances of the contractors, I look forward to the possibility of being again disappointed in supplies, with considerable apprehension; and my fears are increased by the report of Col. Williams. No means in my power, however, shall be left unexerted to keep my army regularly furnished; and to bring the campaign to a speedy termination.

I have the honor to be with great respect yr. obt st

TO POPE AND BRAHAN.¹

FORT WILLIAMS, March 22, 1814.

Gentlemen: Your letter of the [blank] signifying that you at length had been fortunate enough to fill my requisition was handed me by Genl Coffee before I left Ft Strother but I had not time then to answer it. What could have occasioned the erroneous belief on which you felicitate yourselves in that letter, I am quite at a loss to conjecture.

It will be recollected by you that so long ago as the 20th of November last, you were required *forthwith* to make a deposit at Ft Strother of forty days rations for three thousand men and to be *in readiness* to make a *deposit* of the same quantity at Talladega, and also at the junction of the Coosa and Tallapoosa, several weeks elapsed and no deposit made, agreeably to this requisition, even at Fort Strother, I therefore on the 15th of December forwarded you another order in the following words

Head Quarters Fort Strother 15th Decr 1813

Genl Order Messrs. Pope and Brahan subcontractors under the contract of Ward and Taylor

Gentlemen you will agreeably to my former order make a *deposit* of *complete* rations for three thousand men at Ft Strother for forty days, you will also make a *deposit* of forty days complete rations for 3000

¹ Copy.

¹ Copy.

troops at Lashly's fort and a like deposit at the junction of the Coosa and Tallapoosa.

The first order after requiring you to make the deposit *immediately* at Ft Strother, also required you *to be in readiness* to make it at Lashly's fort and at the junction of the rivers; in order that no delay might be experienced when you should be notified that the deposit was wanted at those places; The second order *gave* you that notice. Now has either of those orders ever been executed in whole or in part? Has there ever, even at Ft Strother, been a *deposit* made agreeably to the first or the last of those requisitions? You must I presume, be fully apprised of the great *difference* there is between making a *deposit* of supplies and issuing daily rations; and supposing you to be so, I am more and more at a loss to account for your mistake. Surely there has never been a *deposit* of Forty days rations for three thousand men at Ft Strother—even if the daily rations which have, from time to time, been issued there exceeded that amount! Daily rations may enable an army to *subsist* while the necessary preparations are making, but it is the *deposit* which enables it to *move forward* to the accomplishment of its object. As these purposes are so different the one cannot be mistaken for the other in filling up a requisition. Suppose it *could* however, even then you will find, that you have fallen very far short of the quantity required.

All I want is that my army should be furnished regularly and plentifully; and this must be done if any means in my power shall enable me to effect it. This is a moment in which the least delay may prove ruinous to my hopes and to the Campaign. God forbid I should ever again see discontent and mutiny in my camp. I cannot look forward to the bare possibility of it, but with very unquiet feelings. Could I now be regularly furnished, for only four or five weeks, it would enable me to put a finishing to what has been so long on hand. This I think may be done, this I hope *will* be done; and let me even *entreat* you not to disappoint me. When an army, on whose exertions, your own welfare and that of your fellow citizens so much depends, may be starving in an enemy's country, do not sleep quietly on your pillows until you have done all in your power to supply them. push forward the provision as fast as it can be procured and do not think it will answer as well tomorrow. Situated as I am, and with such an army, the arrival of supplies one day sooner, or one day later may be of the greatest consequence. Their term of service (or at least of the greater part) will soon expire; and every thing must be accomplished, that we can ever hope to accomplish, before that period arrives; Tomorrow I shall leave this place (which I reached yesterday) for Emuckfaw; and if on my return to it, which will be in 8 or 10 days, there should be no prospect of the speedy arrival of other supplies, it is easy to foresee the disquietude which will be produced. With what I shall then have on hand if more is not furnished me in the mean time, I shall not be able to make a movement to the Hickory ground, where it is all important, as I concieve, that an early and permanent establis[h]-

ment should be made. Relying upon your exertions and the success of them,

I am Gentlemen very respectfully yr. Obt. Servt.

P. S. Col Williams has this moment arrived from the boats which fastened in the shallows about a mile and a half above here on yesterday, we shall be compelled to bring hither the lading in some other way, which will occasion the delay of another day in my movements.

B. D. HERIOT TO JACKSON.

HUNTSVILLE, M. T. March 22. 1814

Sir: Being on my way to the Head Quarters of Major Genl. Pinckney, I was instructed by Brigr. Genl. Flournoy, to drop you a line from the nearest point, on my rout, giving you such information as might be in my possession. At the Town of Mobile, large supplies of provisions, and munitions of war have been deposited, subject to your order. At Fort Claiborne (on the Alabama) Lt. Colo. Russell commands the 3d. Regt. of Inf. 500 strong, and expects in a short time to have 7. or 800 Militia from M. Ter: his orders are to effect a junction with Genl. Pinckney as soon as possible, with not less than 15.00 Men, he is amply supplied with every thing, and is at this time building boats—at Fort St. Stephens, Mobile Point, Mobile, and Ft. Stoddart the officers have received orders to furnish your Excellency, and all others engaged in the Creek war, with whatever may be required, or may be in their power to procure. . . .

GENERAL ORDERS.

FORT WILLIAMS, March 24 [?], 1814¹

Fellow Soldiers, An opportunity is at length offered you of manifesting your zeal to your country, and avenging the cruelties committed upon our defenceless fellow citizens by the infuriated Creeks.

your fellow citizens, that have been in the tented fields before you have furnished them many awful lessons of admonition, we have taught them that there is a point at which forbearance ceases to be a virtue, and that mercy may be long indulged without implying either cowardice or insensibility to wrongs. The battles of Talishatchey, Talladega, Emuckfau and Enoptichopco has furnished them with these awful lessons of admonition. they stand in need of others. our borders must no longer be disturbed by the war-hoop of the ruthless savage, or the cries of the suffering victims. that torch which they lighted up on our frontier has blazed and must blaze again in the heart of their nation. They shall see by its blaze, the gleamings of that sword which their cruelties and tracheries has compelled us to unsheath.

But how has this war been waged and carried on, so loudly called for by retributive justice? Have we emulated them an example by the dis-

¹ This paper, in Jackson's handwriting, exists in the files of the Tennessee Historical Society. It has no date; but, unquestionably, was written as Jackson set out from Fort Williams to engage the Creeks at Tohopeka, or Horse Shoe. The editor has given it the date on which he set out, Mar. 24, 1814. The paper is incomplete.

order of our movements, and savageness of their warfare, no, fellow soldiers; great as was the greivances that called us from our homes, we never ought to permit, or must we permit the dominion of unruly passions, to endanger the cause we have undertaken to support, or tarnish the reputation we shall carry along with us. we have and still must be virtuous, but we must conquer as men who leave nothing to chance, and who in the midst of victory, still remember what is due to humanity.

Let it then be remembered, that victory and success is only to be obtained, by an inviolable attention to discipline and due subordination, that without it, victory is ever uncertain; and ought never to be exulted in even when obtained. when we cast our eyes around and behold the multiplied miscarriages of our arms that can be traced to the want of discipline and strict subordination, scarcely a defeat that has disgraced our armies to the north, and has humbled the once proud name of Americans, but what can be traced to this source; we must retrieve that character which they have sacrificed. How glorious will it be to retrieve the fallen character of American prowess and discipline and restore to its original brightness the American name, that has been so foully stained! will not every officer and soldier rejoice when he retires from the tented fields to his peaceful dwelling that he has belonged to an army which was the first to give a turn to a scale of war by cheerfully submitting and encouraging a rigid adherence to discipline and strict subordination.

Your general who calculates on the patriotic ardor which inspires you fondly believes when you reflect, that you have advanced and penetrated into the country of your enemy when it cannot be believed, that the enemy will even now abandon that soil which contains the bones of their fathers, without giving you an opportunity of signalizing your valour. you as wise men will not calculate on it, you as brave men will not desire it. It was not to pass a barren wilderness, that you left your peaceful homes for the tented fields, but it was to conquer a half conquered enemy, whose cruelties committed on our unoffending frontiers has aroused you to arms, it was to destroy the ruthless Creeks. It is not by boasting that victory is to be obtained, the same resolution that now inspires you, must accompany you in battle. the same resolution that is the concomitant of every brave, and obedient soldier must accompany you throughout your service, which can be summed up in these few words—that is you will be silent, firm, obedient, and attentive to know and perform your duties and you are to be vigilant to prevent surprise, it is on this alone your enemies calculate in having an advantage over you. you must in the hour of their experiment in this disappoint them. soldiers who know their duty, and are willing to perform it will never be taken by surprise, our centinels will never sleep, nor our soldiers be unprepared for action. The enemy calculate, in throwing you into a panick and disorder by their hideous yells, with which they always approach you, but brave men will laugh at this subterfuge by which they calculate to alarm you, and meet their hallooming and approach, by a firm and staedy charge, and what Indians ever stood a charge with the bayonet? Yes, fellow soldires, the order for the charge will be the signal for victory in that moment you will see your enemy

flying in every direction before you. your general pledges his reputation upon this and he is willing to add the further pledge of his life.

But in the hour of battle you must be cool and collected. when your officer orders you to fire, you must execute the command with deliberation and aim. *let every shot tell.* when you are ordered to charge, you must proceed to the assault with a quick step and without trepidation and alarm. it is then you will behold the accomplishment of your wishes in the entire discomfiture of your enemy. It is not in assailing an enemy that soldiers are destroyed, it is when they are retreating, and in confusion. your general aware of this, is prompted as much by a regard for your lives as for your honor in urging you to advance boldly upon the enemy. He laments that he has been compelled even incidentally to hint at a retreat when speaking to freemen and to soldiers, never until you forget all that is dear to yourselves as soldiers, and to your countrys honor and its rights will you have any practicable understanding of that disgraceful word. shall an enemy wholly unacquainted with military evolutions, wholly unacquainted with discipline and subordination, who rely more upon their grim visages and hideous yells, for victory, than they do upon their bravery or their arms, I say shall such an enemy drive before them the freemen of Tennessee, who have at the call of their country, left their peaceful homes to avenge their country's wrongs and who, is and must be reduced to a state of discipline and strict subordination—your general will not live to behold such a spectacle. But he has no fears of such a result. he never will give the word of command to his men to retreat before a savage foe and he calculates too much upon the valour of the men he commands to believe that they will disgrace themselves by shameful flight before a savage enemy contrary to his orders. Your general well knows that the valour of his troops when they are reduced to a proper state of discipline and obedience to orders, never will stoop to disgrace itself by a shameful flight before a savage enemy, when led on by valient officers.

The following rules are established for the regulation of the army in camp and the line of march, and are to be strictly adhered to and obeyed by every officer and soldier. That is to say: first—that any officer or soldier who flies before the enemy without being compelled to do so by superior force and actual necessity—shall suffer death.

TO THOMAS PINCKNEY.

March 28, 1814.

I feel peculiarly happy in being able to announce to you the very fortunate eventuation of my expedition to Emuckfaw. I reached the bend of the Tallapoosa, (called by the whites, the horse-shoe) about ten Oclk on the forenoon of yesterday, where I found all the strength of the neighbouring towns collected. Expecting our approach they had gathered in from Oakfusky, Newyorka, Hillabees, the fish-ponds, and Eufaula towns, to the number, it is said, of about a thousand. It is impossible to conceive a situation more eligible for defence than the one they had chosen;

and the skill which they manifested in their breast-work, was really astonishing. It extended across the point in such a direction as that a force approaching would be exposed to a double fire, while they lay entirely safe behind it. It would have been impossible to have raked it with cannon to any advantage even if we had had possession of one extremity. Having determined to exterminate them if management could effect it, I detached Genl. Coffee with the mounted men and nearly the whole of the Indian force early on the morning of yesterday to cross the river about two miles below their encampment, and to surround the bend in such a manner that none of them should escape by attempting to cross the river. With the Infantry I proceeded along the point of land which led to the front of their breastwork. Having planted my cannon (one six and one three pounder) on an eminence at the distance of a hundred and fifty or two hundred yards from it, I opened upon it a very brisk fire, occasionally playing upon them with the musquetry and rifles whenever they shewed out from behind it. This was kept up, with a few intermissions, for about two hours; when a part of the Cherokee force, with Capt Russells Company of spies who had accompanied Genl. Coffee, Crossed over to the extremity of the bend in Canoes, and set fire to a few of the buildings which were there situated. They then advanced with great gallantry towards the breast work, and began firing upon the enemy who lay behind it. Finding that this force was wholly insufficient to dislodge them, and that Genl. Coffee had entirely secured the opposite banks of the river I now determined to charge their works; and take them by storm. Never were men more eager to be led to a charge than both regulars and militia. They had been waiting with impatience to receive the order, and hailed it with acclamation. The spirit which animated them was a sure augury of the success which was to follow. I think the history of our warfare furnishes no instance of a more brilliant sortie. The regulars, led on by their intrepid and skillful commander, Col Williams and by the gallant Major Montgomery, in the midst of a tremendous fire from behind the works were presently in possession of them; and the militia at the same instant charged with a vivacity and firmness, which would have done honour to regulars; For a few minutes a very contest was maintained, muzzle to muzzle, through the port-holes; when the works were scaled. Now it was that the most desperate fighting was witnessed. . . .

"BATTLE OF TEHOPISKA, OR THE HORSE SHOE."¹

REPORT OF JACKSON TO GOVERNOR BLOUNT.

FT. WILLIAMS, March 31, 1814.

His Excellency, Willie Blount,

Sir, I am just returned from the expedition which I advised you in my last I was about to make to the Tallapoosa; and hasten to acquaint you with the good fortune which attended it.

¹ This document exists in the handwriting of Maj. John Reid and is signed by Jackson. It is in the Tennessee Historical Society. Attached to it is this statement referring to

I took up the line of march from this place on the morning of the 24th instant, and having opened a passage of fifty two and a half miles over the ridges which divide the waters of the two rivers, I reached the bend of the Tallapoosa, three miles beyond where I had the engagements of the 22d January and at the southern extremity of New Youka, on the morning of the 27th. This bend resembles in its curvature that of a horse shoe, and is thence called by that name among the whites. Nature furnishes few situations so eligible for defence; and barbarians have never rendered one more secure by art. Across the neck of land which leads into it from the North, they had erected a breast-work, of greatest compactness and strength—from five to eight feet high, and prepared with double rows of port-holes very artfully arranged. The figure of this wall, manifested no less skill in the projectors of it, than its construction: an army could not approach it without being exposed to a double and cross fire from the enemy who lay in perfect security behind it. The area of this peninsular, thus bounded by the breast-works includes, I conjecture eighty or a hundred acres.

In this bend the warriors from Oakfuskee, Oakchaya, New Youka, Hillabees, the Fish ponds, and Eufaula towns, apprised of our approach, had collected their strength. Their exact number cannot be ascertained; but it is said, by the prisoners we have taken, to have been a thousand. It is certain they were very numerous; and that relying with the utmost confidence upon their strength—their situation, and the assurances of their prophets, they calculated on repulsing us with great ease.

Early on the morning of the 27th having encamped the preceding night at the distance of six miles from them—I detailed Genl. coffee with the mounted men and nearly the whole of the Indian force, to pass the river at a ford about three miles below their encampment, and to surround the bend in such a manner that none of them should escape by attempting to cross the river. With the remainder of the forces I proceeded along the point of land which leads to the front of the breast-work; and at half past ten oclock A.M. I had planted my artillery on a small eminence, distant from its nearest point about eighty yards, and from its farthest, about two hundred and fifty; from whence I immediately opened a brisk fire upon its centre. With the musquetry and rifles I kept up a galling fire whenever the enemy shewed themselves behind their works, or ventured to approach them. This was continued with occasional intermissions, for about two hours, when Capt Russell's company of spies and a part of the Cherokee force, headed by their gallant chieftain, Col Richard Brown,

the history of the letter: "This report of the Battle of the Horse Shoe was found in the building used by Governor Willie Blount as an office, in the town of Clarksville, Tennessee. The building was torn down and this report made by General Jackson, and many other valuable papers were found. This paper was presented to General W. A. Quarles, who had it bound and presented to his nephew, R. T. Quarles, who presented it to the Tennessee Historical Society March 18, 1884." It has been published in the *Am. Hist. Mag.* (Nashville), IV. 291-296. A draft exists in the Jackson MSS. in Reid's handwriting. A copy of Jackson's report to Major-General Pinckney is in the Jackson MSS., and his report to the Secretary of War is preserved.

and conducted by the brave Col. Morgan, crossed over to the extremity of the peninsular in canoes, and set fire to a few of their buildings which were there situated. They then advanced with great gallantry towards the breast-work, and commenced firing upon the enemy who lay behind it.

Finding that this force notwithstanding the determined bravery they displayed, was wholly insufficient to dislodge the enemy and that General Coffee had secured the opposite banks of the river, I now determined upon taking possession of their works by storm. Never were men better disposed for such an undertaking than those by whom it was to be effected. They had entreated to be lead to the charge with the most pressing importunity, and received the order which was now given, with the strongest demonstration of joy. The effect was such, as this temper of mind foretold. The regular troops, led on by their intrepid and skillful commander Col. Williams, and by the gallant Major Montgomery were presently in possession of the nearer side of the breast-work; and the militia accompanied them in the charge with a vivacity and firmness which could not have been exceeded and has seldom been equalled by troops of any description. A few companies of General Doherty's Brigade on the right, were led on with great gallantry by Col. Bunch—the advance guard, by the Adjutant General Sitler, and the left extremity of the line by Capt Gordon of the Spies and Capt. McMurry, of Gen'l Johnston's Brigade of West Tennessee Militia.

Having maintained for a few minutes a very obstinate contest, muzzle to muzzle, through the port-holes, in which many of the enemy's balls were welded to the bayonets of our musquets, our troops succeeded in gaining possession of the opposite side of the works. The event could no longer be doubtful. The enemy altho many of them fought to the last with that kind of bravery which desperation inspires, were at length entirely routed and cut to pieces. The whole margin of the river which surrounded the peninsular was strewn with the slain. Five hundred and fifty seven were found by officers of great respectability whom I had ordered to count them; besides a very great number who were thrown into the river by their surviving friends, and killed in attempting to pass by General Coffee's men stationed on the opposite banks. Capt. Hammond who with his company of spies occupied a favorable position opposite the upper extremity of the breast-work did great execution and so did Lieu't Bean who had been ordered by Gen'l Coffee to take possession of a small Island fronting the lower extremity.

Both officers and men who had the best opportunities of judging, believe the loss of the enemy in killed, not to fall short of eight hundred and if their number was as great as it is represented to have been by the prisoners, and as it is believed to have been by Col. Carrol and others who had a fair view of them as they advanced to the breastworks, their loss must even have been more considerable—as it is quite certain that not more than twenty can have escaped. Among the dead was found their famous prophet Monahoe—shot in the mouth by a grape shot; as if Heaven designed to chastise his impostures by an appropriate punish-

ment. Two other prophets were also killed—leaving no others, as I learn, on the Tallapoosa. I lament that two or three women and children were killed by accident. I do not know the exact number of prisoners taken; but it must exceed three hundred, all women and children except three or four.

The battle may be said to have continued with severity for about five hours; but the firing and the slaughter continued until it was suspended by the darkness of the night. The next morning it was resumed and sixteen of the enemy slain who had concealed themselves under the banks.

Our loss was twenty six white men killed and one hundred and seven wounded—Cherokees, eighteen killed, and thirty six wounded, friendly Creeks Five killed and eleven wounded. The loss of Col. Williams' reg't of Regulars is seventeen killed and fifty five wounded; three of whom have since died. Among the former were Major Montgomery, Lieut' Somerville, and Lieut' Moulton, who, fell in the charge which was made on the works.² No men ever acted more gallantly, or fell more gloriously.

Of the artillery company, commanded by Capt. Parish, eleven were wounded; one of whom, Sam'l Gaines, has since died; Lieutenants Allen and Ridley were both wounded. The whole company acted with its usual gallantry. Capt. Bradford, of the U. S. Infantry, who acted as chief engineer, and superintended the firing of the cannon, has entitled himself, by his good conduct to my warmest thanks. To say all in a word the whole army who achieved this fortunate victory, have merited by their good conduct, the gratitude of their country. So far as I saw, or could learn there was not an officer or soldier who did not perform his duty with the utmost fidelity. The conduct of the militia on this occasion has gone far towards redeeming the character of that description of troops. They have been as orderly in their encampments and on the line of march, as they have been signally brave in the day of battle.

In a few days I shall take up the line of march for the Hickory Grounds; and have every thing to hope from such troops. Enclosed I send you Gen'l Coffee's Brigade report.

I have the honor to be with great respect,

Your ob't s't

TO MRS. JACKSON.

FORT WILLIAMS, April 1, 1814.

My Dear. I returned to this place on yesterday three oclock P.M. from an excursion against Tohopeka, and about one hour after had the pleasure of receiving your affectionate letter of the 22nd. ultimo.

I have the pleasure to state to you that on the 27th. march that I attacked and have destroyed the whole combined force, of the Newyokas,

² Several words have been crossed out in the original, which first read thus: "Among the former were Major Montgomery Lieut Somerville Lieut Moulton and Capt Reynolds, the three first in the charge which was made on the works; and the last in attempting to oust a party of the enemy who had concealed themselves in the breast work which terminated the lower extremity of the fortification."

oakfuskas, Hillabays, Fish ponds, acacas, and ufalee, Tribes. The *carnage* was *dreadfull*. They had possessed themselves of one of the most military sites, I ever saw, which they had as strongly fortified with logs, across the neck of a bend. I endeavoured, to level the works with my cannon, but in vain. The balls passed thro the works without shaking the wall, but carrying destruction to the enemy behind it. I had sent Genl Coffee across the river, with his horse and Indians who had completely surrounded the bend, which cut off their escape, and the cherokees Effected a landing on the extreme point of the bend with about one hundred and fifty of Genls coffees Brigade, including Capt Russles spy company. The Battle raged, about two hours, when I found those engaged in the interior of the bend, were about to be overpowered, I ordered, the charge and carried the works, by storm—after which they Indians took possession of the river bank, and part of their works raised with brush getting into the interior of the bend—and it was dark before we finished killing them. I ordered the dead bodies of the Indians to be counted, the next morning, and exclusive of those buried in their watry grave, who were killed in the [river] and who after being wounded plunged into it, there were counted, five hundred and fifty seven. from the report of Genl Coffee and the officers surrounding the bend, they are of opinion, that there could not be less than three hundred, killed in the river, who sunk and could not be counted. I have no doubt, but at least Eight hundred and fifty were slain. about twenty who had hid under the bank in the water, made their Escape in the night, one of whom was taken the next mornnig who gives this account, that they were all wounded from which I believe about 19 wounded Indians alone escaped. We took about three hundred and fifty prisoners, weoman and children and three warriors. What effect this will produce upon those infatuated and deluded people I cannot yet say. having destroyed at Tohopeka, three of their principl[e] prophets leaving but two in their nation—having tread their holy ground as the[y] termed it, and destroyed all their chiefs and warriors on the Tallapoossee river above the big bend, it is probable they may now sue for peace Should they not (If I can be supplied with provisions) I will give them, with the permission of heaven the final stroke at the hickory ground, in a few days we have lost in killed of the whites 26, and one hundred and seven wounded. amonghst the former is Major Montgomery who bravely fell on the walls, and of the latter Colo. Carroll, slightly—our friends all safe, and Jack you may say to Mrs. Caffery reallised all my expectations he fought bravely, and killed an indian. every officer and man did his duty. the 39th. distinguished themselves and so did the militia, who stormed the works with them. there never was more heroism or roman courage displayed. I write in haste surrounded with a pressure of business, and a little fatigued. I will write you again before I leave this place. For the present I can only add, that I hope shortly to put an end to the war and return to your arms, kiss my little andrew for me, tell him I have a warriors bow and quiver for him. Give my compliments to all friends, and cheer up the spirits of your Sister

cafferry, and receive my sincere prayers for your health and happiness untill I return. affectionately adieu.

PROCLAMATION BY JACKSON.¹

FORT WILLIAMS,² April 2, 1814.

To the Officers and Soldiers who have lately returned from the expedition to the Tallapoosa.

Fellow Soldiers: You have entitled yourselves to the gratitude of your General and your Country. The expedition from which you have just returned, has by your good conduct, been rendered prosperous beyond any example in the history of our warfare. It has redeemed the character of Tennessee, and of that discription of troops of which the greater part of the army was composed.

You have in a few days opened your way to the Tallapoosa, and destroyed a confederacy of the enemy, ferocious by nature, and grown insolent by the impunity with which they had so long committed their depredations. Relying on their numbers the security of their situation, and the assurances of their prophets they derided, our approach and already exulted in anticipation of the victory they hoped to obtain over us. They knew not what brave men could effect, when they came to chastise an insolent foe. Barbarians they were ignorant of the influence of civilization and of government, over the human powers. They hoped to frighten us by their yells and to oppose our progress by fortifications of wood. Stupid mortals, their yells only designate their numbers and their situation with the more certainty, and their walls became a snare for their own destruction. So it must ever be when presumption and ignorance, contend against bravery and prudence. The fiends of the Tallapoosa will no longer murder our Women and Children, or disturb the quiet of our borders. Their midnight flambeaux will no more illumine their Council house, or shine upon the victim of their infernal orgies. They have disappeared from the face of the Earth. In their places a new generation will arise who will know their duties better. The weapons of warfare will be exchanged for the utensils of husbandry; and the wilderness which now withers in sterility and seems to mourn the disolation which overspreads it, will blossom as the rose, and become the nursery of the arts. But other chastisements remain to be inflicted before this happy day can arise. How lamentable it is that the path to peace should lead through blood, and over the carcasses of the slain!! But it is in the dispensation of that providence, which inflicts partial evil, to produce general good.

¹ Copy.

² Jackson returned to Fort Williams after the battle to place his wounded in a place of security and to get supplies. After resting there five days he again marched southward and reached Huhliwahli on Apr. 14. He expected to fight there his hardest battle, but, on his arrival, the Indians had crossed the Tallapoosa, some going to Florida and others wandering in the forest for days until starvation forced them to come in and surrender unconditionally.

Our enemy are not sufficiently humble'd since they do not sue for peace, a collection of their forces again await our approach and remain to be dispersed. Buried in ignorance and seduced by their prophets, they have the weakness to believe, they shall still be able to maintain a stand against our arms. We must undeceive them, they must be made to atone for their obstinacy and their crimes by still farther suffering. The hopes which have so long deluded them, must be driven from their last refuge. They must be made to know that their prophets are impostors, and that our strength is mighty and will prevail. Then and not till then may we hope for a lasting and beneficial peace. It is ordered by the commanding General that an extra ration be issued to the troops.

DAVID SMITH TO JACKSON.

FORT STROTHER, April 4, 1814

Dear sir, I called at Telladega Fort agreeable to your order for the purpose of receiving the prisoners and conducting them to Huntsville. I was unable to execute my order in a Manner that I supposed would meet your approbation and therefore declined taking the old Squaws that were tendered to me.

The Indians at the Fort stated that Old Chinubby had carried off a number of the prisoners to his Fort that many more were out in search of something to eat and the whole number that I could get did not exceed 8 or 10 and those [of] the most helpless and indifferent cl[ass]. Under those circumstances I declined taking any; but learning from Jim fife that two boys had been sold to some of our Men; I came on to this place where I overtook two Boys in the possession of Lieutenant Moore who says he paid \$20 for them. I have taken them under my care and will deliver them to Colo Perkins agreeable to your instructions. The people at the Fort further stated that the cherokees had carried off most of the prisoners and had picked them over leaving none but the most indifferent behind. On the whole sir it is my opinion that the people at the Fort would prefer keeping all the prisoners they have and it belongs to you to determine whether they shall retain them or not. I am Sir with respect
your most obt servt

TO THOMAS PINCKNEY.¹

FORT WILLIAMS, April 5, 1814.

Sir: I shall take up the line of march from this point on the 7th. Inst., and proceed in the first place, to Haithlewaule; which I expect to reach and attack on the 11th. It would be a fortunate occurrence if Colo. Milton and the Carolina troops should advance thither or make a diversion in the neighbourhood, about the same time. I lament that the difficulty of transmitting letters safely to camp Hull prevents me from concerting such arrangement, as I could wish.

At Haithlewall I expect to meet the greatest force of the enemy that I shall at any place have to contend with; and that being dispersed, I presume I shall experience but little difficulty in establishing a position at or near the Junction. I find great difficulty in providing the means of transportation from this place—it cannot be effected at this time, if it ever can by means of the river, and by land it is scarcely less practicable. The want of corn has so reduced my horses that they are scarcely able to travel at all and are quite unable to carry burthens; and I am without waggons for this purpose, unless I withdraw some of those engaged on the line from Deposite to Ft. Strother and from the latter place hither. Thus situated I have determined to take with me only eight days rations which we can carry on our backs, and to depend, for the next supplies on what you shall be able to furnish me—if no means can be provided of forwarding them in the meantime from this place. The indians have returned home; and independantly of this loss I shall set out with a force greatly diminished by sickness death and discharges; but sufficient, I trust for the objects of the expedition—quite sufficient I am sure, if I should derive the least advantage from Colo. Milton of the Carolina Troops or from those under the command of Lt Colo. Russle. . . .

THOMAS PINCKNEY TO JACKSON.

FORT HAWKINS, April 7, 1814

Sir, Your letter giving an account of the signal Victory obtained by the bravery and good conduct of the Northern Army employed in the Creek War under your command was duly received. I sincerely congratulate you on the additional honor which you and your gallant Troops have thereby acquired.

The advance of the Central Army under Colonel Milton, took part on the Heights of the Talipooa opposite to Tuckabatchie on the 3rd of this Month as soon as they shall have established sufficient entrenchments to protect the passage and secure their stores, they will proceed to attack the main body of the Enemy, who are said to be collecting within 7 or 8 miles of their present post.

Brigdr Genl Graham¹ with the rear of the North Carolina Troops is on the march to join the advance. I expect that you will soon be able to form a junction, as you must ere this have received the intelligence, that you can obtain some provisions on the Talipooa from the eastern Army. With this hope I purpose setting out in two or three days toward the Fork.

I have lately received the orders of Government directing the terms to be granted to the Enemy when they shall sue for peace. The principal conditions consist in their delivering up the Prophets; making indemnity for the War by cessions of Land; Roads and Navigation through all parts of their territory to be free to the Citizens of the United States;

¹ Joseph Graham, a Revolutionary soldier from North Carolina.

and they are to renounce all connection with the Spanish Posts. I communicate Sir, the above instructions² to you that in case any of them should make application to you, they may be apprised of the terms on which alone they can obtain peace. Col: Hawkins and myself are directed to make the Treaty. . . .

² Armstrong to General Pinckney, Mar. 17, 1814, as follows:

"The policy, dictated as well by the unprovoked and ungrateful conduct of the hostile Creeks, as by a due regard to the future safety of the South Western frontier, may be brought under the following heads—viz.

"1st. An indemnification (for expenses incurred by the U. S. in prosecuting the War) by such cession or cessions of land as may be deemed equivalent for said expenses:

"2d. A stipulation on their part that they will cease all intercourse with any Spanish post, Garrison or town, and that they will not admit among them any agent or trader who does not derive his authority [by] a licence from the U States:

"3d. An acknowledgement of a right in the U. States to open Roads thro' their territory, and also to establish therein such military posts and trading houses as may be deemed necessary or proper—and 4th. A Surrender of the Prophets, or other instigators of the War, who will be held subject to the Orders of the President. With these outlines as your guide you are authorized, in conjunction with Colonel Hawkins, to open and conclude a treaty of peace with the hostile Creeks, as soon as they shall express a desire to put an end to the War."

This idea was further developed by Armstrong in a letter to General Pinckney, Mar. 20, 1814, as follows: "Since the date of my last Letter, it has occurred to me that the proposed treaty with the Creeks should take a form altogether Military and be in the nature of a *capitulation*—in which case the whole authority of making and concluding the terms will rest in you exclusively as commanding General. In this transaction, should it take place, Colonel Hawkins, as agent, may be usefully employed".

When it was known that no Tennessean was to have part in making the treaty of peace, great disappointment was felt in Tennessee. The following protest by Brig.-Gen. George Doherty and eight other officers, Apr. 18, 1814, was sent to George W. Campbell, member of Congress from Tennessee, to be used as effectively as possible:

"Sir. We have been advised that Genl. Pinckney and Col Hawkins have been appointed to settle the terms of a treaty with the Creek Indians whenever they shall sue for peace. With the arrangements of Government, we are very unwilling to interfere; and should certainly not attempt it on this occasion, if, in that which has been made for the adjustment of the contemplated treaty, we did not believe that the interest of our state, very deeply concerned, was somewhat overlooked.

"Why the state of Tennessee should be without a voice in arranging a treaty with the Creeks, is a matter of equal astonishment and concern. Certainly there is no state or territory whose interest and feelings are more deeply involved in the adjustment; nor any one, we humbly presume, whose interest and feelings ought more to be regarded. In the midst of such difficulties and privations as scarcely ever before befell the lot of any army to encounter or endure we have at length effected the subjugation of an enemy who had so long and so cruelly infested our frontiers, and whose conquest had become necessary to our future quiet. In arranging a treaty with that enemy by which they will be required not only to make indemnity for the expences of the War, but to furnish security for future good behavior by an abridgement of their territory, it must be a matter of the utmost consequence to Tennessee where the line shall run that is hereafter to separate them. This will be settled by those who negotiate the treaty; and may be greatly affected by the veivs and feelings which they happen to possess. But Tennessee is left without a voice to express her feelings or explain her veivs. Genl. Pinckney, we learn, is an amiable man, and a man of talents; but Tennessee would be very unwilling, and we think, not without good reason, that the adjustment of what so materially concerns her, should be confided to him alone; or to any one who is no better acquainted with her interests, and has no stronger motives to consult them. And who is his colleague? A man, whose interest and feelings, it is believed, are too much identified with those of the enemy, and in whom the people of the West as well as many in the East, have long since ceased to retain any confidence—A man who, they believe, has on some memorable occasions shewn himself unworthy any national trust, and to

MRS. JACKSON TO JACKSON.

HERMITAGE, April 7, 1814.

My Dear, Its Long since I hav had the happiness of receiveing a letter from your Dear hand the one by Jame was the last he has never reached home nor Can I heare From him. The Daingers and perils you have to incounter and so often too how Can I rest in aney ease at preaset. I know you are Daily Exposed to Daingers hardships and of Every discription but I trust that the same God that Led Moses through the wilderness has been and now is Conducting you giveing you his aide his protection on that my hopes are founded. your Little Andrew is well Is much pleased with his Charley. I think him a fine Boy indeed. I have been very Sick and four or five of the Negroes I have been at a greate Deal of trouble with them. Doctor May has attended them. I was Ex-treemly anxous For fear of Little Hannah to Daye I Entertain Some hopes of her Liveing. Betty is better if I live we will own fewer of them for they vex me often and in my situation It is hurtfull my hand has sutch a treamour I Can sercelly write you will have to Excuse me Every way. The fever I had Lay in my heade but bleeding and Callomel was the only medson. I am not well oh when will you returne or when Shall I heare from you. But I know you will as soon as Convenient. our Son Andrew the Dear Little fellow hurt my feelings a Little time since he was attact with this feaver he Calld for you saide he pappa must be sent for oh Cousin Stockley go fetch me my pappa but Sweet mother dont you Cry. The Spring time has Returnd ther is a semblance in my siprits. [*sic*] my mind and the present time meaning the Deep Snow on the 4 of this month. It was so Deep and heavy it broke large tops and

whom, more than to any other, they would be unwilling to confide the adjustment of what so deeply concerns them.

"We feel ourselves authorised to entreat and to remonstrate on the part of our state; because she is more deeply interested than any other, and because she has contributed more than any other to the conquest of the country which is the subject of arrangement. In that arrangement we humbly conceive, she ought to have a voice; and no voice has been allowed her. Whether in this if her *feelings* alone were concerned she has been treated with all the decorum she was entitled to, might perhaps be worthy consideration; but it is for a stronger reason than the mere want of politeness that we take the liberty of remonstrating in her behalf. Her interests may be compromitted by men, not even subject to her frowns, and she be left with her greivances unredressed, and with only the melancholly consolation of complaining.

"And what will be the situation of the cherokees? They have associated with us and fought by our sides; and they feel a great solicitude that those with whom they associated and fought; who they believed to be so well acquainted with their interests, and so strongly inclined to support them, should negotiate their treaty. They will not fail to veiw with distrust and despondency, a conference in which they will consider themselves without a voice to assert their rights or utter their complaints. Such too is the situation and such may be the despondency and distrust of the friendly Creeks. They have given many proofs of their entire confidence in the army of Tennessee, and its distinguished leader.

"We do not claim an exclusive voice in arranging the terms of the treaty which is about to be made; very far are we from it, but we do think, that as citizens of Tennessee we are entitled to some voice in it; and that even if impartial justice be done, full satisfaction will not be given by the two who have been appointed. Perswaded that the government will think so too upon reflection, for the reasons we have assigned, and for others which will suggest themselves we take the liberty to entreat that you will lay this before the president, with such additional remarks, if you approve those we have advanced, as you may think proper to offer."

lims of trees. Every think appeard to Look mournfull of the vegetable kine but when the sun Shone on them theay all wer vivified. so will you have that Effect on my Spirits when I see you returning to me againe nothing will animate or inliveen me untill then. our friends are all well nothing new from the north by the Last mail So states the papers our farm is going on as well as Can be Expected it has taken the well to waite on the Sick. I will write you a Long letter Soon. I have maney things to say unto the on Diferent subjects which will now be omited My prayer is that the Choyestet blessings of Heaven may alwayes attend you keepe you as a Chosen vesel through Life. Excepet my blessing my warmest affection and gratitud and beleive me forever your affectionate

R J

Sister Caffery Says you have her prayes for your Saftey and health. Let us know how Jack Comes on. he is a Soldier She Sayes.

The friendship of Some of my friends I will never forget.

MRS. JACKSON TO JACKSON.

NASHVILLE, April 12, 1814.

My Dear, once more you have been Led from The feild of battle in safety and one of the most Daingerous interprizes of aney History Ever recorded murcifull God how he has Smileed on us and Crownd your patriotic Zeale with unequealed successes with Glory and Honour for yourself and Country. I received the News with so much pleasur when I herd the first Cannon oh never Can I disscribe but when ther was nineteen or twenty I was sure you wer safe and one of the most Splendid victoryes of all. Governer Blount wrote me one of the most Eligent Letters on the occasion I Ever received. It was gratifying indeed, but remember I have Clame on you That nothing but Death will Desolve you are now we suppose At or aboute the Hickory ground may the god of Heaven be with you ther also and then you will returne to my Longing arnes and in peace you will wear your well Ernd Lawrels with the Smiles of a greatefull Country. I have been very sick with a fever which makes my hand trimble so that I Can hardly write intelligible. I wrote on the 7th of Aprile the Sick Negroes I named are all giting well my heade was affected that I Could not recollect aney thing but a few moments the Last time the Docter bled me I was much releived. when you write againe Saye to me when you think you will Commence your returne march oh the Dear Idea how it Springs through my miend with joye and Hope. Mr W Blount Hurryes me the Express is waiteing. I have maney things to say and not time, Sweet Andreew is here with me and is well talk much of his Sweet father he is a man he nver Cryes on no occation has an uncommon avition [aversion] to Crying. Mrs Anderson Tenders you her best wishes Mrs Deadrick maney other Ladies. May the Lord Continue to bless you with health my Continued s[u]pplications are forever and anon amen farwell my Dearest may we meete againe is the prayer of your affectionate wife

remember me to my Nephews and Friends.

TO THOMAS PINCKNEY.¹

FOOSHATCHEE, April 14, 1814.

I reached the town of Fooshatchee, which is situated about three miles below Hoithlewaule, on yesterday; and found it abandoned. I was prevented from marching directly to Hoithlewaule, by learning, when I had arrived in 10 or 12 miles of it, that *it* also was abandoned. The enemy, apprised of our approach had fled in precipitation on the 11th. Inst, the day on which I should have reached and attacked had I not been delayed in my march by the excessiveness of the rains.

We have taken about ten prisoners at and near Fooshatchee; but I know not what reliance is to be placed on the accounts they give of the present situation or intentions of those who have fled. They represent them however, as having crossed the river, and as hastening to Pensacola; and in this statement they all agree. A negro woman, who is one of the prisoners, and who some few months ago, ran away from Pensacola, states that they have heretofore been furnished in ammunition by Innerarity² of that place; and that they are now gone there for a fresh supply, that which they had on hand being nearly exhausted.

One thing seems probable, that they are seeking their safety in flight; and that many of them may hope to find a refuge in Pensacola, is not unlikely. Still however I cannot but believe there is a considerable portion who have not fled thither, and who, if they do not sue for peace, we must continue to treat as enemies.³

¹ Copy.

² James Innerarity, a Scot, leading clerk in the establishment of Panton, Leslie, and Company. See *Am. Hist. Rev.*, II. 701.

³ The following memorandum, seemingly in the handwriting of Maj. John Reid, shows the way Jackson took vengeance on the Indian villages and incidentally gives us an idea of the geography of the Creek Country at the time.

"Ra, chue, cul, law, or old Field Town about 7 miles so. eastwardly from Fort Williams contained 2 Towns or villages 1½ miles apart. Burned by Lt. Col. Gibson 21st march 1814.

"22 and 23. Genl. Johnson Burnt ren, chaw, la or parish creek Town about 15 miles so. so Et of Fort Williams—and We, hoof, ka, or Muddy Creek Town on the waters of Hatchet, or Putch[. . .] Jche [Puttushatchee] Creek consisting of Two villages about 12 miles apart these are about So Et. 18 miles from Fort Williams.

"Apl. 11 On the march of the army Towards the Junction Burned a small village on We, wo, kee, or falling Creek—3 miles above the main Town of that name.

"13th arrived at Foushatchee, or Bird Creek, Town on the North side of the Tallapoosa about 3 miles below the Haith, le, wal, la Town and burned that Town, and The Coolooma Town.

"14 Burned the Hoith, le, wal, la

"15. Burned the Ecu, a, hat, ke, or white ground, Town also the Muclessee Town—from Cooloo, ma to muclessee is about 5 miles. The white ground Town is between them. "There are Towns on the south side of Tallapoosa corresponding with those on the north, bearing the same names—also on the south side is a Shawnee Town the whole of which with several other settlements not known by any particular name, were burned while the army lay near Foushatchee and on its march to Tuskegee at the old French Fort Toulouse, near the junction. Here stands the site of Fort Jackson, now Erecting.

"From Tuskegee a party was dispatched under Majr. Gibson by which the Towns of Coosawda E, cur, cha, ta—Too, wa, sa—Pau, wat, ha and attaussee were burned on the north of the Alabama. There are four Towns on the south side corresponding in name with the east four Towns, and nearly opposite to them which still remain".

The manuscript is much folded and somewhat mutilated, so that the editor has had difficulty in reading the names of some of the towns. As Reid at this time had formed a plan for writing a history of the campaign, this memorandum may have been made by him for use on that project.

THOMAS PINCKNEY TO JACKSON.

FORT MITCHELL ON THE CHATAHOUCHE, April 14, 1814

Sir: I received last night at Fort Perry the Copy of a Letter written by you to Col. Milton on the 7th. The weather has been since so bad that I think it probable you may have both been detained thereby and that your attack on the Tallapoosians may still have been made as it was designed by both, on the same day. My last mentioned to you the terms on which our Government had agreed to give peace to the hostile Indians. I like better the unconditional submission which they have offered, and to which you have acceded. The extreme badness of the Roads will I fear prevent so much provision reaching the Tallapoosa as I hoped. Your old acquaintance Genl. Graham will put a considerable number of his Brigade to repairing the Roads. If the provisions cannot be brought to you in waggons it might be well to march at least a part of your force as far as Fort Hull to convey a few days Rations to you. If Col. Russel should not have reached the Fork, the necessity of destroying the Alabama Settlement on both sides of the River as far as practicable must be ardent, in order to facilitate the ascent of his flotilla. I hope in a few days to have the pleasure of forming a personal acquaintance with you.

I have the honor to be very respectfully

Sir Your Mo: Obt. St.

THOMAS PINCKNEY TO JACKSON.

FORT BAINBRIDGE, April 16, 1814.

Sir: I had the honor of receiving your Letter of the 14th at one o'clock this morning. My Letter to you of the 14th will have informed you that Brigdr Genl Graham commands the Troops from the Eastward and is now at Fort Decatur,¹ he has directions to furnish you with provisions. Col: Milton commands the advance of this Army, probably carried with him only provisions for his Detachment and after General Graham assumed the Command was acting under his immediate orders. I am however sorry for the transaction related in your Letter: it is nevertheless similar to what I have ever witnessed in my military life; and to prevent any misunderstandings of this sort has been a principal object for my joining the Army. I hope that you will be supplied for the present by applying to General Graham.

The State of the Roads and some business necessary to be transacted at the Posts will prevent me from reaching Fort Decatur on the Tallapoosa until to-morrow about noon when I shall be happy to meet you at that Post to arrange what remains to be done during the Campaign, and to establish the necessary permanent Posts.

If the intelligence you have of the situation of any of the Enemy render it necessary, or the information you have of receiving supplies down the Coosa is such as you can safely rely upon you can pursue the plan men-

¹ Fort Decatur was on the east bank of the Tallapoosa, opposite the Indian town of Tukabatchee.

tioned in your letter of approaching still nearer to the confluence of the rivers; if otherwise, or if the service to be effected near the Fork can be done by detachment you will proceed with your main Body to Tuckabatchie to which place I shall direct General Graham to call in his Detachment, and where all our future arrangements can be made, and you will thereby approach our Magazines and of course can be most conveniently supplied with provisions until Lt Col: Russell's flotilla shall come up the Alabama, or your supplies from Fort Williams come down the Coosa.

I have no doubt that the Quantity of Provision which I promised, can be furnished to your detachment at Tuckabatchie provided the Road be passable for Waggon's if otherwise it will require the aid of a part of your Troops to march as far as Fort Hull to bring back with them what supplies they can carry which will more than supply the Army until the roads can be made passable which I trust will now [be] effected in a day or two. . . .

TO THOMAS PINCKNEY.¹

TUSKEEGEE,² April 17, 1814.

Your letter of yesterday was received today at [blank] Oclk P.M.

After having marched my army through great difficulties to the Tallapoosa I cannot but regret that the enemy were suffered to escape across that river, when they could have been so easily prevented by the army on the other side. That no attempt was made to do so, by that army I am quite astonished at—especially when they were so well apprised of my movements, and were near enough to have known all those of the enemy. The evil however is, I hope, not irremediable. We may still be able to overtake them, when they have fled far enough to imagine themselves out of danger.

The enemy has fled from this place also, before I reached it. The last of them crossed the Coosa on yesterday; and I learn from a negro woman whom we found here, that they are gone to a place called the ring, six or eight miles west of this place. I should have immediately detached a thousand men in pursuit, but for the following circumstance. Fourteen of the Hickory ground Indians came to me at Camp Milton on the night of the 15th. to supplicate peace for themselves and their tribe. Twelve of them were retained and are now with me: the other two were sent back to their town—the one to remove their women and children to a point designated in the country above for their future settlement by Chenubby, where they will commence preparations for a crop—the other to join me at this point today with Fooshatchee meecho, their warriors, negroes, and the prisoners taken at Ft Mimms. It appears that this [blank] was one of those who crossed the river at this place on yesterday; and it may be that he is gone after the others who went away in his absence, and that in execution of his undertaking he will bring them back, and deliver them this evening. I therefore think it proper to wait a short time to ascertain this fact; but my intention still is to throw a

¹ Copy.

² Tuskegee was at the junction of the Coosa and Tallapoosa.

detachment across the river tonight, if he shall not in the meantime return, so as to attack them in the morning.

Having brought my army to this point where there is a good prospect I trust, of getting regular supplies, and from which I can to better advantage make excursions against the scattered forces of the enemy than I should be able to do at Tuckabatchee, I presume it will not be required or expected that I should march it back to that point, especially as my men are at this time considerably fatigued, and my horses entirely worn down. For the purpose however of arranging with you, what may remain to be done during the Campaign I shall be happy in waiting upon you at any time and place you may please to designate.

TO WILLIE BLOUNT.¹

"CAMP AT THE JUNCTION OF THE COSEE AND TALLIPOOSEE"

April 18, 1814.

Sir. I am happy to inform you that the campaign is, at length drawing to a prosperous close. We have scoured the cosee and the Tallipoosee, and the intervening country. A part of the enemy on the latter river made their escape across it, just before our arrival, and are flying in consternation towards Pensicola. Many of those on the cosee, and from the neighbouring country, have come in and surrendered unconditionally; and others are on the way and hourly arriving to submit in the same way. We will overtake those who fled, and make them sensible that there is no more safety in flight than in resistance. They must supplicate peace if they would enjoy it. Many of the negroes who were taken at Ft. Mimms have been delivered up; and one white woman (Polly Jones) with her three children. They will be properly taken care of. The Tallisee King has been arrested, and is here in confinement. The Fooshatchee King of the Hickory ground tribe, has delivered himself up. Weatherford² has been with me and I did not confine him. He will be with me again in a few days. Peter McQueen was taken, but escaped. He must be taken again. Hilleshagee their great prophet, has absconded, but he will be found. These were the instigators of the war, and such is their situation.

The advance of the Eastern division formed a junction with me at Hathlewaulee, and accompanied me down the Tallipoosee: The balance now at Ft. Decatur, opposite Tuccabatchee, will arrive in a few days, except what will be left for the retention of the post. Major Genl. Pinckney will join the army at this place, tomorrow or next day. The business of the campaign will not, I presume, require that I or my troops remain much longer. Genl. Pinckney, and Col. Hawkins, who is now with me, have been appointed to make the treaty.

I am Sir very respectfully yr. mo ob. servt.

¹ Copy.

² William Weatherford, a half-breed Creek leader of the hostiles. Hillis Hadjo was otherwise known as Francis.

TO THOMAS PINCKNEY.¹

TUSKEEGEE, April 18, 1814.

Sir. I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of yesterday; it reached me at 4 o'clock to day.

It is very true that whatever operations remain to be performed should be hastened with all dispatch; and I shall remit no portion of my exertions. I have as yet received no supplies, up the Alabama or down the coossee. On yesterday I sent a detachment out of 400 to meet the boats which are supposed to be on the latter river, and conduct them safely down; To day I sent a detachment of fifty up the Tallapoossee to bring down supplies from Fort Decatur by means of rafts, which I am induced to think a more expeditious conveyance than boats, and not less safe.

This morning I ordered a detachment of 700 under the command of Col. Gibson to descend the right bank of the Alabama in pursuit of the flying enemy, and to burn some towns there situated. he will return tomorrow evening. I have also sent out my spies to discover the situation and movements of the enemy who are flying towards pensicola, and it is believed will halt on the waters of the Scambia,² about fifty miles distant. I calculate on receiving certain information in four days, when I shall be ready for effective operations.

A part of the hickory ground Indians and negroes are come in, and others are on the way. Every hour brings in more or less, all thankful to be received upon unconditional submission. One more interview will be sufficient to reduce the most stubborn of the red sticks to such a temper. I am anxious to have it, and to have it over. The roads from Hothlewaulee to this place are good, I found no difficulty in getting my wag-gons here. I hope I shall soon have the honor and pleasure of seeing you here.

I am very Respectfully yr. obdt. Servt.

TO DAVID HOLMES.¹

CAMP AT THE JUNCTION OF THE COOSA AND TALLAPOOSA

April 18, 1814

Sir, On the 14th Instant I arrived with the army under my command on the Tallapoosa at Fooshatchey fifteen miles above the Junction, where I had been informed the enemy were collected in considerable force, and on yesterday I arrived at this place, having been detained on my march by torrents of rain, rugged roads and high waters, the enemy had got information of my approach and had fled across the Tallapoosa towards Pensacola. Since my arrival here two of the principle chiefs of the War party, Fooshatchie Micco and William Weatherford have surrendered themselves, they were conspicuous characters in the War and the leaders

¹ Copy.² Escambia.¹ The original is in the Mississippi Department of Archives and History.

of the affair at Fort Mimms, they have surrendered up Eighteen of the negroes taken at Mimms and are under promise to bring in all that are in their power together with such prisoners as they can get.

I enclose you a list of the negroes that have been brought in with the names of their owners and have to request the favor of you to inform the owners or their representatives that they are in my possession, among them are a fellow, his wife and child belonging to a Mr. ——— at Pensacola they had run off from their master and were taken by the Indians and on the approach of the army they left the Indians and voluntarily surrendered themselves. the scarcity of provisions compels me to send them on to the Settlements in Madison County from which place I will order them with any others that I may be able to regain to my own house where they will be safely kept and clothed until the owners send for them, should a speedy and safe conveyance offer down the river to Mobile I shall send them on that rout to the care of Judge Tollman.² At Hothlewaulee, Fooshatchie, and Coolernee, we found one hundred and fifty scalps the greater part of which were females supposed to be taken at Fort Mimms. We have fully enforced the *lex taliones*, broken the spirit of the War party, and I suppose peace is not very distant, Genl. Pinckney and Colo. Hawkins being appointed by the President to treat with them. It is to be hoped that in fixing the boundaries they will be sufficiently prescribed to prevent any depredations from being committed by the wicked inclined of the Creek Nation, upon any quarter of our frontier, and their Territory confined to very small limits.

With best wishes for your health and happiness

I am very respectfully your most obdt Servt

TO THOMAS PINCKNEY.

"ON THE MARCH." April 21, 1814.

Sir: I will be obliged to you to forward me your letter of instructions, relative to my future course of conduct, referred to in your order of this date.

The situation of Col Williams' Regt, greatly reduced by the battle of Tohopeka and by sickness requires, I think, that the recruiting of it should be superintended by some feild-officer. This was the opinion of the sec: of war who had ordered Majr Montgomery, before he fell to return to Tennessee for that purpose. The great popularity of Col Williams in our state would render him, I am sure the most fit person for this business; and should you think proper to permit him to return for this purpose, I have very little doubt he would be able to fill his Regt very speedily out of the militia who will be discharged on my return. I have the greater wish that this suggestion shd. be approved by you, as I know the anxiety he feels to have his Regiment, and as the present reduction of it was principally occasioned by his faithfull services at Tohopeka.

I have the honor to be etc

² Toulmin.

ORDERS OF THOMAS PINCKNEY TO JACKSON.¹

CAMP AT THE CONFLUENCE OF THE COOSA AND TALLAPOOSA

April 21, 1814.

Genl. orders

Major Genl. Jackson with all the Militia Troops of the State of Tennessee of his Division including Artillery will proceed with the least possible delay to Fort Williams there to act in conformity with instructions communicated by letter.

A true copy from the order Book of Military District No. 6.

THOMAS PINCKNEY TO JACKSON.

CAMP, CONFLUENCE OF THE COOSA AND TALIPOOSA April 22, 1814.

Sir, Your Letter of yesterday is received. The instructions referred to in the order of that date will relate to securing the conquests you have made, and the future protection of our fellow Citizens: for this purpose it is necessary under present circumstances that a chain of Posts should connect the States of Tennessee and Georgia with this Station, where the united chain must be continued down the Alabama to Mobile; to you Sir, will be allotted the charge of providing for that part of the chain which connects the State of Tennessee with Fort Jackson. The Posts already established or any others which you may think necessary for this purpose, should be put in a good state of defence, be well supplied with ammunition and provision and garrisoned with such of your Troops as have the longest time to serve: and as soon as you shall have dispersed any bodies of the Enemy who may have assembled on the Kahaba, or at any other place within striking distance, you will please to discharge the remainder of your Troops, assuring them of the high sense I entertain of their military merit, and of my best wishes that they may long enjoy the gratitude of that Country they have so well served.

To yourself Sir, I can offer no better wish than a continuance of occasions, which you so well know how to improve, of rendering eminent services to our Country; and I beg you to accept the assurance of my respect and personal esteem.

I have the honor to be very respectfully

Sir Your Most Obedient Servant.

P. S. Col: Williams will in a short time proceed to Tennessee on the Recruiting Service.

TO JOHN ARMSTRONG.¹

FORT WILLIAMS, April 25, 1814.

Sir, I advised you in my letter of the 2nd Inst. of the success which attended my late expedition to the Tallapoosa. Having returned to this place and made the best arrangements in my power, I commenced the

¹ Pinckney joined Jackson on May 20, 1814. The next day he ordered Jackson to Fort Williams to establish forts and hold the conquered country. Jackson obeyed the order at once. See Jackson to Pinckney, Apr. 21, 1814, Jackson MSS.

¹ War Department files; copy in Jackson MSS. Printed in *Am. St. Papers, Milit. Affairs*, III. 789.

line of march for Hothlewaule where the enemy were understood to have collected their remaining forces to try the fortune of another battle. Genl Pinckney having assured me of supplies when I reached the Tallapoosa, and my horses being much reduced, I set out with only eight days rations. I had expected to reach Hothlewaule on the 11th but I was delayed by very heavy rains which overwhelmed me on the march and rendered the country almost impassable. On the 13th I arrived at Fooshatchee two miles below Hothlewaule and about ten below Tuckabatchee. As soon as I commenced the line of march I advised Col Milton, who then had the command of the advance of the Eastern Division, of the object I had in view, and urged him to place himself in the best situation for rendering me all the assistance in his power; on the way I advised him of my progress, and of the reliance I placed on the supplies which Genl Pinckney had promised me, through him. He was then at Ft Decatur opposite Tuckabatchee, and about 8 miles above Hothlewaule; and *had been* from the 3rd of the month. On reaching the river I was astonished and mortified to find that all the enemy except 8 or 10, whom I took as prisoners; had affected their escape by crossing it; and so totally unapprised was Col Milton of the movement, which might easily have been prevented, that the next day, while Coolomee, Fooshatchee, and Hothlewaule were in flames, I received his letter advising me that the day following he intended to pass over and give them battle! Yet he had received all my letters.

The river being very full I was unable to pursue the enemy immediately; and the want of supplies, which I had expected to procure from Col. Milton, prevented me from pursuing them as soon afterwards, or with such a detachment as I wished. As soon however as I was enabled to procure a small supply from Fort Decatur, I ordered a Detachment to cross the river, and descend it, for the purpose of making discoveries, while I with the main body of the army advanced immediately to the confluence. Having reached Tuskegee in the fork on the 17th I had the mortification to find that the enemy had again escaped me by flight and by crossing the river. It was not long however that I had any occasion of uneasiness on this account. Neither the delays which I had lately experienced, nor the flight of the enemy, had increased the difficulties or procrastinated the termination of the campaign. It was already over.

The enemy now became sensible that no place in their own country or in any to which they could fly, would afford them security, began to throw down their arms and surrender unconditionally. From every quarter they were hourly arriving at my encampment to supplicate mercy and a suspension of hostilities. Weatherford and the King of the Hickory ground tribe together with several other distinguished leaders, were amongst those who came in and were thankful to receive any terms of peace that might be offered them. It being now evident that the enemy had abandoned all idea and indeed had lost all power of continuing the war any longer, and genl Pinckney having joined me on the 20th. Inst. neither my services nor those of the Tennessee troops, could any longer be reckoned necessary at that post. Accordingly I was ordered by Genl

Pinckney on the 21st to [take] them back to fort Williams; and after dispersing any bodies of the enemy which might still be assembled within striking distance and providing for the maintenance of the posts which form the line of communication between Tennessee and the junction of the Coosa and Tallapoosa, to discharge the remainder. Within two hours after receiving the order I was on the line of march. Tomorrow I detail 600 men under the command of Brig Genl Johnston to scour the Cahauba with instruction after dispersing any bodies of the enemy that may still manifest symptoms of hostility, to unite with me at Ft Deposit.

For the defence of the posts and to keep open the line of communication, I shall leave 400 men at this place, 250 at Ft Strother 75 at Ft Armstrong, and Capt. Hammonds company of Rangers at Ft Deposit, under the command of their proper officers. Having made this and other necessary arrangements I shall without delay march the remainder of my troops to Tennessee and discharge them. After which I must no longer be considered accountable for the manner in which the posts are maintained, or the line of communication kept open. The officer left to command these forces will be instructed to make his reports to the officer commanding at Ft Jackson.² The commissioners appointed to make a treaty with the Creeks, will have little to do but assign them, their proper limits. Those of the friendly party who have associated with me will be easily satisfied, and the remainder of the hostile party, pleased that their lives were spared them—will thankfully accept as a bounteous donation, any district which may be allowed them for their future settlement. Will you permit me to suggest that a line running from some point on the Georgia line westwardly to New Yorka on the Tallapoosa and thence to the Coosa a mile or two above this place, would leave to the north of it, a district of country quite sufficient for their purposes and perhaps the most suitable that could be assigned them. Provision might be made for the Big Warrior³ and his immediate adherents on the south of this line, if that should be found necessary for any reasons. Such an arrangement, I am satisfied would be the best for the United States and I believe for the Creeks, and such an arrangement, it will require but little negotiation to effect.

I have the honor to be very respectfully

² Fort Jackson was laid out at the junction of the Coosa and Tallapoosa Rivers.

³ A prominent friendly chief, whose town fell south of the proposed line. He had been a leader of the friendly party before the attack on Fort Mims.



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